R. White sculpsit.

GEORGII BUCHANANI Scoti,
Poetæ, Historici Eximij Vera Effigies,
Ex Archetypo, quod in Musæo
D: Thomæ Povey, adservatur expressa.

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Written in Latin,

By George Buchanan.

Faithfully Rendered into ENGLISH.

I have carefully and diligently perused this Translation of *BUCHANAN*'s History; and, finding it to be faithfully and exactly done, have therefore allowed it to be Printed.

August. 13*th*, 1689. *J. FRASER.*

LONDON:

Printed by *Edw. Jones*, for *Awnsham Churchil*, at the *Black Swan* in *Ave-Mary-Lane*, near *Pater-Noster-Row.* 1690.

812 BUCHANAN (George). RERUM SCOTICARUM HISTORIA Auctore Georgio Buchanano . . . Cui Accessit, ejusdem Authoris Dialogus DE JURE REGNI . . . *Editio Novissima* . . . EDIMBURGI, Ex Typographeo GEORGII MOSMAN . . . M.DCC. Sm. 8vo., *with portrait by James Clark, and a folding map of Scotland by Io. Adair, engraved I. Clark; ruled throughout in red, in a fine and well-preserved contemporary binding of Scottish red morocco extra, with design of acorns and thistles on the sides, the back fully gilt, gilt edges.* *Edinburgh*, 1700

At the foot of the portrait is written the signature "Marchmont" of Patrick Hume, first Earl of Marchmont.

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TO THE READER.

'TIS ſufficient Commendation of the enſuing *Hiſtory*, That it was Written by Mr. *George Buchanan*; Who was no leſs the Glory of the Age wherein he Lived, than of his Country. Being a Perſon both of that Elevation and Juſtneſs of Thought; and of that Neatneſs and Elegancy of Expreſſion, that among all the Ancient, as well as the Modern Writers, few do equal, and none do exceed him. And as he knew in Reference to Perſons and Things, *What to ſay*, and *What not to ſay*, ſo he was of that Courage and Integrity, to conceal nothing that ought to be delivered, but hath uſed the ſame Freedom in Tranſmitting down the Lives of Princes to Poſterity, that they allowed themſelves in leading them: And if ever any Book deſerved the Character of anſwering the Title, this doth, being truly a *Hiſtory*, and not a *Romance*, wherein the Author repreſenteth Things as they were; Commending without *Flattery*, and Cenſuring without *Satyr*.

GEORGE

TO THE

READER.

GEORGE BUCHANAN's
EPISTLE DEDICATORY
TO
JAMES the Sixth, King of the SCOTS.

AT my Return, after Four and Twenty Years absence from my Country, I desired nothing more than to review my Papers, that were dispersed, and many ways injured by the Iniquity of the Times: For I found, that the over-Officiousness of my Friends, to precipitate the Publication of what was yet unfit to see the Light, and that excessive Liberty which Transcribers take to Censure the Works of other Men, had altered many Things, and corrupted others, according to their several Humours. But whilst I was endeavouring to remedy these Disorders, the sudden and unexpected Solicitations of my Friends broke my Measures; all of them, as if they had Conspired together, Exhorting me to lay aside Things of less Weight, that rather delight the Ear than instruct the Mind, and apply my self to Write the History of our Nation, as a Subject not only suitable to my Age, and sufficient to Answer the Expectation of my Country Men; but deserving great Commendation, and most fit to preserve ones Memory to succeeding Ages. Amongst other Reasons, which I omit, they added, That though Britain *be the most Famous Island in the World, and every part of its History contain most Remarkable Things; yet, scarce one was to be found in any Age, who durst attempt so great a Work, or had acquitted*

himself, as the Subject deserved. Neither was it the least Inducement to this Undertaking, that I hoped my pains herein would not be unfitting for, nor unacceptable to, you. For it seemed to me Absurd and Shamefull, That You, who in this Your tender Age, have Read the Histories of all Nations, and retain very many of them in Your Memory, should only be a Stranger at Home. Besides, an incurable Distemper having made me unfit to discharge, in Person, the Care of Your Instruction, committed to me, I thought that sort of Writing, which tends to the Information of the Mind, would best supply the want of my Attendance, and resolved to send You Faithfull Counsellors from History, that you might make use of their Advice in Your Deliberations, and imitate their Virtue in Your Actions. For there are amongst Your Ancestors, Men Excellent in every Respect, of whom Posterity will never be ashamed; and, to omit others, You will hardly find in History, any one Worthy to be compared with our David. *And if the Divine Goodness was so Liberal to him, in those most wretched and wicked Times, we may with Reason hope, That You may be (as the Royal Prophet says)* A Pattern of all those Excellencies, which Mothers desire in their Children, when they give them their best Wishes; *and that this Government, which seems to be hurried on to Ruin and Destruction, may be supported, 'till the time shall come, when all Sublunary Things having finished the Course appointed them by Gods Eternal Decree, shall arrive at their designed Period.*

Edinburgh, Aug. 30.

The LIFE of George Buchanan,

Written by Himself, Two Years before His Death.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was Born in *Lennox-Shire*, (commonly called the *Sheriff-dom* of *Dumbarton*) in *Scotland*, Scituate near the River, or Water of *Blane*, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Five Hundred and Six, about the First Day of *February*; in a Country Town within that Shire, of a Family rather Ancient than Rich. His Father died of the *Stone*, in the Flower of his Age; whilst his Grandfather was yet alive, who being a Spend-Thrift, their Family which was but low before, was now reduced to almost the extremity of Want. Yet such was the frugal care of his Mother, *Agnes Heriot*, that she brought up Five Sons and Three Daughters, to Mens and Womens Estate. Of the Five Sons, *George* was One. His Uncle, *James Heriot*, perceiving his promising Ingenuity in their own Country Schools, took him from thence, and sent him to *Paris*. There he applied himself to his Studies, and especially to Poetry, either having a Natural *Genius* that way; or else, out of Necessity, (because 'twas the only Method of Study, propounded to him, in his Youth.) But Before he had been there Two Years, his Uncle Died, and he himself fell dangerously Sick, and being in want beside, he was forced to return into his own Country. After his return to *Scotland*, he spent almost an year in taking care of his Health; then he went into the *French* Army of Auxilliaries, newly arrived in *Scotland*, on purpose to obtain some Skill in the *Art Military*. But that Expedition proving Fruitless, the Army retreated in a very sharp and snowy Winter, so that he

he again relapſed into a Diſeaſe, which confined him all that Winter to his Bed. Early in the Spring he was ſent to St. *Andrews*, to hear the Lectures of *John Major*, who, though very old, Read *Logick*, or rather *Sophiſtry*, in that Univerſity. The Summer after, he accompanied him into *France*, and there he fell into the Troubles of the *Lutheran Sect*, which then began to encreaſe: He ſtruggled with the Difficulties of Providence, almoſt Two Years, and at laſt was admitted into the *Barbaran* Colledge, where he was *Grammar* Profeſſor, almoſt Three Years. During that time, *Gilbert Kennedy*, Earl of *Caſſils*, one of the young *Scotiſh* Nobles, being in that Country, was much taken with his Ingenuity and Acquaintance, ſo that he entertained him for Five Years, and brought him back with him into *Scotland*.

Afterwards having a Mind to return to *Paris* to his old Studies, he was detained by the King, and made Tutor to *James* his Natural Son. In the mean time, an Elegy made by him, at leaſure times, came into the Hands of the *Franciſcans*, wherein he Writes, That he was ſolicited in a Dream by St. *Francis*, to joyn himſelf to his *Order*. In that Poem, there were one or two Paſſages that reflected on them very ſorely, which thoſe Ghoſtly Fathers, notwithſtanding their Profeſſion of Meekneſs and Humility, took more heinouſly, than Men (having obtained ſuch a Vogue for Piety among the vulgar) ought to have done, upon ſo ſmall an occaſion of Offence. But finding no juſt Ground for their immoderate Wrath and Fury, they had recourſe to the common Crime of thoſe Days, which they objected to thoſe they wiſh'd ill to, *viz. The Cauſe of Religion*. Thus, whilſt they indulged their Malice and Diſguſt, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater Enemy to their Licenſouſneſs, and rendred him more inclineable to the *Lutheran* Cauſe. In the mean time, the King, with *Magdalen* his Wife, came from *France*, not without the reſentment of the *Prieſthood*, who were afraid, that the Royal Lady, having been bred up under her Aunt, the Queen of *Navar*, ſhould attempt ſome Innovation in Religion

ligion: But this fear ſoon vaniſhed upon her Death, which followed ſhortly after.

A while after, there aroſe ſome ſuſpitions at Court againſt ſome of the Nobility, who were thought to have conſpired againſt the King, and, in that matter, the King was perſuaded, the *Franciſcans* were ſomewhat concerned; ſo that he Commanded *Buchanan*, who at that time was at Court, (thô he were ignorant of the Diſguſts, betwixt Him and that Order) to write a *Satyr* againſt them. He was loth to offend either of them, and therefore, thô he made a Poem, yet it was but ſhort, and ſuch as might admit of a doubtful Interpretation, wherein he ſatisfied neither Party; not the King, who would have had a tart and biting Invective; nor the *Fathers*, neither, who lookt on it as a capital Offence, to have any thing ſaid of them, but what was *Honourable*. So that receiving a Second Command to write more pungently againſt them, he began that *Miſcellany*, which now bears the Title of the *Franciſcan*, and gave it to the King. But ſhortly after, being made acquainted by his Friends at Court, that Cardinal *Beton* ſought his Life, and had offered the King a Sum of Money, as a price for his Head, he eſcaped out of priſon and fled for *England*. But there alſo things were at ſuch an uncertainty, that the very ſame Day, and almoſt with one and the ſame Fire, the Men of Both Factions, (*Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*) were burnt together, *Henry* the Eighth, in his old Age, being more intent on his own Security, than the Purity or Reformation of Religion. This uncertainty of Affairs in *England*, ſeconded by his ancient Acquaintance with the *French*, and the innate courteſie of that Nation, drew him again into *France*.

As ſoon as he came to *Paris*, he found Cardinal *Beton* his utter Enemy, Embaſſador there, ſo that to withdraw himſelf from his Fury, at the Invitation of *Andrew Goveanus* he went to *Bourdeaux*. There he preſided, and Taught Three Years in the Schools, which were erected at the Publick Coſt; At that time he wrote Four Tragedies, which were afterwards occaſionally Publiſhed;

But that which he wrote first, called the *Baptist*, was Printed last; and then the *Medea* of *Euripides*. He wrote them in compliance with the Custom of the School, which was to have a Play wrote once a Year, that so by acting of them, he might, as much as he could calll back the *French* Youth from Allegories, with which they then were overmuch delighted, to the Imitation of the Ancients. This Affair succeeding, even almost beyond his Hope, he took more pains in compiling the other Two Tragedies, called *Jephthe* and *Alcestis*, because, he thought, they would fall under a severer scrutiny of the *Learned*. And yet, during this time, he was not wholly free from Trouble, being harassed between the Menaces of the *Cardinal* on the One side, and of the *Franciscans* on the Other. For the Cardinal had wrote Letters to the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, to apprehend him; but, providentially, those Letters were delivered to some of *Buchanan's* Friends. However, the death of the King of *Scots*, and the Pestilence, which then reigned over all *Aquitain*, dispelled that Fear.

In the interim, an Express came to *Goveanus* from the King of *Portugal*, requiring him to come into that Kingdom, and to bring with him some Men, Learned, both in the Greek and Latin Tongues, that they might Read the *Liberal Arts*, and especially, the Principles of the *Aristotelian* Philosophy in those Schools, which were then a Building, with a great deal of Cost and Expence. *Buchanan*, being addressed to, easily assented to go for one. For, whereas he saw that all *Europe*, besides, was either actually in Foreign or Domestique Wars, or else suddenly likely so to be, that one Corner of the World, was, in his Opinion, likeliest to be free from Tumults and Combustions: And besides, his Companions in that Journy were such, that they seemed rather his Acquaintance and Familiar Friends, than Strangers or Aliens to him. For many of them had been his Intimates for several Years, and are well known to the World by their Learned Works, as *Nicolaus Gruchius*, *Gulielmus Garentæus*, *Jacobus*

cobus Tevius, and *Elias Vinetus*. Upon which account, he did not only joyn himself to their Society, but also perſuaded a Brother of his, called *Patrick*, to be one of ſo Illuſtrious a Society. And the Truth is, the matter ſucceeded excellently well at the beginning, but the death of *Andrew Govveanus*, (which hapned, as it were, in the midſt of our Race, and was mature enough for himſelf, but very prejudicial to us) put a ſtop to its happy Progreſs. For, after his Deceaſe, all our Enemies, endeavoured at firſt to inſnare us by Treachery, and ſoon after, ran violently upon us, as it were with open Mouth; and their Agents and Inſtruments being great Enemies to the Accuſed, they laid hold of Three of them, and haled them to Priſon; whence, after a long and naſty durance, they were brought forth to their Anſwers; and, after many bitter Taunts, were remanded to Priſon again: and yet no Accuſer did appear in Court againſt them. As for *Buchanan*, they inſulted moſt bitterly over him, as being a Stranger, and knowing alſo, that he had very few Friends in that Country, who would either rejoyce in his Proſperity, ſympathize with his Grief, or Revenge the Wrongs offered to him. The Crimes laid to his Charge, was the Poem he wrote againſt the *Franciſcans*, which he himſelf before he went from *France* had depoſited in the hands of the King of *Portugal*, neither did his Accuſers perfectly know what it was: For he had given but one Copy of it to the King of *Scots*, by whoſe Command he wrote it. They further objected, *His eating of Fleſh in Lent*, tho there be not a Man in all *Spain*, but uſes the ſame Liberty: Beſides, he had given ſhrewd Girds againſt *Monks*, which yet none but *Monks* could well except againſt.

Moreover, they took it much amiſs, that, in a certain Familiar Diſcourſe with ſome young *Portugal* Gentlemn, upon mention made of the Euchariſt, he ſhould affirm; That, in his Judgment *Auſtin* was more inclinable to the Party Condemned by the *Roman* Church, in that Controverſie. There were alſo other Witneſſes produc'd againſt him, (as, ſome years after, it came to his Knowledge) viz. *John Tolpin*, a *Norman*, and

and *John Ferrerius* of *Sub-Alpine Liguria*; their Teſtimony was, That they had heard from divers Creditable Perſons, *That* Buchanan *was not Orthodox, as to the Roman Faith and Religion.*

But to return to the matter, after the Inquiſitors had wearied both themſelves and him, for almoſt an year and a half; at laſt, that they might not ſeem to have cauſeleſly vex'd a Man, of ſome Name and Note in the World, they ſhut him up in a Monaſtery for ſome Months; there to be more exactly Diſciplined and Inſtructed by the Monks, who (to give them their due) were Men, otherwiſe, not uncivil, or bad, though Ignorant of all Religion.

'Twas principally at this time, that he rendred moſt of *David*'s Pſalms, into ſeveral ſorts of Latin Metre. At laſt, he was ſet at Liberty, and ſuing for a Paſs, and Accommodations from the King, to return into *France*, he was deſired by him, to ſtay where he was, and he had a ſmall parcel of Money beſtowed upon him for his daily Expence, till ſome better Proviſion might be made for his Subſiſtence. But he, being tired out with delay, as being put off, to no certain time, nor on any ſure Grounds of hope, having got the opportunity of Paſſage, in a Ship then Riding in the Bay of *Lisbon*, was wafted over into *England*. He made no long abode in *England*, though fair offers were made him there; for he ſaw that all things were in an Hurry and Combuſtion, under a very young King, the Nobles at Variance one with another, and the Minds of the Commons yet in a Ferment, upon the account of their Civil Combuſtions. Whereupon he returned into *France*, about the time that the Siege of *Metz* was raiſed. There he was, in a manner, compell'd by his Friends, to Write a Poem concerning that Siege; which he did, though ſomewhat unwillingly; becauſe he was loth to interfere with ſeveral of his Acquaintance, and eſpecially with *Mellinus Sangelaſius*, who had compoſed a Learned and Elegant Poem, on that Subject. From thence he was call'd over into *Italy*, by *Charles de Coſſé* of *Breſcia*, who then managed

managed matters with prosperous Success, in the *Gallic* and *Ligustic* Countries about the *Po*: He abode with him and his Son *Timoleon*, sometimes in *Italy*, and sometimes in *France*, the space of Five Years, till the year of *Christ* One Thousand Five Hunderd and Sixty, the most part of which time he spent in the Study of the Holy Scriptures, that so he might be able to make a more exact Judgment of the Controversies in Religion, which in those days did Exercise the greatest part of Men. 'Tis true, those disputes were somewhat silenced in *Scotland*, when that Kingdom was freed from the Tyranny of the *Guises* of *France*; so he returned thither, and entered himself into the Church of *Scotland*.

Some of his Writings, in former times, being, as it were, Redeemed from a Shipwrack, were Collected and Published by him: The rest of them, which are yet in the Hands of his Friends, he commits to the disposal of Providence. At present, being in the Seventy Fourth Year of his Age, he is in Attendance on the Education of *James* the Sixth King of *Scotland*, to whom he was appointed Tutor, in the Year One Thousand Five Hundred Sixty Five, where, being broken with the Infirmities of old Age, he longs for the desired Haven of his Rest.

He departed this Life at Edinburgh, *on the* 28*th day of* September, *in the Year of our Salvation One Thousand Five Hundred Eighty Two.*

The Names of the KINGS *of* SCOTLAND.

I. Fergus I. pag. 95.
II. Feritharis, p. 97.
III. Mainus, p. 98.
IV. Dornadilla, *Ibid.*
V. Nothatus, p. 98.
VI. Reutherus, p. 99.
VII. Reutha, p. 101.
VIII. Thereus, *Ibid.*
IX. Josina, *Ibid.*
X. Finnanus, p. 102.
XI. Durstus, *Ibid.*
XII. Evenus, p. 103.
XIII. Gillus, (*Base Born*) p. 104.
XIV. Evenus II. p. 105.
XV. Ederus, p. 106.
XVI. Evenus III. p. 107.
XVII. Metallanus, *Ibid.*
XVIII. Caratacus, *Ibid.*
XIX. Corbred I. p. 108.
XX. Dardanus, *Ibid.*
XXI. Corbred II. *Sirnamed*, Galdus, p. 109.
XXII. Luctacus, p. 111.
XXIII. Mogaldus, p. 112.
XXIV. Conarus, p. 113.
XXV. Ethodius I. p. 116.
XXVI. Satrael, p. 117.
XXVII. Donald I. *Ibid.*
XXVIII. Ethodius II. p. 119.
XXIX. Athirco, *Ibid.*
XXX. Nathalocus, p. 120.
XXXI. Findochus, p. 121.
XXXII. Donald II. p. 122.
XXXIII. Donald III. p. 123.
XXXIV. Crathilinthus, *Ibid.*
XXXV. Fincormachus, p. 125.
XXXVI. Romachus, *Ibid.*
XXXV. I. Augusianus, p. 126.
XXXVIII. Fethelmacus, p. 127.
XXXIX. Eugenius I. *Ibid.*
XL. Fergus II. p. 133.
XLI. Eugenius II. p. 138.
XLII. Dongardus, p. 144.
XLIII. Constantin I. p. 145.
XLIV. Congallus I. p. 147.
XLV. Goranus, p. 148.
XLVI. Eugenius III. p. 154.
XLVII. Congallus II. p. 155.
XLVIII. Kinnatellus *Ibid.*
XLIX. Aidanus, *Ibid.*
L. Kenneth I. p. 158.
LI. Eugenius IV. *Ibid.*
LII. Ferchard I. *Ibid.*
LIII. Donald IV. p. 159.
LIV. Ferchard II. p. 160.
LV. Maldvinus, *Ibid.*
LVI. Eugenius V. p. 161.
LVII. Eugenius VI. *Ibid.*
LVIII. Amberkelethus, p. 162.
LIX. Eugenius VII. *Ibid.*
LX. Mordacus, *Ibid.*
LXI. Ethinus, p. 163.
LXII. Eugenius VIII. *Ibid.*
LXIII. Fergus III. *Ibid.*
LXIV. Solvathius, p. 164.
LXV. Achaius, *Ibid.*
LXVI. Congallus III. *Ibid.*
LXVII. Dongallus, *Ibid.*
LXVIII. Alpinus, *Ibid.*
LXIX. Kenneth II. p. 167.
LXX. Donald V. p. 172.
LXXI. Constantin II. p. 174.
LXXII. Ethus, p. 175.
LXXIII. Gregory, *Ibid.*
LXXIV. Donald VI. p. 78.
LXXV. Constantine III. p. 179.
LXXVI. Malcolm I. p. 18.
LXXVII. Judulfus, *Ibid.*
LXXVIII. Duffus, p. 182.
LXXIX. Culenus, p. 184.
LXXX. Kenneth III. p. 187.
LXXXI. Constantine IV. *Sirnamed*, The Bald. p. 196.
LXXXII. Grimus, p. 198.
LXXXIII. Malcolm II. p. 200.
LXXXIV. Donald VII. p. 207.
LXXXV. Macbeth, p. 211.
LXXXVI. Malcolm III. p. 224.
LXXXVII. Donald Banus VIII. p. 220.
LXXXVIII. Duncan, *Ibid.*
LXXXIX. Edgar, p. 221.
XC. Alexander I. *Sirnamed*, Acer, *Ibid.*
XCI. David I. p. 222.
XCII. Malcolm IV. p. 227.
XCIII. William, p. 231.
XCIV. Alexander II. p. 237.
XCV. Alexander III. p. 240.
XCVI. John Baliol, p. 250.
XCVII. Robert Bruce, p. 261.
XCVIII. David II. p. 282.
XCIX. Edward Baliol, p. 286.
C. Robert II. p. 306.
CI. Robert III. p. 223.
CII. James I, p. 338.
CIII. James II. p. 359.
CIV. James III. p. 396.
CV. James IV. (p. 1.)
CVI. James V. (p. 73.)
CVII. Henry Stuart, *and* Mary Stuart, (p. 28.) (p. 175.)
CVIII. James VI. (p. 214.)

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.

WHen I first determined to Write the Famous Atchievements of our Ancestors, and, after I had purged them from the mixture of vain Fables, to vindicate them from oblivion; I thought it conducive to my purpose, to repeat from the very beginning, (as much as so long a distance of Time; and *first* the scarcity, *then* the loss, of Learned Monuments, would permit,) What the situation of the Countrys were; What was the nature of the Soil and Air; What were the ancient Names and Manners, and Who were the first Inhabitants, of the Islands, called of old, *Britanny*; which are extended between *Spain* and *Germany*, in a long Tract of Land toward *France*. *Albion* and *Ireland*, Two of them, do far exceed the rest in Bigness, and therefore of these Two I shall speak *first*; afterwards, as conveniency serves, I will explain the *site* and the Names of the rest.

The Authors design.

More Islands than one anciently called *Britanny*.

The situation of *Britanny*.

Albion and *Ireland* two of the biggest of them.

The first, for bigness, is *Albion*, That now alone retains the Name of *Britain*, which was heretofore common to them all. Concerning its breadth and length, other Writers do, in effect, agree with *Cæsar*, namely, that the length of it from North to South is 800 miles; and the breadth, where it is widest, which is (as some think) where it looks towards *France*; or, (as others say) from the point of St. *Davids* in *South-Wales*, to *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, almost

Albion.

Its length and breadth.

200 miles; From thence it narrows by degrees, till we come to the borders of *Scotland*. The *Romans*, who, as yet, knew not the furtheſt parts thereof, believed the *Iſland* to be *Triangular*, but when they proceeded a little further, they found, that beyond *Adrian*'s Wall, it extended it ſelf broader by degrees, and ran out far towards the North-Eaſt. This in brief, concerning its *bigneſs*.

It was accounted Triangular by the *Romans*.

The Climate of *Britain* is more temperate than That of *France*, as *Cæſar* affirms, but the Climate of *Ireland* is milder than them both. The Air thereof is ſeldom clear, but commonly darkened with thick Miſts, the Winters are mild enough, rather Rainy than Snowy. The Soil brings forth Corn plentifully, and, beſides Corn, it produceth all ſorts of Metals. It is alſo very fruitful in Breeds of Cattle. They, who inhabit the extream parts of the Iſlands, which are more infeſted with cold, do eat Bread made of Oatmeal; and, for Drink, they uſe a Wine or Strong Liquor made of Corn ſteeped into Malt: Some do boil Whey, and keep it in Hogſheads under Ground for ſome months, which is counted, by many of them, not only an wholeſom, but a very pleaſant, Drink. There was no Controverſy concerning the Name of *Britain* amongſt the Ancients, except that the *Greeks* call'd it *Brettania*, the *Latines*, *Britannia*. Other Nations have their Appellation of it, ſome one, ſome 'tother, at their pleaſure. But of late ſome Men have ſtarted up, not ſo much deſirous of Truth as of Contention, who hoped to make themſelves Famous by Carping at other Eminent Perſons; for they imagined, that they muſt needs obtain a great opinion of Learning amongſt the Vulgar, who dared to enter the Liſts againſt, and to Combate with, all Antiquity; And though the Diſpute were of a thing of no great conſequence, yet, becauſe it concerned the very name of their Country, they thought it worth contending for, with all their might, as if all the Ancient Glory of the whole Nation had lain at ſtake. They ſay, that three ancient Names of the Iſland have their ſeveral Aſſertors, *viz. Prudania*, *Prytaneia*, and *Britannia*. *Lud* contends with might and main for *Prudania*; *Thomas Eliot*, a *Britiſh* Knight, for *Prytaneia*, but very modeſtly; almoſt all other Nations do retain the Name of *Britain*.

The Air.

The Soil.

The Food of ſome of its Inhabitants, in old time.

Its ancient Names, Three, (according to ſome) *Prudania*, *Prytaneia*, and *Britannia*.

Lud or *Lloyd*, and *Eliot*, Two Writers of *Britiſh* Antiquities, in *Hen.* 8. and Queen *Eliz.* Reigns.

Lud, to maintain his Aſſertion for *Prudania*, uſeth the Authority of a certain old Paper-Fragment, which ruſt, mouldineſs, and length of time (and nothing elſe,) have almoſt made Sacred, with him. Tho' he counts that proof firm enough of it ſelf, yet he ſtrengthens it by Etymology; by the Songs of the *Bards*; by the cuſtom of the Country-Speech; and by the venerable ruſt of Antiquity. But, in the firſt place, I ask him; Whence came that *Fragment*, on which he lays the ſtreſs and weight of his Cauſe? When was it writ? Who was the *Author* of it? Or, what ſays it, that makes for his Aſſertion? Concerning the Name, the Time, the Author, all theſe (may he perhaps allege,) are uncertain, which proves, (he thinks) the Antiquity thereof. An Excellent Proof, indeed! where the Certainty, Credit and Authority of the Teſtimony doth depend on Ignorance, Meanneſs, and Obſcurity; And that which is aſſumed to explain the matter in controverſy, hath more intricacy and weakneſs in it, than the Cauſe, which it is brought to maintain. Who then gives Teſti-

Prudania.

Lud or *Lloyd*'s Authority diſallowed of, and why.

mony

mony in this case? I know not, (says he.) What then does he pretend to, in lieu of a Testimony? I know not that neither, (replies he) but this I have heard, that, in that Fragment, it is called *Prudanta*. But, prithee, tell me, what is that *Prudania?* Is it a Mountain, or a River? A Village, or a Town? A Man, or a Woman? Here I am posed too, (says he;) but, I conjecture, that *Britain* is signified by that Name. Go too, then, let *Prudania* signifie *Britain*. Yet what doth this thy Fragment make for thee? I would ask this Question of thee, Whether it affirms *Prudania* to be the true Name of the Island, or else doth not rather upbraid their Ignorance, who ascribe that false Name to it? Here too I am Nonpluſt, (says *Lud*,) but this I am certain of, that here is the sound of a *British* word, and the force of the *British* Language doth appear, even in the very *Etymology* thereof. For *Prudania* is, as it were, *Prudcania*, which is in British *Excellent Beauty*, from *Pryd*, signifying *Beauty*, and *Cam*, *White*: The asperity of the Word being somewhat mollified. But for that reason, it should be called *Prudcamia*, not *Prudania*, which Word the *Bards* do pronounce *Pruda*, in their Country Speech. I shall not here speak, how trivial, deceitful, and oftentimes ridiculous, this Enquiry after the Original of Words is. I pass by *Varro*, and other Learned Men, who have been often derided upon this account: I omit also the whole *Cratylus* of *Plato*, wherein he is guilty of the same fault. I will only affirm this, that, before equal Judges, a Man may more easily prove, that the Word *Cambri* is derived from *Canis* and *Brutum*, a Dog and a Brute, than you shall persuade me, that *Prudania* comes from *Prudcamia*. For by this means you may derive *Quidlibet e Quolibet*, as you please. And indeed, *Lud* himself shews, what little confidence he puts in his own proofs, when he calls in the *Bards* to his Aid, a race of Men, I grant indeed, very ancient, but yet Antiquity affirms, they committed nothing to Writing. But of these I shall speak more elsewhere.

Jon.

Prudcamia.

Varro, Plato, &c. too inquisitive about Words.

Bards committed nothing to Writing.

Let us now come to the last refuge of *Lud*: *Cæsar*, says he, who first mentioned the Name of this Island in *Latin*, called it *Britain*, whose Steps almost all *Latin* Writers having trod in, did not change the said Name. Here *Lud* begins with a Notorious mistake; That *Cæsar* was the first of the *Latins*, who called it by the Name of *Britain*; for, before ever *Cæsar* was born, *Lucretius* makes mention of *Britain*; and *Aristotle*, amongst the *Greeks*, long before him; and *Propertius*, not long after *Cæsar*, when he saith

Lucretius and *Aristotle* mention the Name of *Britain*.

Propertius.

Cogor & in Tabula pictos edisceere Mundos,
I am compelled in a Map,
To learn the pictur'd World's Shape,

shews thereby, that, in his Age, the Description of the World in Maps, was wont to be fastned to the Walls of Mens Houses: I would ask your self, Sir, do you indeed think, that *Cæsar*, who was so well-skilled in all sorts of Learning, did never see the Description of the World? Or, can you be perswaded, that the *Island* of *Britain* alone, the greatest in the whole World, then so famous both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Monuments, was omitted in those *Maps?* Or, do you be-

Apostrophe to *Lud.*

leive, that *Cæsar*, who was so inquisitive to know the Affairs of *Britain*, as, What Men did Inhabit that Country, then, and before his time; What Animals and Plants did grow, or were bred, therein; What were the Laws and Customs of the Country, do you, I say, beleive, that he, who had been so solicitous about those things, would have neglected to set down the Name of the whole *Island*? Or, that he, who, with so great Faithfulness and Diligence, gave right Names to the Cities of the *Gauls*, would deprive the *Britains* of their Ancient Glory? Upon the whole, I see no reason at all, why *Lud* should think, that the old Name of the Island was *Prudania*, (for he values himself much on the account of this Title,) unless Words do also contract Antiquity from the rust of a Worm-eaten Paper. This is all I have to say against *Lud*, at present, who by home-bred Witnesses, and by his own Dreams together, hath thought fit to oppose himself against the current verdict of all the Learned Men, that now are, or ever have been, in the World.

Eliot's Authority disallow'd.

As for Sir *Thomas Eliot*, my task will be easier with him; he, being induced not only by probable conjectures, but also by some, not obscure, Authors, thinks, that the Island was sometimes called *Prytaneia*. He judged it not improbable, that an Island abounding with plenty of all things, not only for the Necessities, but even the very Ornaments, of Life, should be so called. In this case, if we should weigh the reason of Names, *Sicily* might be rather called *Prytaneia*, and some other Islands also, which are, as more Fruitful, so far less in compass, than *Britain*. Besides, in those *Authors*, by whose Testimony the Name *Prytaneia* is confirmed, it easily appears, that the Orthography is vitiated. As for *Stephanus*, there is the highest inconstancy in him. In the Word *Albion*, he says, that That is the Island of *Brettain*, following *Martian* therein, as he alleges. In the Words *Iuvernia* and *Iuverna*, it is writ *Prætanica*. Elsewhere, says he, in the Ocean are the *Brettish* Islands, whose Inhabitants are called, *Brettains*. But *Martian* and *Ptolomy*, in these Words, make *P* the first Letter; if any one compare the places, without doubt, he will find, that the Writing is corrupted, and that *Stephanus* himself was of opinion, that *Brettania* ought to be writ by *B* the first Letter, and two *t*'s. *Eliot*, I believe, was not ignorant of this, and therefore, being content to advise his Reader, as much as he thought fit, what things Men, greedy of Praise, will scrape together for the Ostentation of their Learning, he leaves the matter in dispute intirely to his Judgment. But, *Lud*, that you may know his disposition more fully, of the Three Names of this large Island, approves That most, which hath the fewest Assertors, *viz.* *Prudania*; next to that, he commends *Prytaneia*. But he rejects *Britannia*, which Name was now famous through all Nations, and celebrated both in Greek and Latin Monuments, (as *Pliny* affirms,) as corrupted by *Julius Cæsar*, and that a long time after, whom he falsely affirms, (as hath been said) to have first mentioned the Name of *Britannia* in Latin, and that he drew others with him into the same Errour. But I can prove the Antiquity of the Word *Britannia*, by many clear and ample Testimonies, if that were the matter in dispute; and that it was not corrupted by *Cæsar*, but delivered down to us, *pure* from Hand to Hand, by our Ancestors,

Prytaneia.

Stephanus.

Martian and *Ptolomy.*

Anceſtors, ſave that the Ancients were wont to write it with a double *T. T.* (*Brittania* ;) And therefore it was, as I ſuppoſe, that *Lucretius* made the firſt ſyllable of the word *Britain* long in Verſe; but now the *Latins* leave out one *T*, which is ſtill retained in the word *Britto*. The *Greeks*, who write *Brittania*, come neareſt to the Pronunciation of the Country-Speech, which the *Britains* themſelves, and all their Neighbours, do yet retain. For the Neighbouring *Gauls* call all *Britiſh* Women *Brettæ*; and *Bretter*, with them, is to ſpeak *Britiſh*; and a Promontory in *Aquitania* is commonly called *Cape-Bretton*; and both ſorts of *Scots*, (i. e.) both the *Albians*, and the *Hibernians*, do ſo ſpeak; only with this difference, that they who do delight in the *German* Dialect, do ſometimes uſe the Tranſpoſition of Letters, and pronounce *Berton* for *Breton*. But *Dyonyſius Afer* in that Verſe.

Ωκεανῦ κέχυται ψυχρὸς ῥόΘ· ἔνθα Βρεταγοὶ.

Where, mentioning the *Bretanes* to inhabit near the cold Surges of the Ocean, in putting away one *T*, in the word Βρεταγοὶ, he hath uſed a Poetical Liberty, (as he hath alſo done in the word Σαμάτη for Σαρμάτη,) by eliding the Letter ρ. Here the conſent of ſo many Nations, almoſt from the very beginning, both among themſelves, and with the Ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, ſhall be of greater accompt with me, than all the Hodgepodge Traſh of *Lud*, raked by him out of the Dunghil, on purpoſe to be ridicul'd, and preſerved only for ignominy; and, though they have a confident Patron, to urge them to give in a falſe Teſtimony againſt Antiquity, yet they have not yet dared, to appear, as it were, in open Court. Let him ſhew, if he can, what Author ever wrote *Prudania*, before *Ariſtotle*: Let him turn and wind himſelf, as he pleaſe, he will never be able to do it; ſeeing, ſome Ages after *Ariſtotle*, 'tis certain, That the *Bards* committed nothing to Writing. Away then with that (ſhall I ſay?) vain-glorious, or not rather witleſs, Boaſt of Antiquity, of which no Argument, no Footſtep, no nor the leaſt Print of any, can be found.

Bards committed nothing to Writing.

Amidſt this diſagreement of Opinions, and the diverſe manners and cuſtoms of Speech; *Lud* thinks it moſt adviſeable, always to look to *Antiquity*, and the Country-manner of Speech, as a Pole-Star, and, by That, to direct the whole courſe of his Language: For my part, I would not much diſſent from him, if that, which was in ancient uſe, and therefore thought certain, might be always obſerved and kept. (*a*) But there are ſeveral Reaſons why that cannot be done.

(*a*) Ancient words cannot always be obſerved, and Why?

Firſt, Becauſe, in every Language, 'tis very difficult to find out the (*b*) Original Words; and therefore 'tis more adviſeable, in this caſe, to follow the Cuſtom of the Learned, than by a vain and ridiculous Labour, always to ſearch after Originals, as after the (*c*) Fountain of *Nilus*, eſpecially, ſince the Original of Words depends not on the Judgment of the Wiſer ſort, but on the pleaſure of the Vulgar, who, for the moſt part, are rude and inculr, and therefore anxiouſly to inquire after their Judgments, is a piece of needleſs Curioſity

(*b*) 'tis hard to find the Origin of old Words.

(*c*) Which was unknown to the Ancients, but later Inquiries have found it out.

riosity; and, if you should find out what they mean, it would not be worth your Labour. For, as in the Generation of all other Things, which either grow naturally of themselves, or else are invented by Men for the use of Life; the First Embryo's are very imperfect, and come forth less acceptable, not only for Use, but even for Sight; yet afterward, by Culture, they wax gentle, and are made amiable by due Treatment: 'Tis so in Language, which, taking its first Rise from Men rude and impolite, came forth harsh, rugged, and uncouth; then, by use, it gradually puts off its natural Horror and Unpleasantness, becoming more gentle and sweeter to the Ear, and more easily insinuating into the mind of Man. And therefore, in this case, (if in any case at all) I think something is to be indulged to the Custom of Men more polite than others; and that such a pleasure, which is neither uncomely nor ungraceful, as far as it is not hurtful to Mens Manners, is not to be despised. But if any one be born under such an ill Constellation, that he rather affects the Language of *Cato* and *Ennius*, than of *Cicero* and *Terence*; and when Corn is found out, yet had rather feed on Mast still, my Vote is, *Much good may it do him.* But this our present dispute is not concerning the Purity and Elegancy of the Latin Tongue, for it nothing affects It, to know, how the *Britains* did heretofore sound forth their Letters or Words: My whole endeavour is, to shew, how the *Latins* pronounced the *British*, not how the *British* pronounced the *Latin*, Tongue. For my part, I had rather be ignorant of the doting Fables of the old *Britains*, than to forget that little of the *Latin* Tongue, which I imbibed, when I was a Youth. And there is no other cause, why I take it less in disdain, that the old (d) *Scotish* Language doth by degrees decay, than that, thereby, I joyfully perceive those barbarous Sounds, by little and little, to vanish away, and, in their place, the sweetness of *Latin* Words to succeed: And in this Transmigration of Languages, if one must needs yield to another, Good-now, of the Two, let us pass from Rusticity and Barbarism, to Culture and Humanity; and, by our Choice and Judgment, let us put off that uncouthness which accrued to us by the Infelicity of our Birth. And if our Pains and Industry can avail any thing in this case, let us bestow them all this way, *viz.* To polish, as much as we can, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, which the better part of the World hath publickly received; and, if there be any Solœcisms or Flaws sticking thereto, from the Contagion of Barbarous Languages, let us do what we can to purge them away.

(d) *i. e.* The Language of the *Highlanders.*

Besides, this over-anxious diligence about Foreign Names, especially in transferring them into another Language, can never be kept, neither is it expedient that it should: For what Language hath not these Letters and Sounds, which cannot fully be expressed by the Characters of another Tongue? What Nation, besides the *German*, can pronounce the Letter (e) W? Who can give that sound to the Letters *D. G. P. T. X.* and *Z.* in *Latin*, which the *Spaniards*, the *Britains*, and part of the *Scots*, do?

(e) The Letter *W.* hard to be pronounced, but by those that *Germanize.*

Because of this absurdity of Sound, as I suppose, it is, that * *Pliny*, reckoning up the Cities of *Spain*, denies, that some of them can be well pronounced in the *Latin* Tongue: Some he calls Ignoble, and of Barbarous Appellation; Others, he says, cannot be so much as

* *Pliny.*

named

named without grating the Ear. What, I beseech you, would *Lud* do in this case, if he were to write the History of *Britain* in *Latin*? With all his rust of Barbarism, I believe, he would scarce know how to pronouce the Genuine Names of the *Brittons*. For seeing he vexes himself so much how he should write *Lud*, either *Lhuyd*, or *Llud*, or else bare *Ludd*, neither of which can be writ, pronounced, or heard amongst *Latinists* without regret. If he retains the true Sound, he will make not a *Latin*, but a Semi-Barbarous Oration. But if he bend Foreign Words to the sound of the *Latin*, he will commit as great a Trespass, as *Cæsar* is said to have done in the Word *Britannus*. What then shall we do, to please so captious and so morose a Person, as *Llud*? Shall we call the Island *Prudania*, rather than *Britannia*? *Lud* himself, who is so severe a Censor of others, will not exact this of us: He will permit it to be called *Prudania*, from *Prude*. But if any one dare to pronounce and call it *Britannia*, or *Brettannia*, he'll lay about him, and accuse him presently of violating Sacred Antiquity, of corrupting and contaminating the Ancient and Sincere Language; and, from a Robust and Masculine sound, of turning it into an Effeminate and soft Pronunciation. What shall we do in this case? Is it lawful for us to change or cleanse any Word from the uncouthness of its ancient Deformity? Or, if we may not change, yet, pray, may we not polish some rough Words, and incline them a little from their incult Barbarity, that they may become more acceptable to Mens Ears? As we see our Ancestors have done in the Words * *Morini*, *Moremarusa*, and *Armorici*; so that if we cannot make those Words *Latin-Denizons*, yet at least, we may imitate the Garb and Similitude of the *Latin*, in them. But, I see, *Lud* will not allow us that Liberty. He calls us back to the August Antiquity of the *Prudany*'s, and forbids us to divert in the least from *Bard*s and *Sanachys*. But the Ancient *Greeks* and *Latins* were never so strait-laced: For, after that the rigor of their Antient Speech began a little to remit, there was none amongst them, who had rather pronounce *Famul* and *Volup*, than the Words which were substituted in their rooms; and they used a very great Liberty in Translating *Latin* Words from *Greek*, and *Greek* from *Latin*. Whoever blamed the *Latins*, for turning *Polydences* into *Pollux*, *Heracleis* into *Hercules*, *Asclepios* into *Æsculapius*? Or, who hath reproved the *Greeks*, for calling *Catulus*, *Cathus*; and *Remus*, *Romus*? Nay, What did the *Greeks* do, in Translating Barbarous Words into their own Language? Did they ever make any scruple to turn *Al*, a Punick Termination, into *As*, in the end of Words? If a Man pronounce *Annibas* for *Annibal*, must he (forsooth) presently tread under foot the Majesty of all History? Must he be said to corrupt the Truth, or to do a Notorious Injury to the *Punick* Language? See, how the desire of Humanity and Culture, which was amongst the Ancient *Saxons*, and the *Danes*, who passed over later into *Britain*, doth differ from this Immanity, and affected Slovenliness, of *Lud*! They, being rude and ignorant of all Learning, when they came to Men barbarous, and of a stammering Speech, were so far from suffering themselves to be infected with their Solœcisms; that, on the contrary, when they had once tasted of the sweetness of

* *Morini*, *Moremarusa*, *Armorici*.

the *Latin* Tongue, they pared off much of the roughneſs which they had brought upon it: They ſo ſmoothed ſome harſh Words, as to make them leſs offenſive to the Ear, ſuch as are *Oxonia* and *Roffa*, for *Oxonfordia* and *Rauſcheſtria*, and many others, *Lud* himſelf not contradicting. And he allows himſelf the ſame Liberty in many other Words, though he be ſo ſevere an Exactor in this one Word *Britannia*. But now, he doth pertinaciouſly contend againſt the Ancient Cuſtom of all Nations, for a new, obſcure, and uncertain Word. Sure it is, that the Royal Name of *Lud*, of a *Daniſh* Original, and kept as a *Palladium* to this very Day, may not be buried in Oblivion. To prevent which, *Lud* manages a Conteſt againſt the conſent of the Multitude, the Antiquity of Time, and even againſt Truth it ſelf.

Oxonia and *Roffa*, for *Oxonfordia* and *Rauſcheſtria*; i. e. *Oxford* and *Rocheſter*.

(f) The Word *Britannia* hath divers Acceptations.

There is yet alſo another Obſervation in the Word (f) *Britannia*, That Foreign Writers make it the Name of the whole Iſland; but the *Britains* and *Engliſh*, who have wrote the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, ſometimes agree with Foreign Writers, in their Appellation of it; and ſometimes they call only that part of the Iſland *Britain*, which was a *Roman* Province; and that variouſly too, as the event of War changed the Borders; ſometimes they made the Wall of * *Adrian*, ſometimes That of *Severus*, to be the Limits to their Empire: The reſt, which were without thoſe Walls, they ſometimes termed Barbarous, ſometimes Outlandiſh, People. *Bede*, in the beginning of his firſt Book, writes thus: *Wherefore the* Picts, *coming into* Britain, *began to Inhabit the North Part of the Iſland; for the* Britans *Inhabited the South.* He ſays alſo, Chap. 34. Aidan *was King of the* Scots, *who Inhabit* Britain. And Lib. 4. Chap. 4. writing of the return of *Colman* out of *England* into *Scotland*, he ſays, *In the mean time* Colman, *who was of* Scotland, *leaving* Britain: And elſewhere, *Then they began for many Days, to come from the Country of* Scotland *into* Britain. And farther, Oſwald *was ſlain near the Wall that the Romans had built, from Sea to Sea, to defend* Britain, *and to repel the Aſſaults of the Barbarians.* The ſame Form of Speech is found in the ſame Author, *Lib.* 2. *Chap.* 9. *Claudian* doth not ſeem to be ignorant of this manner of Speech, peculiar to the *Britains*, when he writes, That the *Roman* Legion, which curbed the Fierce *Scot*, lay between the *Britains*; i. e. oppoſite to the *Scots*, that it might cover the *Britains* from their Fury, in the fartheſt part of *England*, and Borders of *Scotland*. *William* of *Malmſbury*, and *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, none of the obſcureſt Writers of *Britiſh* Affairs, do often uſe this kind of Speech, in whom a Man may eaſily take Notice, that That only is called *Britain*, which is contained within the Wall of *Severus*. Though this matter be ſo clear to them, than no Man can be ignorant of it, yet it hath produced great miſtakes amongſt the Writers of the next Age, what ſome have affirmed in their Works, *i. e.* That *Alured*, *Athelſtan*, and ſome other of the *Saxon* Kings, did ſometimes Reign over the whole Iſland, when yet, 'tis clear, they never paſſed beyond the Wall of *Severus*. For when they Read, That they held the Empire of all *Britain*, they preſently thought, that the whole Iſland was poſſeſſed by them.

* The Walls of *Adrian* and *Severus*.

Bede.

Claudian.

William of *Malmſbury* and *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*.

Neither

Neither is the Obſervation much unlike, in the uſe of thoſe Names *Britannus* and *Britto*; for all the old *Greek* and *Latin* Writers call the whole Iſland *Britannia*, and all its Inhabitants *Britains*, without any diſtinction. The firſt, that I know, of the *Romans*, who called them *Brittons*, was *Martial*, in that Verſe,

Britannus and *Britto*.

Britton, firſt uſed by *Martial*.

Quam veteres bracchæ Brittonis pauperis.

——The old Trouſes of *Britton* poor.

Slop-Breeches, or Galagaſkins.

The Vulgar commonly call the Inhabitants of the *Gallick* Peninſule, *Brittons*, though *Gregory* * *Turonenſis* always calls it *Britain*, and its Inhabitants *Britains*. The *Romans* do conſtantly call their Provincials *Britains*, though their Provincials themſelves like the Name of *Brittons* well enough. Both Names have one Original, *viz. Britannia*: and, as they both flow from one Root, ſo they both ſignifie one and the ſame thing. And that the Verſes of * *Auſonius* the Poet do plainly ſhew.

Brittons in *France*.

* Biſhop of *Tours*.

* *Auſon. Epigr.* 109. *&c.*

(g) *Silvius ille bonus, qui carmina noſtra laceſſit:*
Noſtra magis meruit diſticha Britto bonus.

'Tis *Silvius Bonus*, whom my Diſticks blame;
But *Britto Bonus* were his Prop'rer Name.

Silvius hic bonus eſt. Quis Silvius? Iſte Britannus.
Aut Britto hic non eſt Silvius, aut malus eſt.

Silvius is good. What *Silvius*? The *Britain*.
Silvius no *Britton* is, or a bad one.

Silvius eſſe Bonus Britto, ferturque Britannus,
Quis credat civem degeneraſſe bonum?

Silvius Bonus, a *Britan* or *Britton*,
How he degen'rates from good Denizon.

Nemo bonus Britto eſt. Si ſimplex Silvius eſſe
Incipiat, ſimplex deſinet eſſe bonus.

No *Britton*'s good: If *Silvius* 'gin to be
Simple, ſimple and good do not agree.

Silvius hic bonus eſt: Sed Britto eſt Silvius idem.
Simplicior res eſt dicere, Britto malus.

Silvius is *Bonus*: Yet a *Britton* ſtill.
'Tis plainer Phraſe to ſay, the *Britton*'s ill.

(g) This Epigram was made by the Poet againſt one *Silvius*, Sirnamed *Bonus*, of *Little-Britain* in *France*, againſt whom he had a Picque, (and, it ſeems, againſt the whole Nation of the *Britains* for his ſake.) He takes an occaſion to jeer him from the Ambiguity of his Sirname *Bonus*, which ſignifies alſo *good* in *Latin*, and (by the Figure *Antiphraſis*) *evil*, as here ſometimes it is taken. This Author makes it a *Dodecaſtich*, whereas later Interpreters have divided it into Six Diſtichs, (but all of one Subject) according to the Poets mind, expreſſed in the Firſt of them. They are not here quoted for the Sarcaſms conteined therein, (and therefore are not over-curiouſly Tranſlated,) but only to ſhew, that, in this Poets time, (who lived under *Gratian* the Emperor, about *Anno Chriſti* 390. *Britto* and *Britannus* were Terms Synonymous.

Silvi,

Silvi, Britto Bonus, quamvis homo non bonus esse
Ferris, nec se quit jungere (h) Britto bono.

(h) The Printed Books read *Britto & homo*, which is scarce sense; and therefore *Vinetus* hath amended it, *Britto bono*; and so I have Englished this last Distich.

O *Silvius*, bonny *Britton*, but bad Man;
Britton and good, together joyn, who can?

They who contend, that the *Britains* were a Colony of the *Gauls*, do say, that *Hercules* begat a Son on *Celto*, a *Gallick* Virgin, called *Britannus*, from whom the Nation of the *Britains* had their Original. *Pliny* placeth this Nation near to the (*i*) *Morini*, the (*k*) *Atrebates*, and the (*l*) *Gessoriaci*. Neither are there wanting some Greek Grammarians to confirm it; as *Suidas*, and he who wrote the Book called *Etymologicum Magnum*. *C. Julius Cæsar*, and *C. Cornelius Tacitus*, seem to have been of the same Opinion; and so do other Latin Writers also, not unlearned, yet not so famous as those two. Besides, the Religion, Speech, Institutions and Manners of some Nations, inhabiting near the *Gallick* Sea, do evince the same thing; out of which the *Britains* seem to me to have been exhausted by Transmigrations; and the *Morini* by little and little to have been quite extinguished. The Word *Morinus* seems to draw its Etymologie from (*m*) *More*, which, in the old *Gallick* Tongue, signifies the Sea. *Venta*, called in old Latin, *Vexta Belgarum*, (because Inhabited by the *Gallo-Belgæ*) *i. e. Winchester*; and (*n*) *Icenum* derived from (*o*) *Icium*, these Names make it very probable, that their Colonies Transported with them into a Foreign Soil their own Country Terms in the place of a Sirname; and at their very entrance, meeting with the *Britains*, whom they acknowledged to be their Off-spring, they brought them home, and did, as it were, entertain them at their own Houses. For *Morinus* amongst the old *Gauls*, signifies (*p*) *Marinus*: And *Moremarusa*, *Mare Mortuum*: Though *Gorropius* hath almost stoln from us those two last Names, whilst he is studious to extol his (*r*) *Advatici* beyond measure. Neither can the (*s*) *Aremorici*, or *Armorici*, deny that they are of our Stock; for we have ample and clear Testimonies, both old and new, as Pledges thereof. Because *Ar*, or *Are*, is an old *Gallick* Preposition, which signifies *At*, or *Upon*; as if we should say, *At* or *Upon* the Sea; *i. e.* Maritime. And *Moremarusa* is derived from *More*, *i. e. Mare*, the Sea, the last Syllable being long, after the manner of a Greek Participle. As for *Aremorica*, or *Armorica*, (he which shall not know them at first hearing, is wholly ignorant of the old *Gallick* Tongue) they also signifie Maritime, and so *Strabo* Interprets them, who in Greek always renders them (*t*) *Apoceanitæ*. *Cæsar* writes thus of the *Armoricks*, *Lib.* 5. *That great Forces of the* Gauls, *out of the Cities called* Armoricæ, *were gathered together to oppose him.* And *Lib.* 7. *Out of all the Cities near the Ocean, which, according to their Custom, are called* Armoricæ. And *Lib.* 8. *And the other Cities situate in the extream parts of* France, *near the Sea, called* Armoricæ. As often as *Cæsar*

(*i*) A People of *Gallia-Belgica*, lying betwixt the River *Lye* and the *Sambre*, in *West-Flanders*, (as some write,) not far from *Bollogne*, *Ypre*, and St. *Omers*. Their chief City was called *Teroven*, now but a small Village.
(*k*) Inhabitants of *Artois*.
(*l*) Inhabitants about *Bollogne*, or betwixt *Bollogne* and *Calais*.
(*m*) *More*, in old Celtick, is the Sea.
(*n*) Inhabitants of *Essex*, as *Lud*; or rather of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington*, as *Camden* and *Leland*.
(*o*) *Calais*, as some; but *Witsand*, (by the *Flandrians* called *Isten*, and *Essen*,) a Port betwixt *Calais* and *Bollogne*, in which some Footsteps of the word *Icenum* do appear, as others.
(*p*) Near the Sea.
(*q*) The Dead Sea.
(*r*) People of *Douay*, as some, of *Brabant* and *Bysleduc*, as others; and of *Namur*, as divers say.
(*s*) People of *Lesser-Britain* in *France*, to the West of *Normandy*.
(*t*) Dwellers near the Sea.

makes

makes mention of these Cities, he always adds, *Which are so called*; but he so adds it, that it rather seems an Epithet, or Sirname of a place, than its proper Name. Neither is That found to be the Name of a City in any other Authentick Writer; yet that Word is spread far and near in that Coast, *viz.* from *Spain* to the *Rhene*: And amongst all Writers, I find *Pliny* alone to seem not to understand the force of the Word; for he thinks, that all (*u*) *Aquitain* was sometimes so called. But enough of it at present, more may be said of the *Gallick* Tongue hereafter.

(*u*) *Gascoigne*, or *Guienne*, of which *Bourdeaux* is the chief City.

The most Ancient Name of the Island is thought to be *Albion*; or, as *Aristotle*, or rather *Theophrastus*, in the Book Intituled, *De Mundo*, writes it (*w*) *Albium*. But that Name is rather taken out of Books, than used in common Speech, unless amongst the old *Scots*, who, as yet, call themselves *Albinick*, and their Country *Albin*. Many think, that the Name was imposed on it, because the White Rocks did first appear to them, as they Sailed from *France*. But it seems to be very absurd to me, to fetch the Original of a *British* Name from the *Latins*, there being then so rare a Commerce between Barbarous Nations. Others are of Opinion, That the Name was imposed by (*x*) *Albion* the Son of *Neptune*, whom they feign to have been sometimes King of *Britain*: A bold Fiction, and having no ground from Antiquity to support it; yet some are not ashamed to name the Kingdom so, upon so weak a Foundation as That of a near Appellation. For I see no other Foundation in History, which might occasion this Fable. Amongst the *Greeks*, 'tis true, *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo* have made mention of *Albion* and (*y*) *Bergion*; of the *Latins*, *Cato*, *Hyginus*, and *Mela*, from whom we may gather, That *Albion* and *Bergion*, the Sons of *Neptune*, being (*z*) *Ligurians*, infested the High-Ways with Robberies, which lead from the Country of the (*a*) *Albicans* into *Italy*. These Men, when *Hercules*, after he had Conquered *Geryon*, was returning out of *Spain*, sought to Rob him of his Prey; and maintained so sharp a Fight with him, that he, being almost desperate, (as old Story says,) was forced to implore the Aid of *Jupiter*, who sent down a shower of Stones, to relieve his Son; and that the Field of Stones remained to Posterity as a Testimony of that Fight. I will not deny, but that both the Island, and the Robber too, took its Name from (*b*) *Album*. But this I say, That *Album* was a common Name amongst many Nations, and that it signified, with them, not only Colour, but Height too. And *Festus Pompeius* affirms, that what the *Latins* call *Alba*, the *Sabins* call *Alpa*, from whence the *Alps* had their Name, because they are white with continual Snow. For my part, as I assent concerning the one, that *Album* and *Alpum* were Synonymous amongst the Ancients, and I have the Authority not of *Festus* only, but of *Strabo* also, to support my Opinion; so I also judge, the *Alps* were so called, rather from their Height, than their Whiteness. My Reasons are, First, Because *Alba* is the Name of many Cities in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*, which are all situate on Hills, or near them: And besides, because *Strabo* acknowledges, that those Names, *Alba*, *Alpa*, *Alpia*, *Albionia*, *Albici*, without any difference, are derived from the same Root, in the Signification of Height; and therefore he shews, That they are most used, where the *Alps* begin to grow high. Hence, in *Liguria*, there is (*c*) *Albingaunum*, and

(*w*) *Albion*, or *Albium*, the Ancient Name of this Island.

(*x*) *Albion*, the Fabulous Son of *Neptune*;

(*y*) As also *Bergion*.

(*z*) *Liguria* was anciently a Country lying betwixt the *Po* in *Italy*, and the *Rhosne* in *France*.

(*a*) A People living in the Skirts of the *Alps*.

(*b*) *Album* signifies High, as well as White.

(*c*) *Albinga*, under the *Genoeses*.

and (*d*) *Albium Intimelium*; and among the (*e*) *Iapodes*, there is an high Hill, where the *Alps* do end. There are other Places, which may seem to be named from their height. In *Italy* there is the River (*f*) *Albula*, rising in the Mountains of *Etruria*, and the Waters called *Albula* flowing down from the *Tiburtine Mountains*. In *Gallia Narbonensis* there are the *Albici*, a Mountainous People. In *Germany* there is the River (*g*) *Albis*, arising from the Mountains of *Bohemia*. In *Asia*, the River (*h*) *Albanus* flows down from *Mount Caucasus*, and the *Albanians* dwell about the same Mountain. By which Instances, it will appear to be a Truth, That *Album* is not a Word of *one*, but *many* Nations, and in all the Places which I have named, their height doth not render them always, or unchangeably, White; yea, some Months they are not White at all. The Names of the *Ligurian* Giants do also confirm this Conjecture, *Albion* and *Bergion*, both of them, as I judge, being named from their Talness. What the Ancients thought of the Word *Album*, I have said enough. That the *Germans* call (*i*) High, *Berg*, is known to all: And there is a place in *Pliny* that shews, it was anciently used in the same sense amongst the *Gauls*, in his Third Book, which I am of Opinion must be thus read; Whence *Cato* affirms, the (*k*) *Bergomates* to have had their Original, they discover themselves by their Names to be situated more highly, than happily; Therefore *Albion* and *Bergion*, Men, it seems, far taller than their Neighbors, in confidence of their Strength, did commit Robberies in those Coasts of *Liguria*, whom *Hercules*, travelling that way, subdued by force of Arms. But none of the Ancients ever affirmed, That they Reigned in *Britain*, and the *then* State of the *Gallick* Affairs makes it very improbable, that it should be so; and it is likely, that the State of *Britain* was not much more quiet; in which Land, the Great *Albion* left a Famous Kingdom, that he might play the Robber at Home. But I, though I do not much differ from their Opinion, who assert, That *Albion* was so called from *Album*, so I think, the occasion of the Name was not from the Colour, but from the Height, of the Mountains: They, who imposed that (*l*) Name, were, I believe, something inclined thereunto by comparing *England* with *Ireland*, there being but a Narrow Sea between Them: For they seeing one Shore to be altogether Mountainous, and the other depressed, level, and spread into Campagne or open Fields, they called the first *Albion*, from its height: But whether they gave any Name to the second, from its low Situation, the Length of Time, and the Negligence of the Inhabitants in Recording Ancient Affairs, hath made uncertain. Besides, this also adds Strength to my Opinion, That the Name of the Island, derived from *Album*, whether *Albion*, or *Albium*, as yet pertinaciously remains in (*m*) *Scotland*, as in its Native Soil; neither could it ever be extirpated there, notwithstanding so many Mutations of Inhabitants, Kingdoms, Languages, and the Vicissitude of other things. These things seem true, or at least probable, to me; yet if any Man can inform me better, I will easily be of his Opinion.

Hitherto of the Ancient Names of the Island: The next thing, is, To explain the (*n*) Situation of the Countries. The English Writers have plainly and clearly enough described their own several Counties:

(*d*) *Ventimiglia*, belonging also to the Republick of *Genoua*.
(*e*) A People made up of *Gauls* and *Illyrians*, whose Possessions reached down to the *Adriatick Sea*, near *Istria*.
(*f*) *Tiber*.
(*g*) *Elbe*.
(*h*) *Caban*.
(*i*) *Berg*, in the *German* Language signifies *High*.
(*k*) *Bergamates*, a People of *Bergamo* in *Italy*, now under the *Venetian*.
(*l*) *Britain*, why called *Albion*.
(*m*) The Name *Albion* is still retained in part of *Scotland*.
(*n*) The Situation of the several Counties in *Albion*, described by English Writers.

Counties: But (o) *Hector Boetius*, in his Description of *Scotland*, hath delivered some things not so true, and he hath drawn others into Mistakes, whilst he was over-credulous of those, to whom he committed the Inquiry after Matters, and so Published their Opinions, rather than the Truth. But I shall briefly touch at those things which I am assured of, and those which seem obscure and less true, I will correct as well as I can.

(o) *Hector Boetius* blamed.

(p) *England*, as far as concerns our present purpose, is most conveniently divided by Four Rivers, Two running into the *Irish* Sea *viz.* *Dee* and *Severne*; and Two into the *German* Sea, *i.e.* *Thames* and *Humber*. Between *Dee* and *Severne* lies *Wales*, being distinguished into (q) Three several Regions. Between *Severne* and *Thames*, lies all that part of *England*, which is opposite to *France*. The Countries interjacent between *Thames* and *Humber*, make the Third Part; and the Countries reaching from *Humber* and *Dee*, to *Scotland*, make up the Fourth.

(p) *England*, how divided.

(q) Now only into two, *viz.* *North* and *South-Wales*; for *Pembroke-Shire*, with part of its adjacent Counties, heretofore called *West-Wales*, is now counted part of *South-Wales*.

But (r) *Scotland* is divided from *England*, first, by the River *Tweed*; then, by the high Mountain *Cheviot*; and where the Mountain fails, then by a Wall or Trench newly made, and afterwards by the Rivers *Eske* and *Solway*. Within those Bounds, from the *Scotish* Sea to the *Irish*, the Counties lies in this Order. First, (s) *Merch*, in which the English do now possess *Berwick*, situate on the left side of the *Tweed*. On the East it is bounded with the *Firth* of *Forth*. On the South, with *England*. On the West, on both sides the River *Tweed*, lies (t) *Tiviotdale*, taking its Name from the River *Tiviot*: It is divided from *England* by the *Cheviot-Hills*. After this, lie three Counties not very great, (u) *Liddisdail*, (x) *Eusedail*, and (y) *Eskdail*, being so called of three Rivers, which have a near Appellation, *viz.* *Lidal*, *Eue*, and *Eske*. The last is (z) *Annandale*, taking its Name from the River *Annand*, which divides it almost in the middle, and, near to *Solway*, runs into the *Irish* Sea.

(r) The Situation of *Scotland*, and the several Counties thereof.
(s) *Merch*.
(t) *Tiviotdale*, or *Tividale*.
(u) *Liddisdail*.
(x) *Eusedail*.
(y) *Eskdail*.
(z) *Annandale*.

Now to return again to (a) *Forth*, on the East it is bounded by *Lothian*. *Cockburnes Path*, and *Lamormoore*-Hills do divide it from *Merch*. Then, bending a little to the West, it touches (b) *Lauderdale* and *Twedale*; the one so called from the Town *Lauder*; the other from the River *Tweed*, dividing it in the middle. (c) *Liddisdale*, *Nithisdale*, and *Clidesdale*, do border on *Twedale* on the South and West. The River *Nith* gives Name to *Nithsdale*, running through it into the *Irish* Sea. (d) *Lothian* was so named from *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*. On the North-East it is bounded with the *Forth*, or *Scotish* Sea, and it looks towards *Clidesdale* on the South-West. This Country does far excel all the rest, in the Civility of its Inhabitants, and in plenty of all things for the use of Life. It is Watered with five Rivers, *Tine*, both the *Eskes*, (which before they fall into the Sea, joyn in one Chanel,) *Leith* and *Almond*. These Rivers, arising partly from the *Lamormoore*-Hills, and partly from *Pentland*-Hills, disgorge themselves into the *Firth* of *Forth*. *Lothian* contains these Towns, *Dunbar*, *Hadington*, *Dalkeith*, (e) *Edinburgh*, *Leith*, and *Linlithgoe*. More to the West, lies (f) *Clidsdale* on both sides the River *Clid*, which, by Reason of its length, is divided into two Prefectures or Sheriffwicks. In the uppermost of them there is an Hill, not very high, yet out of it, Rivers run into three di-

(a) *Forth*, or the *Scotish* Sea.
(b) *Lauderdale* and *Twedale*.
(c) *Liddisdale*, *Nithisdale*, and *Clidesdale*.
(d) *Lothian*, whence so called.
(e) *Edinburgh* in *Lothian*.
(f) *Clidsdale* divided.

vers Seas, *Tweed* into the *Scotiſh*, *Annand* into the *Iriſh*, and *Clyd* into the *Deucaledonian*-Seas. The moſt eminent Cities in it, are *Lanerick* and *Glaſgo*. *Kyle* on the South-weſt is adjoining to it; Beyond *Kyle* is *Galloway*. It is ſeparated from *Nithſdale* by the River *Clyd*, bending almoſt wholly to the South, and by its Shore that remaining part of *Scotland* is alſo covered.

Kyle.
Galloway.

It is all more fruitful in Cattle, than Corn; it hath theſe Rivers running into the Iriſh Sea, *Ure* or *Ore*, *Dee*, *Kenn*, *Cree*, and *Luſs*; it hath ſcarce any great Mountains, but only ſome ſmall Hills, in it; between which, the Water, ſtagnant in the Valleys, makes abundance of Lakes, by which, in the firſt Showres, after the Autumnal Æquinox, the Rivers are encreaſed, which bring down an incredible quantity of Eeles, which the Inhabitants take in Weels made of Oſier Twigs, and, ſalting them, get no ſmall Profit thereby. The Boundary of that ſide is the Mul of *Galloway*, under which, in the mouth of the River *Lus*, is a Bay, which *Ptolomy* calls **Rerigonius*. The Bay commonly called *Loch-Rian*, and, by *Ptolomy*, *Vidogara*, flows into it on the other ſide from the Firth of *Clyd*. The Land running betwixt thoſe Bays, the Inhabitants do call *Rinns*, (*i. e.*) the edge of *Galloway*: They alſo call *Nonantum*, the *Mul*, (*i. e.*) the Beak, or Jaw. But the whole Country is called *Galloway* (for *Gallovid*, in old Scotiſh, ſignifies a *Gaul.*)

Abundance of Eels taken.
Mul of Galloway.
* Now *Glenluce.*
Rinns of Galloway.
Nonantum.

Below *Loch-Rian*, on the Back ſide of *Galloway*, there lies *Carrick-Bailiery*, gently declining to the Firth of *Clyd*. Two Rivers paſs through it, *Stinſiar* and *Girvan*, both of them having many pleaſant Villages on their Banks. Between the Rivers, there are ſome ſmall Hills, fruitful for Paſture, and not unfit for Corn: 'Tis all not only ſelf-ſufficient with Land and Sea-Commodities, but it alſo ſupplies its Neighbours with many Neceſſaries. The River *Down* ſeparates it from *Kyle*, which ariſeth from a Lake of the ſame Name, wherein is an Iſland, with a ſmall Caſtle. *Kyle* follows next, bordering upon *Galloway* on the South, and on the North Eaſt, on *Clydſdale*; on the Weſt it is ſeparated from *Cuningham* by the River *Irwyn*: The River *Aire* divides it in the middle. Near it is ſcituated *Air*, a Town well traded; the Country in general abounds more with valiant Men, than with Corn or Cattle; for the Soyle is poor and ſandy, and that ſharpens the Induſtry of the Inhabitants; and their Parſimony confirms the Strength both of their Bodies and Minds. After *Air*, *Cuningham* runs on to the North, and doth, as it were, juſtle out and ſtreighten the *Clyd*, and brings it into the compaſs but of a moderate River. The Name of the Country is Daniſh, and, in that Language, ſignifies *the King's Houſe*, which is an Argument, That the *Danes* did ſomtimes poſſeſs it. Next is *Renfrew*, ſcituate at the Eaſtern Coaſt thereof, ſo called from a little Town, wherein they were wont to celebrate their Conventions, 'tis commonly called the Barony of *Renfrew*. Two Rivers, both of them called *Carth*, divide it in the midſt. After the Barony of *Renfrew*, *Clydſdale* is ſtretched out on both ſides of the River *Clyd*, and, in regard of its largeneſs, is divided into many Juriſdictions. It pours out many famous Rivers; on the left hand, *Even* and *Duglaſs*, which run into *Clyd*; and on the right, another River called *Even*, which divides

Kyle.
Air.
Cuningham.
Renfrew.
White Carth. and *Black Carth.*
Clydſdale.

divides *Lothian* from *Sterlingshire*. These two Currents take the common Appellation of Rivers, instead of a proper Name, as, in *Wales*, the River called *Avon* doth, in a divers Dialect. The River *Even* or *Avon* separates the County of *Sterling* on the South, from *Lothian*; on the East, the Firth of *Forth*, until at last, being lessned, it is reduced to the just magnitude of a River, and admits a passable Bridge near *Sterling*. There is but one memorable River which divides this Country, called *Carron-Water*, near which there are some ancient Monuments. On the left hand of *Carron*, there are two small Hills or Barrows, made of Earth by Man's hand, (as the thing it self shews) commonly called *Duni pacis*, (*i. e.*) Emblems of Reconciliation. But about two Miles lower, on the same River, there is a round Edifice made without any Lime, but so formed with sharp Stones, that part of the upper Stone is, as it were, Mortassed into the lower, so that the whole Work, mutually conjoyned, sustains it self with the weight of the Stones, from top to bottom, growing narrower and narrower by Degrees. The top of it is open: The common People have several Fancies, according to their divers Humours, concerning the Use and Author of this Structure. For my part, I once conjectured, That it was a Temple of the God *Terminus*, which, they say, was wont to be built round and open at top; And the *Duni pacis* near adjoyning seemed somwhat to strengthen my Conjecture, as if a Peace had been made there, of which these Hills are a Monument, because there the Romans terminated the Bounds of their Jurisdiction and Empire; neither could any thing have altered my Opinion, unless I had been informed by creditable persons, That, in a certain Island, there are many Edifices in other respects like the Structure which I have spoken of, but that they are greater, and not so compact. There are also two Chapels in *Ross* of the like shape. These things made me suspend my Opinion, and to judge that these were *Monuments* or *Trophies* of some famous Deeds, placed, as it were, at the fag-end of the World, that they might be preserved from the Injury and Fury of Enemies. But whether these were *Trophies*, or (as some think) *Sepulchres* of famous Men, I believe they were Monuments consecrated to be perpetuated to Posterity, but built by rude and unskilful Workmen, after the similitude of the *Temple* erected at *Carron*. On the right side of *Carron*, the Ground is generally plain and level, only there is a little Hill in it, almost in the mid-space between the *Duni pacis* and the *Temple* or Chapel; and therein, at the bending of the Angle, the Footsteps of an ancient City do yet appear. But the Foundation of the Walls, and the description of the Streets, partly by reason of Countrymens Plowing up the Ground, and partly, by plucking out the square Stones to build some Rich Mens Houses thereabouts, are quite blended and confused. English *Bede* expressly calls this place *Guidi*, and places it in the very Angle of the Wall of *Severus*. Besides him, many famous *Roman* Writers make mention of this Wall; yea, several footsteps thereof do yet appear, and many Stones are dug out, with Inscriptions containing a Gratulation of Safety and Victory, received by the Centurions and Tribunes of the *Romans*, or else some Funeral Epitaphs are engraven therein. And seeing the Wall of *Severus*

Sterling.

Carron-water.

Duni pacis, Emblems of Peace.

A strange Edifice.

Guidi.

Adrian's Wall built before *Severus's*.

is ſeldom leſs diſtant than 100 Miles from *Adrian's* Wall, (as the Remains of both do ſhew) which was built by him before; *Engliſh* Writers betray their great Ignorance, either in not underſtanding the *Latins*, who have delivered theſe things down to us; or elſe their Careleſneſs, who have wrote that ſo confuſedly, which is ſo plainly recorded: However it be, the thing is worthy, if not of a ſharp Reprehenſion, yet of a light Admonition, at leaſt; eſpecially, ſince by the Monuments lately ſpoken of, and by *Bede's* Engliſh Hiſtory too, it plainly appears, That *there* was ſomtimes the Boundary betwixt the *Britains* and the *Scots*. But thoſe who fancy *Maldon* to be ſcituate here, are the ſame Men, who affirm, That the Chapel or Structure we ſpoke of, was the Temple of *Claudius Cæſar*; but they are hugely miſtaken in both, ſeeing *Maldon*, a Colony of the *Romans*, is above 300 Miles diſtant from that place, if we may believe *Ptolomy*, and the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*. *Cornelius Tacitus* doth plainly confute this their miſtake, as in all his other Narrations, ſo eſpecially, when he ſays, that the *Romans* having loſt *Maldon*, fled to the Temple of *Claudius Cæſar* for ſafety. But that Structure, whether it were a *Chapel* or *Temple* of *Terminus*, or elſe a Monument of ſome other thing, having no Doors, nor ſign of any, and being open alſo at top, for the caſting in of Stones, can ſcarce contain, much leſs ſhelter, Ten Soldiers. Moreover, about 40 Years after the Expedition of *Julius Cæſar* into *Britain*, *Julius Agricola* was the firſt of the Roman Generals who penetrated with his Army into thoſe parts; Beſides, *Adrian* alſo, 50 Years after *Agricola*, ſetled the Bounds of the Roman Province, between the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*, by making a Wall, of which, divers Footſteps in many places do yet remain. But *Septimius Severus*, about the Year of our Lord 210, entring into *Britain*, built a Wall 100 Miles beyond the Limits made by *Adrian*, from the *Firth* of *Clyd* to the Conflux of *Forth* and *Avon*, of which, many clear and evident Tokens yet remain. Beſides, we never read in ancient Writings, that the chief Seat of the *Picts* was at *Maldon*, but at *Abernethy*; there was their Royal, and alſo Epiſcopal, Seat, which was afterwards tranſlated to *St. Andrews*. And if it be demanded, what moved the *Romans* to draw a Colony thither, and how they maintained it in a Soil ſo barren, and (at that time) woody, uncultivated, and obnoxious to the daily injuries of the fierceſt of their Enemies; I ſuppoſe, they will anſwer, (for I ſee not what elſe they can ſay, thereto) that it was ſupplyed from the Sea, for then Ships came up to the very Gates of the City, thô againſt the ſtream of *Carron-Water*. If that were true, then the Grounds lying on both ſides the *Forth*, muſt needs be overwhelmed with the inundations of the Ocean, and muſt therefore be barren, which alone, in that Tract, ought to have born Corn. But this is yet a more difficult Queſtion; That ſeeing the Sea-water did run on both ſides the *Forth*, why the *Romans* did not *there* make their Boundary-Wall, rather than unneceſſarily carry it many Miles further?

Maldon not in *Scotland*, but in *Eſſex*.

Julius Agricola.

Adrian's Wall, where?

Severus's Wall, now *Grames* Dike, where?

Abernethy, once the Royal Seat of the *Picts*, then St. *Adrews*.

Lennox.

Beyond the County of *Sterling* lies *Lennox*, divided from the Barony of *Renfrew* by *Clyd*, and from the County of *Glaſgow* by the River *Kelvin*; from the County of *Sterling* by Mountains, and from

from the Stewarty of *Menteath* by the *Forth*; at length it is terminated in the Mountain *Grampius*, or *Grantsbain*, at the foot of which, through an hollow Valley, *Loch-Lomund* ſpreads it ſelf, which is 24 Miles long, and 8 broad; it contains above 24 Iſlands; beſides a multitude of other Fiſhes, it hath ſome of a peculiar kind, very pleaſant to eat, they call them *Pollacks*. At length, breaking out towards the South, it pours out the River *Levin*, giving Name to the whole Country, and near the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, and a Town of the ſame Name, falls into *Clyd*. The furthermoſt Hills of Mount *Grampius*, do heighten the extreme parts of *Lennox*, being divided by a ſmall Bay of the Sea, called *Loch-Ger*, from its ſhortneſs. Beyond that, there is a Bay much larger, called *Loch-Long*, from the River *Long*, falling into it; That is the Boundary between *Lennox* and *Cowel*. *Cowel* it ſelf, *Argyle* and *Knapdale* are divided into many parts, by reaſon of ſeveral narrow Bays of the Sea running down into them, from the Firth of *Clyd*: There is one Bay, or Loch, more eminent than the reſt, among, them called *Loch-Finn*, obtaining its Name from the River *Finn*, which it receives into it; it is above 60 Miles in length. There is alſo in *Knapdale* a *Loch* called *Loch-Awe*, in which there is a ſmall Iſland, and a Caſtle, that is fortified. The River *Awe*, or *Owe*, iſſues out from that Loch, which is the only River in that Country, that empties it ſelf into the *Deucaledonian* Sea.

Menteath.

Loch-Lomund.

Pollacks, an unuſual Fiſh.

Mount *Grampius.*

Loch-Ger.

Loch-Long.

Cowel.

Argyle.

Knapdale.

Loch-Finn.

Loch-Awe.

Beyond *Knapdale*, to the South-Weſt, there runs out *Cantyre*; *i. e.* The Head of the Country; it ſtands over againſt *Ireland*, from which it is divided but by a Narrow Sea: It is not ſo Broad, as it is Long; and it is joyned to *Knapdale* by ſo Narrow an *Iſthmus*, or Neck of Land, that it is ſcarce a Mile over; and that ſpace too is nothing but Sand, ſo plain and level, that ſometimes Seamen, to make their Voyages ſhorter, do hale their ſmall Veſſels, called *Birlings*, over it, from one ſide of *Loch-Tarbet* to the other.

Cantyre.

A Narrow Neck of Land joyns *Cantyre* to *Knapdale.*

Birlings a ſmall ſort of Sea-Veſſels.

Lorn touches *Knapdale*, it borders immediately on *Argyle*, and reaches as far as the Country of *Abyr*, commonly called *Loch-Abyr*: It is a plain Country, and not unfruitful; where the Mountain (*a*) *Grampius* is loweſt, and more paſſable, that Country is called (*b*) *Braid-Albin*, which is as much as to ſay, *The higheſt part of* Scotland; and where the loftieſt Pic, or Top, of all is, that is called (*c*) *Drum-Albin*, i. e. *The Back of* Scotland, and not without cauſe; for from that Back, there run down Rivers into both Seas, ſome into the North or *German*, others into the South or *Deucaledonian* Sea. For from (*e*) *Loch-Earn* it pours out the River *Earn*, towards the South-Eaſt, which falls into the River *Tay*, about three Miles below *Perth*. From this River, the Country called in Highland, or old *Scots*, Language, (*f*) *Strath-Earn*, takes it Name, being ſituate on both ſides of its Banks. For the Highlanders uſe to call a Country, lying at the fall of Rivers, (*g*) *Strat*. Between the Mountains of this Country and the *Forth*, lies the Stewarty of (*h*) *Menteath*, taking its Name from the River *Teath*, which runs through the middle of it. Next to *Menteath* ſtand the Mountains called (*i*) *Ocel*-Hills, a great part of which, as alſo of the Country lying at the Foot of them, is reckoned within the Stewarty of *Strath-Earn*; but the reſt of the Country, even unto the *Forth*,

Lorn or *Laern.*

(*a*) *Granzebein*, or the *Grampian*-Hills, run from *Aberdeen* in the North, to *Dumbarton* in the Weſt.

(*b*) *Braid-Albin.*

(*c*) *Drum-Albin.*

(*e*) *Loch-Earn.*

(*f*) *Strath-Earn.*

(*g*) *Strat*, what.

(*h*) *Menteath.*

(*i*) *Ocel-Hills.*

Man's

Man's Ambition hath divided into ſeveral Stewarties, as the Stewarty of (k) *Clacman*, of (k) *Culroſs*, and of (k) *Kinroſs*. From theſe Stewarties and the *Ocel*-Hills, all the Country lying between the *Forth* and the *Tay*, grows narrow like a Wedge, Eaſtward even to the Sea; and it is all called by one Name (l) *Fife*, a Country ſelf-ſufficient with all neceſſaries for the uſe of Life: It is broadeſt where *Loch-Leven*, and the River (m) *Leven*, running through it, do divide it; and from thence it narrows on each ſide, till you come to the Town of (n) *Carail*; it ſends forth but one remarkable River, and that's called *Leven*. Its whole ſhore is ſtor'd with abundance of Towns, of which the moſt remarkable, for the Study of the Arts is (o) St. *Andrews*, which the Highlanders call *Fanum Reguli*: More to the Inland, almoſt in the middle of the County, lies (p) *Cowper*, the Shire or Aſſize Town, whither the reſt of the Inhabitants of *Fiſe* do come for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Where it touches *Strath-Earn* ſtands the Town of (q) *Abernethy*, the Ancient Royal Seat of the *Picts*. Here the River *Earn* falls into the *Tay*.

(k) *Clacman*, *Culroſs*, and *Kinroſs*, Stewarties.

(l) *Fife*.

(m) It ariſeth out of *Loch-Leven*, and falls into the *Forth* at the Town of *Leven*.

(n) Or *Creal*, on the Eaſt point of *Fife*.

(o) St. *Andrews* heretofore called *Fanum Regis*, an Univerſity.

(p) *Cowper*, the Shire-Town of *Fife*.

(q) *Abernethy*, anciently the Royal Seat of of the *Picts*.

As for the (r) *Tay* it ſelf, that breaks out from (s) *Loch-Tay*, which is in *Braid-Albin*; (a Loch Twenty Four Miles long) it is without queſtion the greateſt River in *Scotland*; for winding about towards the *Grampian*-Hills, it touches upon (t) *Athol* a fruitful Country, ſituate in the very Woody Paſſages of Mount *Grampius*. That part thereof, which is extended into a Plain, at the Foot of the Mountain, is called the (u) *Blare* of *Athol*, which Word ſignifies a Soil devoid of Trees.

(r) *Tay*, the greateſt River in *Scotland*.

(s) *Loch-Tay* Twenty four Miles long.

(t) *Athol*.

(u) *Blare* of *Athol*.

Below *Athol*, on the Right ſide of the River *Tay*, ſtands the Town of (w) *Caledonia*, which yet retains its Ancient Name, though vulgarly called *Dunkelden*, (i. e.) an Hill full of Haſel-Trees. For thoſe Trees, growing thick in ſuch unmanured places, and ſhadowing the Country, like a Wood, gave Name both to the Town, and alſo to the People thereabouts. For the *Caledons*, or *Caledonians*, heretofore one of the famouſeſt Nations amongſt the *Britains*, made up one part of the Kingdom of the *Picts*, as we may be informed by (x) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who divides the *Picts* into Two Tribes; *i. e.* The *Caledones* and the *Vecturiones*, though at this Day there is hardly any Footſtep left of either of thoſe Two Names.

(w) *Caledonia*, *i. e. Dunkel*, or *Dunkelden*, Why ſo called?

(x) *Ammianus Marcellinus* divides the *Picts* into *Caledons* and *Vecturions*.

Twelve Miles below *Dunkelden*, on the ſame Right-hand Bank of the *Tay*, ſtands (y) *Perth*, otherwiſe called St. *Johnſtons*. And on the Left-Bank of the *Tay*, below *Athol*, towards the Eaſt, ſtands (z) *Gowry*, a County abounding with rich Corn-Fields.

(y) *Perth* on the South of *Tay*, called St. *Johnſton's*, from St. *John* the Evangeliſt, its Patron.

(z) *Gowry*-land is the fartheſt Eaſt-point of *Perthſhire*; the Plain thereof is called the *Carſs* of *Gowry*, and the Hilly part the *Brae*

Below *Gowry*, between the *Tay* and the *Eſk*, is extended (a) *Angus*, or, as the *Highlanders* call it, *Æneia*; ſome call it *Horeſtia*, or, according to the Engliſh Dialect, *Foreſtia*. In it there are theſe two Cities, (b) *Cowper*, and that which *Boetius*, to gratifie his Countrymen, ambitiouſly calls (c) *Deidonum*, but, I think, the old Name thereof was (d) *Taodunum*, *i. e. Dundee*, from *Dune*, *i. e.* an Hill ſituated by the River *Tay*; for at the Foot of that Hill the Town is built.

an Abby near

of *Gowry*. (a) *Angus*, called alſo *Æneia*, *Horeſtia*, and *Foreſtia*. (b) Wherein there was the Water *Ila*. (c) The Gift of God. (d) *Dundee* called *Taodunum*, and why?

Fourteen Miles beyond the *Tay*, in a direct Line along the Shore, we meet with the Town of (e) *Aberbrothock*, sometimes called *Abrinca*. Then follows the Promontory, called (f) *Red-Head*, which shews it self at a very great distance. The River *South-Esk* runs through the middle of *Angus*; and the *North-Esk* divides it from the *Mearns*. The (g) *Mearns* is, for the most part, a plain and level Country, till it toucheth Mount *Grampius*, beyond the little Town of *Fordun*, and *Dunotter*, a Castle belonging to the Earls of *Marshal*: Then it grows lower and lower, declining towards the Sea. Beyond *Mearn*, towards the North, is the River (h) *Die*, commonly called *Diemonth*; and about a Mile beyond it, is the River (i) *Don*. Upon the *one*, there stands (k) *Aberdone*, a Town famous for Salmon-Fishing; and upon the *other*, stands (k) *Aberdee*, (for so 'tis called in old Records) where the Bishops-See is, and also a Flourishing University: But now adays both Towns are distinguished only by the Names of Old and New (k) *Aberdene*.

(e) It stands near the Sea, on a little Brook in *Angus*, called *Broth ck*.
(f) *Ridhead*, or *Reedhead*.
(g) Called the Sheriffdom of *Mearns*, lying betwixt *Dye* and *North-Esk*.
(h) Or *Dee*.
(i) It ariseth in *Strathdon*, the Hilly part of *Marr*, and falls into the *German* Sea, at old *Aberdene*.

(k) *Aberdene*, standing on the *Don*; and *Aberdee*, standing on the *Dee*, or *Dye*, now both called *Old* and *New Aberdene*.

From this narrow Front, between those two Rivers, begins (l) *Marr*, which growing wider and wider by degrees, extends it self 60 Miles in length, even unto *Badenach*. (m) *Badenach* is all full of Hills and Mountains, which sends forth Rivers into both Seas.

(l) *Marr*, hath the *German* Ocean on the East; *Dee*, on the South; *Badenach*, on the West; and *Bamffshire*, on the North.
(m) Or *Badenoch*, a continued Ridge of Hills.

(n) *Abyr* borders upon *Badenach*, it declines gently towards the *Deucaledonian* Sea; a Country (for a *Scotish* one) very much abounding with all Land and Sea-Commodities: As it is fruitful in Corn and Pasture, so it is also very pleasant by reason of its shadowy Groves, and the delightful Fountains, Brooks and Rivulets, which glide along through it. As for the Multitude of Fish, hardly any County in *Scotland* can compare therewith: For, besides the plenty of Fresh-water Fish, which so many Rivers do afford, the Sea also contributes its Dole of Salt-water ones; piercing, in a long Chanel, through the level part of the Country, and there being somewhat curbed and pent in by the higher boundary of the Land, for some space, at length it diffuses and spreads it self abroad again, representing the form of a *Meer*, or rather *Loch*. Hence 'tis called *Abyr*; i. e. in our Country Language, *A Road for Ships*: They give also the same Name to the Country thereabouts; those that affect to speak after the *English* mode call both, *i. e.* That Bay of the Sea, and the Country too, *Loch-Abyr*, but mistakingly and without ground. These three Counties (o) *Abyr*, *Badenach* and *Marr*, do take up all the bredth of *Scotland* between the two Seas, the *Deucaledonian* and the *German*.

(n) Called *Loch-Abyr*, from a little *Loch* lying in the midst of a shaking Bog, over against *Enver-Lochie*, or, as some call it, *Inner-lochie*.

(o) The three Counties of *Loch-Abyr*, *Badenach*, and *Marr*, comprehend the Bredth of *Scotland* betwixt both Seas.

On the North, next to *Marr*, stands (p) *Buchan*, divided from it by the River *Don*; it stretcheth out it self fartheſt of any County in *Scotland*, into the *German* Sea: 'Tis Rich in Pasture, and in a good breed of Sheep; and is able to maintain it self with all Conveniencies for the support of Life. The Rivers in it abound with Salmon; and yet (which is strange) there is one of its Rivers, called (q) *Ratra*, that hath not a Salmon in it. On the Shore of *Ratra*, there

(p) *Buchan* abounds with Salmon.
(q) The Water of *Ratra*, in *Buchan*, hath no Salmons in it.

there is a ſtrange kind of (r) Cave, the Nature whereof I cannot paſs over in ſilence. The Water therein drops down from a natural Vault or Arch, and is turned into Pyramids of Stone, inſomuch that if Men did not cleanſe it ever and anon, the whole ſpace, to the very Roof, would be quickly petrified and filled up. The Stone thus concreted is of a middle Nature, between Stone and Ice; for it is friable, and never arrives at the hardneſs and ſolidity of Marble. When I was at (s) *Tholouſe*, about the Year of our Lord 1544. I was informed by creditable Perſons, that there was a Cave in the Neighbouring *Pyrenæan* Hills, altogether like This in *Scotland*.

Beyond *Buchan* to the North, lie two ſmall Counties, (t) *Boin* and (u) *Ainy*, which reach to the River *Spey*, that ſeparates them from *Murray*. As for the River (w) *Spey*, That hath its riſe in the ridge of Hills in *Badenach*, of which I have made mention before; and not far from the Fountain thereof, is a (x) Loch, which ſends forth a River called (y) *Lochtee*, which roles it ſelf into the Weſt-Sea. At the Mouth thereof (as they ſay) there was once a Noble Town, called (z) *Inner-Lochtie*, borrowing its Name from the Loch aforeſaid. The Truth is, if you conſider the Nature of the Neighbouring Soil, and the conveniency of Tranſporting and Carriadge by Sea, it is a place very fit for a Mart-Town: And our Ancient Kings, tempted and invited by thoſe conveniencies, made their abode there for ſome Ages, in the Caſtle of (a) *Evonia*, which ſome do falſely perſuade themſelves to be (b) *Dunſtafnage*; For the Rubbiſh and Ruins of that Caſtle are yet to be ſeen in *Lorn*. There are ſome ſmall Counties, lying betwixt *Buchan* and the Weſt-Sea, but having ſcarce any thing remarkable in them, I ſhall not waſte time to deſcribe them.

Beyond the *Spey*, even unto the River *Neſs*, there follows (c) *Murray*, heretofore (as 'tis thought) called *Varar*. Between thoſe two Rivers, (the *Spey* and the *Neſs*) the German Ocean doth (as it were) drive the Land backward to the Weſt, and ſo, with a vaſt Bay, doth abridge the largeneſs thereof. This whole Country (for the higneſs of it) abounds with Corn and Paſturage; but as for Pleaſantneſs, and the profit ariſing from Fruit-bearing Trees, it bears away the Bell from all the other Countries in *Scotland*. It hath two Eminent Towns in it, *Elgin* and *Inverneſs*: (d) *Elgin* ſtands on the River *Leſſie*, and as yet retains its Ancient Name. (e) *Inverneſs* is ſituate by the River *Neſs*, which iſſues out of (f) *Loch-Neſs*, a Loch 24 Miles long; the Water thereof is almoſt always warm, and all the year long 'tis never ſo Cold as to Freeze; yea, in the ſharpeſt Winter that is, if Flakes of Ice are conveyed into it, they will quickly be thawed by the warmth of its Waters.

Beyond *Loch-Neſs* towards the Weſt, there are only (g) eight Miles of Continent, interjacent; ſo ſmall a Portion of Ground hinders the Conjunction of the two Seas, and conſequently the making of the reſt of *Scotland* an Iſland; for all that ſpace of Land, which lies betwixt that narrow Neck and the *Deucaledonian* Sea, is cut off from the reſt by ſeveral Bays of the Sea, breaking into it.

(r) An unuſual Cave, turning Water into Stone.

(s) The like Cave at *Tholouſe* in *Languedock*.

(t) South of *Bamff* on the Sea-Coaſt.

(u) *Ainy* lying on the South of the *Spey*.

(w) Or *Spay*, it watereth *Badenach* and *Strath-Spey*, and falls into the German Ocean near *Gormach*.

(x) *Loch-Louch*.

(y) *Lochty*, or rather *Louchty*.

(z) Or, *Enver-Lochty*, ſtanding on the Weſt-ſide of the Mouth of the River *Lochty*, in *Loch-Abyr*.

(a) A Caſtle on an high Rock in *Lorn*, of old the Habitation of the Scotch Kings.

(b) *Evonia* is not *Dunſtafnage*.

(c) *Murray*-Land, ſome call it *Moreſſ* land, from *More*, the Sea, and *Reſs*, bent

(d) A Chief Town in *Murray*, within four Miles of the Sea.

(e) Or *Enverneſs*, on the South-ſide of the *Neſs*, where it falls into *Murray* Firth.

(f) It is a narrow and deep Loch, ariſing near the Weſt-Sea, in *Glendulphin*; the Water thereof never freezeth, perhaps becauſe encompaſſed with high Rocks and Mountains, which keep off the ſeverity of the cold Air.

(g) Where *Scotland* is narroweſt; *i. e.* but 8 Miles broad between Loch and Loch, or Sea and Sea.

*

That

That part of the Country, which lies beyond *Loch-Ness*, and those narrow Streights, or Neck of Land, before-mentioned, is wont to be divided into four Provinces or Shires, *viz. Ross*, *Strath-Navern*, *Sutherland*, and *Caithness*; [(*h*) *Navern*, or, as commonly called, *Strath-Navern*, taking its Name from the River *Navern*] Beyond the Mouth of *Ness*, where it disembogues it self into the *German* Sea, lies (*i*) *Ross*, which runs out into the Sea with very high Promontories, as the Name it self shews, for *Ross*, in the *Scotish* Dialect, signifies a Promontory. This Province hath more of Length, than Bredth, in it, for it reaches from the *German*, quite home to the *Caledonian*, Sea: Where it is Mountainous, 'tis barren and untilled; but the Plains thereof scarce yield to any part of *Scotland* for Fruitfulness. It hath also many pleasant Valleys in it, which are Watered with Rivers, full of Fish, together with several *Lochs*, well-stored with Fish. But the greatest of them all is *Loch-Loubrun*. From the *Deucaledonian* Sea, the Shore grows somewhat narrower, and turns back towards the North-East: From the opposite Shore, the *German* Sea, making its way between the Clefts of high Rocks, within Land, expands it self into a spacious Bay, which affords a safe Harbour, and Road, for Ships, against all Storms; for the Passage into it is not dangerous, and when you are once entred, even the greatest Ships, that are, may be secure from all Injury of Wind and Weather.

At the farthest point of *Ross*, towards the North, lies (*k*) *Navern*, so called from the River (*l*) *Navern*, which the Vulgar, following the Propriety of their Country Speech, call (*k*) *Strath-Navern*. *Ross* bounds it on the South; The *Deucaledonian* Sea washeth it, West and North; And on the East it reaches to *Caithness*.

(*m*) *Sutherland* is so interjected between the three last mentioned Provinces, that it borders on them All, and, in some Quarter or other, touches them all: For on the West of it lies *Strath-Navern*; On the South and East, *Ross*; And on the North, *Caithness*. The Inhabitants thereof, according to the Nature of the Soil, are more given to Pasturage than Tillage. I know no remarkable thing in it, save only that it hath some (*n*) Mountains of White Marble, (a rare Miracle, in so cold a Country) which yet are of little or no use to the Inhabitants, because That luxuriant Humour, which affects Curiosity, hath not yet reached to this Place.

(*o*) *Caithness* is the last Province of *Scotland*, towards the North, in which Coast *Strath-Navern* also meets It. These Two Counties do contract the Bredth of *Scotland* into a narrow Front. In that Front, there are Three high Promontories: The highest of them all is in *Strath-Navern*, which *Ptolomy* calls (*p*) *Orca*, or *Tarvedrum*, now (*p*) *Farrow-Head*; The other Two are in *Caithness*, but not so high as the former; *i. e. Vervedrum*, now called (*q*) *Hoia*, *i. e. Strathy-Head*; and *Betubium*, (*Dunsbey-Head*) falsly called by *Hector Boetius*, *Dume*; some call it *Duncani-Bei*, from which word, some Letters being substracted, the word *Duns-Bei* seems to be derived. At the Foot of the Hill there is a small Bay, which little Vessels, coming

(*b*) This Clause betwixt the two Crotchets, seems to have been inserted here by the mistake of the Transcriber; for the whole of it is mentioned by and by, in its proper place.

(*i*) *Ross* is a Shire that extends it self, cross ways, from the East, to the West, Sea, which no County in *Scotland* doth, besides.

(*k*) *Navern*, or *Strat-Navern*.

(*l*) It ariseth in *Sutherland*, and running strait North, frameth *Loch-Navern*, and falls into the *Deucaledonian* Sea at *Inver-Nava*, or *Inver-Navern*, as some call it, West of *Vervedrum*, or *Strathy-Head*.

(*m*) A Name given it by the *Picts*, as some think: It hath *Assin-Shire* also to the West of it.

(*n*) Mountains of White Marble in *Sutherland*.

(*o*) *Caithness*, the most Northern Shire in *Scotland*.

(*p*) *Farrow-Head*, is the farthest North-West point of *Scotland*, lying in the small *Bar-da-cheules*.

(*q*) Because *Strathy-Head* is, by some, reckoned to be in *Strath-Navern*, not in *Caithness*, therefore they make *Hoia* to be the Hill of *Hoy* in *Caithness*, which hath a Fountain at Top, and, at its Bottom, bubbles forth a River, that runs to the Town of *Wick* in *Caithness*, the usual Port for Ships to and from the *Orcades*.

ing from the *Orcades*, uſe as an Haven or Port. For a Bay of the Sea is *there* called *Bei*. And this Creek, or Bay, being called by the Neighboring Inhabitants the *Bei* of *Duncan*, or *Donach*; from both thoſe words conjoyned, the Country Language hath formed * *Dunis-Bei*.

In this Tract, *Ptolomy* places the (r) *Cornavii*, (or *Caithneſs*-men) ſome Footſteps of which Name do yet remain, for they commonly call the Caſtle of the Earls of *Caithneſs*, (s) *Gernico*; for thoſe whom *Ptolomy*, and other Foreiners call *Cornavii*, the *Britains* call *Kernici*. And ſeeing he places the *Cornavii*, not in this Tract only, but even in a far diſtant part of the Iſland, *viz.* *Cornwal* in *England*; they who retain the old *Britiſh* Speech, do yet call the ſame perſons, *Kernici*: And, perhaps, 'tis no abſurd conjecture, to imagine, that the *Cornovalli* are ſo called for (t) *Kernicovalli*, (*i. e.*) the *Kernic-Gauls*, yea, in the very midſt of the Iſland, ſome footſteps, thô obſcure ones, of the Name ſeem to have remained. For *Bede* writes, that the beginning of the Wall of *Severus* was not far diſtant from the Monaſtery of (a) *Kebercurnig*; whereas there is now no ſign of a Monaſtery in thoſe parts; but there remains not far from thence, the halfe-ruined Caſtle of the *Duglaſſes*, called (b) *Abrecorn*: Whether both of thoſe words, or only one of them, be corrupted from *Kernicus*, I leave to the Reader to judge.

It remains now, that I ſpeak ſomthing concerning the *Iſlands* of *Scotland*, (which Part of the *Britiſh Hiſtory* is involved with abundance of miſtakes.) But omitting the Ancients, who have delivered nothing certain on this Subject, I ſhall only inſiſt on what the *Writers* of our times have, more truly and plainly, acquainted us with. Of all the Iſlands, which do, as it were, begirt *Scotland*, they make three (c) Claſſes or Ranks, The *Weſtern*, the *Orcades*, and the *Zealandiſh*, or *Shetland*, Iſlands.

Thoſe are called the (d) *Weſtern* Iſles, which lye between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, on the Weſt of *Scotland*, in the *Deucaledonian* Sea, and do reach almoſt to the Iſles of *Orkney*, or *Orcades*. They, who have written of the *Britiſh* Affairs, either now, or in the Age before us, call them *Hebrides*, a new Name, of which there are no Footſteps, or any Original, in *Ancient Writers*. For, in that Tract of the Sea, ſome Authors place the *Æbudæ*, or *Æmodæ*, but with ſuch inconſtancy amongſt themſelves, that they ſcarce ever agree in their Number, Situation, or Names. *Strabo* (to begin with the moſt Ancient) may be the better excuſed, becauſe he followed uncertain Report, That part of the World being not fully diſcovered, in his time. (e) *Mela* reckons the *Æmodæ* to be Seaven, *Martianus Capella* makes the *Acmodæ* to be as many; *Ptolomy* and *Solinus* count the *Æbudæ*, Five; *Pliny* numbers the *Acmodæ* to be Seaven; and the *Æbudæ* Thirty. I, for my part, think it fit to retain the Names moſt uſed by the *Ancients*, and therefore I call all the *Weſtern* Iſles (f) *Æbudæ*; and I purpoſe to deſcribe the Site, Nature, and Commodities of every one of them, as out of *Later*, ſo out of *Surer*, Authors.

In performing this Task, I will principally follow (g) *Donald Monro*, a Pious and Diligent Perſon, who himſelf Travelled over all thoſe *Iſlands*, and viewed them Ocularly. They lye diſperſed in the *Deucaledonian Sea*, being above Three hundred and odd, in number.

* or *Dungisby*.

(r) The *Cornavii* in *Caithneſs* in *Scotland*, and in *Cornwal* in *England*, too.

(s) Now Caſtle *Sinclare*.

(t) *Kernicovalli*, Who?

(a) *Kebercurnig*.

(b) *Abrecorn*, or *Abercorn*.

(c) The Iſlands of *Scotland* divided into three ranks, with their ſeveral Names. *viz.* 1ſt. *Weſtern*, 2. *Orcades*, or *Orkny*, 3 *Schetland*, Iſles.

(d) Weſtern-Iſles, called *Hebrides*, *Æmodæ*, and *Æbudæ*.

(e) Their Number according to *Mela*, *Capella*, *Ptolomy*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*.

(f) The Name *Æbudæ*, moſt approved by this Author.

(g) *Donald Monro*, ſometime Dean of *Murray*, Travelled over the Iſlands of *Scotland*, and deſcribed them.

ber. The *Kings of Scotland* were Masters of them, time out of mind, until *Donald*, the Brother of *Malcolm* the Third, yielded up the possession of them to the Kings of *Norway*; that, by his Aid, he might forcibly seize upon the *Crown* of *Scotland*, to which he had no Right. The *Danes* and *Norwegians* enjoyed them about One hundred and sixty years, until, being overcome in a great Battel, they were outed of them by (*h*) *Alexander* the Third, *King* of *Scotland*. These Islanders, either confiding in their strength, or else egg'd on and induced by Sedition, have some time endeavoured to vindicate their Liberty, and to set up *Kings* of their own; For of late, *John* of the Family of the *Donalds*, as well as others before him, usurped the Name of King. (*i*) In their Diet, Habit, and the whole Administration of their Domestick Affairs, they use the Ancient Parsimony. Hunting and Fishing afford them Food. They boil their Flesh in Water poured either into the Paunch, or into the Skin, of the Beasts, they kill; and in Hunting they sometime eat raw Flesh, when the Blood is squeezed out. The Broth of boiled Flesh-meat is their Drink. They sometimes drink Whey very greedily in their Feasts, after it hath been kept, in proper Vessels, for some years. That kind of Drink they call (*k*) *Blandium*: But for the most part of them, they drink Water. They make their Bread of Oats and Barley, (for they have no other Grain growing in those parts,) which is not unpleasant to the Taste; and, by frequent use, they are very expert at making and moulding of it. In the Morning they eat a little of it, and so go a Hunting; or, if they have any other work to do, they are content with that light Breakfast, and Fast till the Evening. They use party-coloured Garments, and especially strip'd Plads. Of all Colours they love the Purple and the Blew, most. Their Ancestors wear Party-coloured Plads, variously striped, which custom some of them do still retain. But, now-a-days, many of them wear their Apparel of a dark brown colour, almost like *Heath*, that so, lying in the *Heath-bushes*, they might not, in the day-time, be discovered by their Cloaths. Being rather loosly happ'd, than closely covered, with this sort of Blanketing, they endure the fiercest weather, even in the open Air, and sometime they sleep in them, thô cover'd all over with Snow. In their Houses, they also lye on the Ground, only they lay under them *Fern* or *Heath*, which they place with their roots downward, and their brush upwards, so prettily, that their Beds are almost as soft as a Featherbed, but far more wholsom. For * *Heath* being endued with a Natural power of exiccation, doth exhaust superfluous Humors, and restores vigor to the Nerves, after it hath freed them from such noxious Guests; so that they, who lye down in the Evening weary and faint, in the Morning rise up nimble and spritely. They are all of them very regardless of their Bed-Ticks and Coverlets; yea, they affect an uncouth slovinglyness therein; for, if any occasion, or necessity, cause them to Travel into other parts; when they go to Bed, they throw the Bed and Blankets of their Hosts on the ground, and wrap themselves up in their own Garments, so betaking themselves to their Rest; the Reason they give, is, lest such barbarous effeminateness (for so they call it) should taint and corrupt their Native

(*h*) *Alexander* the 3d. King of *Scotland*, drove the Danes and Normans out of these Islands, after they had possest them about 160 years.

(*i*) The Disposition, Customs, &c. of their Inhabitants.

(*k*) *Blandium*, an old Drink made of Whey, clarified with Herbs.

* Heath, its Nature.

tive and inbred hardiness. In War, they cover their Bodies with Iron Helmets and a Coat of Mail, made of Iron Rings, reaching almost down to their Anckles. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, for the most part *hooked*, the Iron barbs standing out on both sides, which cannot be drawn out of the Body, they pierce, unless the Orifice of the wound be made very wide: Some of them Fight with broad Swords, and Poleaxes. Instead of a *Trumpet*, they use a *Bag-Pipe*. They are much given to *Musick*, but on Instruments, of a peculiar kind, called *Clarshachs*; of which, some have Strings made of Brass-Wire; others, of Guts, which they strike either with their long Nails or with a Quill. Their only ambition is, to deck their *Fiddles* with very much Silver and Jewels. The meaner sort, instead of Jewels, use *Chrystal*. They sing Songs, not unelegant, containing commonly the Elogies of Valiant Men; and their *Bards* ordinarily handle no other Argument. Their Language is some what like the old *Gawlish*.

These Islands of *Scotland*, which use the Antient Tongue; and are called the *Western* or *Ebuda* Isles are thus usually reckoned. The first of them is (*l*) *Mana*, by some falsly called *Mona*, but by the ancient *Eubonia*; *Paulus Orosius* calls it *Mevania*, or rather *Menavia*; for in the old Language, 'tis called *Manim*. The last Age call'd the Town in it (*m*) *Sodora*, in which the Bishop of the Islands had his See. It is a Province almost equally distant from *Ireland*, from *Galloway* in *Scotland*, and from *Cumberland* in *England*: It is Twenty four Miles long and Eight broad.

(*l*) Isle of *Man* called *Mana*, *Eubonia*, *Mevania*, *Manim*.

(*m*) *Sodora* in *Man*, once the Bishop of the Islands See.

The next Isle arising in the Firth of *Clyde* is (*n*) *Alsa*, or *Ailze*, an high and precipitous Rock, excepting only one plain passage into it. It is uninhabited almost all the year, but only at certain Seasons, a great number of Skiffs and Busses flock thither to Fish for Cod and Whiting. It abounds with Conies and Sea-Fowl, but especially with (*o*) *Soland-Geese*. It is almost equally distant from *Carrick* on the South-East; from *Ireland*, on the South-West; and from *Cantyre* on the North-West: The Isle (*p*) of *Arran* is situate Twenty four Miles from *Ailze*, inclining towards the North, it is Twenty four Miles long and Sixteen broad; 'tis full of high Craggy Mountains, so that only the Sea-Coasts thereof are inhabited; where it is lowest, the Sea breaks into it, and makes a great Bay, the entrance whereof is shut in by the Island *Molas*, *i. e.* (*q*) *Lamlach* or *Lamlash*. So that by reason of the height of the Mountains, which break the force of the Wind, it is, within, a very safe Harbour for Shipping; and there is such plentiful Fishing in those Waters, which are perpetually Calm, that if the Inhabitants catch more than what will serve them for one day, they throw them again into the Sea, as into a safe Trunk or a Fish-pond, to be thence taken out at their pleasure.

(*n*) *Ailze*.

(*o*) abounds with *Soland Geese*.

(*p*) Or, *Arran*.

(*q*) *Lamlach*.

Not far from *Arren* lies a small Island called *Flada* (*r*) or *Fladda*, which is full of Rabbets. (*s*) *Boot* Isle, being Eight Mile long and Four broad, is situate more inwardly in the Firth of *Clyde*, and is Eight Miles distant from *Arran*, aforesaid, on the North-East. On the North-West, 'tis distant from *Argyle* about half a Mile; on the East, from *Cuningham*, Six Miles. 'Tis all in a manner Low-Land, and so, very convenient for Corn and Pasturage. It hath but one Town

(*r*) *Flada*.

(*s*) *Boot* Isle.

Town in it, bearing the Name of the Island; and in it an old Castle Named (t) *Rothsey*. It hath also another Castle at the Bay, called in the Country Language, *Cames*, or (u) *Keames* Castle. On the South-West thereof, is the low Island (w) *Mernoch*, for the bigness thereof fruitful enough, and well Cultivated, it is a Mile long and half a Mile broad. More inward in the Firth of *Clyde*, are the two (x) *Cumbras*, the greater and the lesser, at a small distance one from another; the greater abounding with Corn; the lesser with Fallow-Deer.

(t) *Rothsey* Castle.
(u) *Keames* Castle.
(w) *Mernoch*.
(x) *Cumbras*, Two.

From the Promontory of *Cantyre*, a little more than a Mile, lies *Avona*, now (y) *Sanda*, called *Portuosa*, i. e. fit for a Port, it got that Name from being a Road for Ships; for when the *Danes* possessed those Islands, their Fleets directed their Course thither for Shelter. From the same Promontory to the South-West, over against the *Irish* shoar stands (z) *Rahglin*; as also Four Miles from *Cantyre*, is a small Island called (a) *Cara*; and not far there from (b) *Gaga*, Six Miles long, and a Mile and a half broad.

(y) *Sanda*.
(z) *Rahglin* near *Ireland*.
(a) *Cara*.
(b) *Gaga*.

The Island of (c) *Jura* is distant Twelve Miles from *Gaga*, being in length Twenty four Miles: It's Maritime parts are inhabited well enough; but, being Woody inwardly, it abounds with several Sorts of Deer. Some think it was anciently called *Dera*, which in the Gothish Language signifies a *Stag*. Two Miles distant from *Jura*, lies (d) *Scarba*, in length from East to West four Miles, in breadth, one; 'tis Inhabited but in few places. The Tide is so violent between *It* and *Jura*, that there is no passage neither with Sails nor Oars, but at certain Seasons only.

(c) *Jura*, a large Island, formerly called *Dera*, and why?
(d) *Scarba*.

After This, there are many Islands of (e) less note, spread up and down, as *Bellach* or *Genisteria*, *Gewrasdil*, *Lunga*, both the *Fiola's* or *Findlas's*; also the three *Garvillans*, distinguished by their respective (f) Sirnames; then *Culbrenin*, *Dunconnel*, *Luparia*, *Belhac*, *Whoker*, *Gavin*, *Luing*, *Seil*, and *Suin*, these Three last named are fruitful enough in Corn and Cattle, and are under the Jurisdiction of the Earls of *Argyle*. The next to these is *Slata*, or (g) *Sleach*, so called, because out of a Rock therein, Tyles, named *Slats*, are cut and extracted. Then follow *Naosg*, *Easdale*, *Schanni*, and the Isle called (h) *Tyan*, from an Herb, which is prejudicial to Fruits, not unlike *Guild* or *Loose-strife*, but that 'tis of a more dilute Colour; then *Vridich* and the *Rye* Island. Then *Dow*, i. e. the black Island; and the Island *Eglish*, or of the Church and *Triarach*; after these follow the Islands, *Ard* or *High*, *Ishol*, *Green*, *Heath*, as also *Tree*, *Goat*, *Coney*-Isles, and that which is called the Island of the *Otiosi* and *Erisbach*; as also (i) *Lismore*, in which, heretofore, there was the Bishop of *Argyle*'s See; it is eight Miles in length, two in bredth, in it there are found Metals, besides the Commodities common to other Isles. Then succeed *Ovilia*, and *Siuna*, *Ilan na Port*, and *Geirach*, as also *Falda*, the Isle of *Cloich*, *Gramry*; the Islands *More*, *Ardiescara*, *Musadil*, and *Bernera* heretofore called the Holy Sanctuary, the Noble *Tew-Isle*, *Molochasgar* and *Drinacha*, which is all covered over with Thorns, Elder, and the Ruins of great Houses, then another Isle *Drinach*, which is full of Wood; also *Ramsay* and *Karrera*.

(e) Many lesser Islands, with their Names.
(f) *Garvillan Viska*, *Garvillan More*, and *Garvillan Beg*.
(g) *Sleach*.
(h) *Tyan*.
(i) Once the Bishop of *Argyle*'s See.

The

(k) *Yla*, a large Island.

The greateſt Iſland of the Weſtern ones, next to *Jura*, is (k) *Yla*, which is Twenty four Miles long, and Sixteen broad; it is extended from South to North; and is very fruitful in Cattel, Corn, Deer, and Lead, there is a River of freſh Water in it, called (l) *Avonlaggan*, as alſo a Bay of Salt Water, in which are ſundry Iſlands; beſides, it hath a Lough of freſh Water, in which there is an Iſland called (m) *Finlagan*, which heretofore was the chief of all the Iſlands, in which the Prince of the Iſlanders, aſſuming the Name of *King*, was wont to dwell. Neer to that but leſſer, is the Iſland called * *Ilan na-Covihaſlop*, called alſo the Iſland of Council, for there was a Court in it, wherein Fourteen of the cheif Men did daily ſit for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Determining matters of Controverſie, whoſe great Equity and Moderation procured Peace, both Foreign and Domeſtick; and as a concomitant of Peace, the affluence of all things. (n) Between *Ila* and *Jura* there is ſeated a ſmall Iſland called *Rock* Iſle, taking its Name from an heap of Stones therein; moreover on the South ſide of *Ila*, lie theſe Iſlands, *Chourna*, *Maalmori*, *Oſrim*, *Bridi*, *Corſhera*, the Iſland *Iſhol*, *Immerſi*, *Bethick*, *Texa*, *Gearach*, *Naoſg*, *Rinard*, *Cana*, *Tarskeir*, *Achnar*, the Iſle *More*, the Iſland reſembling the Figure of a Man, the Iſland *Jean*, and *Stachabadda*; at the Weſt corner of *Yla* ſtands *Overſa*, there alſo the Sea is very raging, not paſſable for Ships but at certain Hours. The Iſland *Channard*, and toward the North-Weſt are ſituate *Vſabraſt*, and *Tanaſt*, *Naomph*, and the Iſland *Banni*; Eight Miles from *Yla*, more toward the North, lies *Overſa*, next to it *Porcuria*, and half a Mile from *Overſa*, lies *Collonſa*.

(l) *Avonlaggan*.

(m) *Finlagan*, once the Seat of the Prince of the Iſlands.

* *Ilan na-Covihaſlop*, called alſo the Iſland of Council, and why?

(n) Many ſmall Iſlands between *Ila*, and *Jura*, with their Names.

(o) *Mull* a, large Iſland.

Beyond *Collonſa* to the North lies *Mull*, (o) twelve Miles diſtant from *Yla*. This Iſland is Twenty four Miles in length, and as many in breadth; 'tis Craggy, yet not wholly devoid of Corn. It hath many Woods in it, and great Herds of Deer, and a Port ſafe enough for Ships; over againſt *Icolumkill* it hath two large Rivers full of Salmon, beſides other leſſer Rivers, not without Fiſh; it hath alſo two Loughs, in each of which are ſeveral Iſlands, and Caſtles in them all. The Sea, breaking into it in divers places, makes four Bays, all abounding with Herrings. On the South-Weſt is ſeated (p) *Calaman*, or the Iſland of *Doves*; on the North-Eaſt ſtands (q) *Erra*, both theſe Iſlands are Commodious for Cattle, Corn, and Fiſhing.

(p) *Calaman*.
(q) *Erra*.

(r) *Icolumkill*.

The Iſland of (r) *Icolumkill* is diſtant from them two Miles; it is Two Miles long, and above a Mile broad, fruitful in all things, which that Climate can produce, and famed for as many ancient Monuments, as could be well expected in ſuch a Country; but it was made yet more famous by the ſevere Diſcipline and Holineſs of St. *Columbus*. It was beautified with two Monaſteries, one of Monks the other of *Nuns*; with one (s) *Curia*, or (as they call it,) a Pariſh Church, and with many Chapels, ſome of them built by the Magnificence of the *Kings* of *Scotland*; and others by the Petty Kings of the Iſlands; in the old *Monaſtery* of * St. *Columbus*, the Biſhops of the Iſlanders placed their See; their ancient Manſion Houſe, which was before in the Iſle of *Man*, being taken by the Engliſh. There remains as yet, among the ancient Ruins, a Church-yard or Burying place, common to all the Noble Families which dwelt in the *Weſtern Iſlands*.

* *Columbus*, his Monaſtery.

(s) *Curia*, a Pariſh Church.

Islands. (t) There are three Tombs in it more eminent than the rest, at a small distance one from another, having little Shrines looking toward the East, built over them. In the West part of each of them there is a Stone with an Inscription, declaring whose Tombs they are, the middlemost of them hath this Inscription; *The Tombs of the Kings of* Scotland, for it is reported that Forty four of the *Scotish Kings* were there buried: In the Right-Hand one, there is this Title Carved, The *Tombs of the Kings of* Ireland, for Four Kings of *Ireland* are said to be interred there; that on the Left side is inscribed, The *Tombs of the Kings of* Norway, for Report says, That Eight *Kings* of that Nation were inhum'd there. In the rest of the Cœmetery, the Eminent Families of the Islands have each their Tombs apart. There are Six Islands adjacent to it, small indeed, yet not unfruitful, which have been given by ancient *Kings*, and by the Princes of the Islanders, to the Nunnery of St. *Columb.*

(t) Three Tombs or Cemeterys for the Kings of Three several Nations.

The Island (u) *Soa*, though it hath convenient Pasturage for Sheep, yet its greatest Revenue is from the *Sitting* and *Hatching* of Sea-Fowl, and especially from their Eggs. The next to that, is (w) *Nuns-Island.* Then *Rudana*; after that *Reringa*, after which follows (x) *Skanny*, distant half a Mile from *Mull*; it hath one Parish in it, but the Parishioners live mostly in *Mull*: The Shore abounds with Coneys. A Mile from *Skanny*, stands *Eorsa.* All these are under the Jurisdiction of the Monks of St. *Columbus* his Monastery.

(u) *Soa.* (w) Nuns Island. (x) *Skanny.*

Two Miles from (y) *Eorsa*, stands (z) *Ulva*, which is five Miles long, and, for its bigness, fruitful in Corn and Pasturage. It hath an Haven very commodious for Galleys, Long-Boats, or Berlins. On its South-side lies (a) *Colvansa*, the Soyl thereof is fruitful, and it hath a Wood of Hasel in it. Almost three hundred paces from it, is situate (b) *Gomedra*, two Miles long, and a Mile broad, running out from South to North. Four Miles from *Gomedra*, on the South, stands (c) *Stafa*, both of these two last-named Isles having many good Havens in them. Four Miles from hence, toward the North-West, are the two (d) *Carniburghs*, the greater and the lesser, so Fortified round about with the Precipices of Rocks, and a most rapid Current, besides; that, their Natural Strength being assisted by Art, they are impregnable. A Mile from these, is an Island whose Soil is almost all black, as being concreted out of old rotten Wood and Moss mixt together. They dry the Turff of it for Fewel, and therefore 'tis called (e) *Turff-Island*, for so they there call that sort of Earth, which the *English* call *Moss.* Then succeeds (f) *Lunga*, two Miles in length, and *Baca* half less than It. (g)

(y) *Eorsa.* (z) *Ulva.* (a) *Colvansa.* (b) *Gomedra.* (c) *Stafa.* (d) *Carniburghs*, Two. (e) Black, or Turff Island. (f) *Lunga.* (g) *Baca.*

From thence towards the West, about Six Miles distance, stands *Tirriss*, in length Eight Miles, in bredth Three, of all these Islands, most abounding with all things necessary to maintain Life; for in it is plenty of Cattle and Corn, they also get much by Fishing and the breed of Sea-Fowl. There is in it a Lake or Lough of fresh Water, and an old Castle, as also an Haven, not unsafe for Galleys and Long-Boats. Two Miles from hence stands (i) *Gunn* Isle, and at an equal distance from *Gun*, (k) *Coll*, Twelve Miles long, two broad, a very fruitful Isle. Not far from thence is (l) *Calfa*, which is almost all covered with Wood. After that, two (m) Islands follow, (m) Sirnam'd

(b) *Tirriss.* (i) *Gun* Isle (k) *Coll.* (l) *Calfa.* (m) *Charn More*, and *Charn Beg.*

nam'd *Green*, the greater and the leſſer. And as many lie, of the ſame (n) Sirnames, over againſt the Promontory of *Mull*. From it, at no great diſtance there lye two Iſlands, Sirnamed *Glaſſæ*, i. e. Sky blew; then * *Ardan Rider*, i. e. the high Iſland of the Horſeman: Next *Luparia*, or the Iſland of Wolves; after this, is the (o) Iſland *More*; from the Iſland *Coll*, toward the South, there is extended from Eaſt to Weſt, (p) *Rum*, Sixteen Miles long, Six broad, and becauſe it is inhabited but in few places, the Sea-Fowl do almoſt every where lay their Eggs up and down in the Fields; ſo that in the Spring one may take up as many of them, as he pleaſeth. In the high Rocks of *Rum*, the Soland Geeſe, ſpoken of before, are taken in great abundance. Four Miles from thence to the South-Eaſt is the Iſland * *Naich*, or of Horſes, and half a Mile from thence is * *Muick*, for its bigneſs, abounding with all neceſſaries. Falcons build their Neſts therein; and it hath alſo a Port convenient enough for Shipping. Not far from it are *Cana*, and *Egg* Iſle, ſmall, yet fruitful, Iſlands; the later abounding with Soland Geeſe.

(n) *Glaſs More* and *Glaſs Beg*.
* *Ardan Rider*.
(o) Iſland *More*.
(p) *Rum*.
* *Naich*.
* *Muick*, full of Falcons, &c.

Then there is (q) *Soavretil*, fitter for Hunting than any other Commodities of Life. Thence from North to South is extended (r) *Sky*, the greateſt of all the Iſlands about *Scotland*, as being in length Forty Two Miles; in bredth ſometimes Eight, ſometimes Twelve; in many places it is full of Mountains, which abound with Woods, and thoſe Woods are full of Paſtures. The Campagne is alſo fruitful of Corn and Cattle; and, beſides other Cattle, there are in it a great Breed of Mares. It hath five great Rivers in it, all very full of Salmon; beſides many leſſer ones, not void of Salmon, neither. The Sea penetrating on every ſide into the Land, makes many Bays of Salt-Water therein; of which Three are moſt eminent, beſides Thirteen others, all full of Herrings. It hath alſo a Lough of Freſh-Water in it, and five Caſtles. This Iſland, in the old Scotch Dialect, was called (s) *Skianacha*, *i. e.* Winged, becauſe the Promontories, between which the Sea made its Influx, did ſtretch out themſelves, as ſo many Wings; but uſe hath obtained, that 'tis now called *Sky*, *i. e.* a Wing.

(q) *Soavretil*.
(r) *Sky*, the biggeſt Iſle about *Scotland*.
(s) *Skianach*, the old name for *Sky*.

About *Sky* there lie ſcattered ſome ſmaller Iſlands, as (t) *Oranſa*, full of Corn, and Cattle; and (u) *Na gunner*, having plenty of Woods, and Conies; as alſo (w) *Paba*, infamous for Robberies, where Thieves, lurking in the Woods, do way-lay Travellers as they paſs. Then comes * *Scalpa*, ſituated Eight Miles from it to the North-Weſt, beſides other Commodities, it hath great Herds of Deer in its Woods. Between the Mouth of *Loch-Carron* and *Raarſa*, lies * *Crouling*, a Port ſafe for Ships. And from * *Scalpa*, two Miles toward the North, lies (y) *Raarſa*, ſeven Miles long, and two broad, it hath Woods of Beech-Trees in it, and many Deer in them. Half a Mile from it, is (z) *Rona*, which is quite covered over with Woods, and Heath. It hath a Port in its inmoſt Bay, noted for Pyracy, as being very commodious to ſurprize Sea-Paſſengers. And in the Mouth of the Bay, (which, from its ſhallowneſs, is called * *Gerloch*) there is an Iſland of the ſame Name. From *Rona*, ſix Miles towards the North, lies (a) *Fladda*. Two Miles from *Fladda*, is (b) *Tronta*, and

(t) *Oranſa*.
(u) *Na gunner*.
(w) *Paba*.
* *Scalpa*.
(x) *Crouling*.
(y) *Raarſa*.
(z) *Rona*.
* *Gerloch*.
(a) *Fladda*.
(b) *Tronta*.

on

on the South ſide of *Sky*, * *Oranſa*: A Mile from thence lie little (c) *Buia*, then great (c) *Buia*; and after them Five ſmall Iſlands of no note; after them follows * *Iſhol*, fruitful in Corn; and neer it is *Ovia*, then *Askerma*, and *Linadel*; and Eighty Miles from *Sky* to the North-Weſt lie, *Linga*, *Gigamena*, *Bernera*, *Megala*, *Paba*, *Flada*, *Scarpa Vervecum*, *i. e.* of *Weathers*, *Sandrera*, and (d) *Waterſa*, which, beſides other great conveniences, hath a Haven capable of holding many, and thoſe very great, Ships; whither at certain ſeaſons of the year, a great company of Fiſher-men flock together, from the Countries round about. Theſe Nine laſt Iſlands are under the Government of the Biſhop of the Iſlands. Two Miles diſtant from *Waterſa*, lies (e) *Barra*, Seven Miles in length, extending it ſelf from the South-Weſt, to the North-Eaſt, not unfruitful in Corn, but moſt noted for Cod and Whiting Fiſhing: A Bay of the Sea makes an influx into it, at a narrow Mouth; but within, it is broader and alſo round. It hath one Iſland in it, and therein a ſtrong Fort or Caſtle. In the North part of *Barra*, there ariſeth an Hill full of Graſs from top to bottom; on the top of it * riſeth a Spring of freſh Water, which flowing down in a Rivulet, carries with it into the neighbouring Sea, ſome ſmall Animals, as yet ſhapeleſs; which, in ſome ſort, though obſcurely, do repreſent thoſe Shell-fiſh we commonly call (f) *Cockles*. This part of the ſhore, to which the Borderers retire, they call the Great *Sands*; becauſe, when the Sea Ebbs, the Sand is uncovered for a Mile and more; there they dig up great Shell-fiſh, and the People there about believe it to be as a Seminary of thoſe ſhapeleſs Fiſh, which the forenamed drill carries down from its Fountain, and that they are either produced there, or, at leaſt, grow bigger in the Sea.

* *Oranſa*.
(c) *Uiia More*, (c) and *Uiia Beg*.
* Several ſmall Iſlands.
(d) *Waterſa*.
(e) *Barra*.
* A ſtrange Spring, carrying down ſhapeleſs Fiſh into the Sea.
(f) Cockles, or Periwinkles.

Between *Barra* and *Uyiſt*, lie theſe * ſmall Iſlands following, *Orbanſa*, *Ovia* or *Eoy*, *Hakerſet*, *Garulinga*, *Flada*, *Buiia* the greater, and *Buiia* the leſs, *Haia*, *Heldiſay*, *Gega*, *Linga*, *Fara*, *Fuda*, *Heath Iſland*. From theſe, towards the North, lies (g) *Uyiſt*, Thirty Miles long, and Six broad. The Tide flowing into this Iſland in two places, repreſents the appearance of Three Iſlands, but when it Ebbs, it again coaleſces into One: In it are many Lakes of freſh Water, the biggeſt of which is Three Miles long. The Sea, wearing away the Land, hath made it ſelf a paſſage into this Lough; neither can it be excluded by the Inhabitants, no not by a Jitty or Bank of Sixty Foot high, but that it inſinuates it ſelf between the Stones, not well compacted together, and there often leaves ſome ſmall Sea-Fiſh behind. There is a (h) Fiſh taken in it, in other reſpects like a Salmon, ſave that his Belly is white, and his Back black, and he is without Scales like to Salmon. Moreover, there are in it abundance of Loughs of freſh Water. It hath Caves in it covered with Heath, which are lurking places for Robbers. There are Five Pariſh-Churches in it for the performance of Holy Duties.

* Divers ſmall Iſlands.
(g) *Uyiſt* a great Iſland.
(h) A ſtrange ſort of Fiſh.

Eight Miles from thence, towards the Eaſt, lies * *Helſcher Vetularum*, ſo called, as I ſuppoſe, becauſe it belongs to the Nuns of the Iſland of *Icolumkill*. A little further towards the North, appears (i) *Havelſchyer*, to which at certain ſeaſons of the year, many *Sea-Calves*, [or *Seals*] do reſort, and are there taken. About Sixty

* *Helſcher Vetularum*.
(i) *Havelſchyer*.

* *Hirta.* Miles beyond that, to the North-West, ſtands * *Hirta*, very fruitful in Corn, Cattle, and eſpecially in Sheep, which are here fatter than in any other of the Iſlands. The Inhabitants are ignorant of all Arts, and eſpecially of Religion. After the Summer ſolſtice, the *Lord* of the Iſland ſends thither his *Proctor* or *Steward*, to gather up his Rent or Tribute, and, with him, he ſends a *Prieſt* to Baptize all the Children, which were born the year before; but if the *Prieſt* come not, then every Man (*k*) baptizeth his own Children; they pay to their Lord a certain number of *Sea-Calves* and of *Muttons*, dried in the Sun, and alſo of Sea-Fowl. The whole Iſland doth not exceed a Mile in length, and it is almoſt of equal bredth, neither can any part of it be ſeen from any neighbouring Iſland, beſides Three Mountains which are on the Shore, and theſe cannot be diſcerned neither, but from the higheſt places of other Iſlands. In thoſe Mountains there are (*l*) Sheep exceeding beautiful, but by reaſon of the Violence and Rapidneſs of the Sea-Current, and Tide, they can ſcarce be come at, by any Body.

(*k*) A Cuſtom of Baptizing once a Year.

(*l*) Large fair Sheep in *Hirta*.

But to return to *Uyiſt*; on the North Promontory thereof, there is ſituate the Iſle (*m*) *Valay*, a Mile broad and two Mile long. Between that Promontory and the Iſle *Harrick*, theſe Iſlands are interjacent, ſmall indeed, but not unfruitful, *viz.* *Soa*, *Stromoy*, *Pabaia*, *Bernera*, *Eriſay*, *Keligera*, *Saga* the leſs, *Saga* the greater, *Hermodra*, *Scarvay*, *Gria*, *Linga*, *Gillan*, *Hea*, *Hoia*, *Ferelaia*, *Soa* the leſſer, *Soa* the greater, *Iſa*, *Senna* the leſs, *Senna* the great, *Tarranſa*, *Slegana*, *Tuema*, and, above *Harick*, *Scarpa*; and due Weſt, there are Seven Iſlands, at Fifty Miles diſtance above *Lewis*, which ſome call (*n*) *Flavana*, others the *Sacred*, or Sanctuary, Iſlands, they ariſe up into Graſſy Mountains, but are void of all human Culture; neither are there in them any four-footed Beaſts, but only wild Sheep, which the Hunters catch, but eat them not when they have done. For they eſteem the Fat more palatable than the Fleſh; for the Fleſh is ſo unpleaſant, that no Man will eat it, unleſs enforced by extremity of Hunger.

(*m*) *Valay.*

* *Soa* and ſeveralſmall Iſlands.

(*n*) *Flavanæ*, in which are wild Sheep.

Furthermore, almoſt in the ſame Tract, nearer to the North, lie * *Garvellan*, *i. e.* the Craggy Iſland, *Lamba*, *Flada*, and *Kellaſa*, the two *Berneraes*, the great and the ſmall, *Kirta*, *Buiia* the little, *Buiia* the great, *Vexa*, *Pabaia*, and *Sigrama* the great, or *Cuniculoria* ſo called from its plenty of Conies, *Sigrama* the leſs, and the (*o*) Iſland of *Pygmies*; in this laſt there is a Chapel, where the bordering People do believe, that *Pygmies* were heretofore buried; for many Strangers, digging deep into the Earth, have found, and yet do find, little and round Heads, and the ſmall Bones of other parts of human Bodies, nothing derogating from the ancient Reports concerning *Pygmies*.

* *Garvellan*, and other little Iſlands.

(*o*) Iſland of *Pygmies*.

In that Shore of the Iſland *Lewis*, which looks toward the South-Eaſt, Two Bays of the Sea do break into the Land, one of which they call the South, the other the North, Lough; both of them do yield abundance of Fiſh, to thoſe which take pains to catch them, and that during the whole year. From the ſame ſhore of *Lewis*, more to the South, ſtands *Fable* Iſle, then *Adams* Iſle, then the Iſle of *Lambs*, as alſo, *Huilin*, *Viccoil*, *Havera*, *Laxa*, *Erin*, the Iſle of *Kolumkill*, *Toray*, *Iſſert*, *Scalpa*, *Flada*, and *Shevy*. At the Eaſt

* *Lewis*, &c.

ſide

side of this Island there is a subterraneous (*p*) passage, Arched at Top, longer than a Man can shoot an Arrow into: Under which Vault, small Ships use to shelter themselves, making to it, by Sails or Oars, to avoid the Violence of the Tide, which rages at the Neighbouring Promontory, with a huge Noise, to the extreme Terrour and Danger of the Mariners. More to the East, lies an Island which they call * *Schan Castle*, a place naturally fortified, abounding with Corn and Fish, and also affording sufficient Provision to the Inhabitants by Eggs of Sea-Fowl, which there make their Nests.

(*p*) A Vault able to shelter Ships in a Storm.

*Schan-Castle.

At the Shore, where (*q*) *Loch-Brien*, or *Broom*, opens to the Land, lies the Isle * *Eu*, which is almost all covered with Woods, and good for nothing but to harbour Thieves in, to rob Passengers. More to the North is the Island * *Gruinorta*, being also full of Woods, possessed by Robbers and Pyrates. And looking towards the same Coast, is an Island, named the Island of (*r*) *Cleirach*, which, beside Pasturage, abounds with the Eggs of Sea-Fowl. Next to that, is *Afulla*, and then * *Harary*, the Greater; then *Harary*, the Less; and, nigh it, the *Island of Horses*, or *Nastich*; and near that again, the Isle *Mertaika*. These Eight Islands are situate before the Mouth of the Bay, which is vulgarly called *Lough-Broom*, or *Brian*. At some distance from these Islands, which lie before *Lough-Broom*, *Harrick* and *Lewis* run toward the North; They are Sixty Miles in length, and Sixteen in bredth: These make but one Island, for they are not distinguished by the Arms of the Sea, that flow into it, but by the Meers of the Land, and the Possessions of their several Lairds: But that part, which is exposed to the South, is wont to be called *Harray*. In it there was a Monastery called * *Roadilla*, built by *Maccloyd*, of *Harray*. The Soil is fruitful of Corn, but it yields its increase rather by digging, than plowing: The Pastures in it are very fit for Sheep, especially one very high Mountain, which is green with Grass, even to the very Top. *Donald Monro*, a Learned and Pious Man, relates, That, when he was there, (*t*) he saw Sheep (for that kind of Cattle) very old, wandring up and down without any certain Owner: And the Number of them is increased from hence, that neither Fox, Wolf, or Serpent, was ever seen there; though betwixt This part and *Lewis*, great Woods are interjacent, which breed many Srags, but low ones, and not big-bodied at all. In this part of the Island, is a River very full of Salmon. In the North part lies * *Lewis*, inhabited enough towards the Shore. It hath four Parish-Churches in it, one Fort, seven great Rivers, and twelve lesser ones, all of them, according to their bigness, full of Salmons; in many places the Sea penetrates into the Land, and there diffuses it self into Bays, all abounding with plenty of Herrings. There is also great plenty of Sheep, which wander freely amongst the Thickets, and Heath-Bushes: The Inhabitants drive them into a narrow place, like a Sheep-fold, and there, every Year, they sheer them, after the ancient custom. The Champion part of the Country abounds with Heath-Bushes, in which the Earth is black at top, occasioned by Moss, and the Coalition of Rotten Wood, gathered together for many Ages, even a Foot thick. This upper Crust, being cut into long and slender Turffs, and dryed in the Sun, serves for Firing, in stead of

(*q*) *Loch-Brien* or *Broom*.
* *Eu*.
* *Gruinorta*; or *Grunord*.

(*r*) *Cleirach* or Clergy Isle.
* *Harary*, &c.

(*s*) *Harray*, or *Harrick*, and *Lewis* are but one Island, of which *Harray* is the South part.
* *Roadilla* Monastery.

(*t*) Wild Sheep in *Harray*, but no Foxes nor Wolves.

* *Lewis* is the North part of the Island.

Wood: The next Year after, the naked Ground, being Dunged with Sea-Weed, is sown with Barley. In this Island there is commonly so great a quantity of (*u*) Whales taken, that sometimes (as the old *Inhabitants* relate) Twenty seven, some very great, some smaller, fall to the share of the Priests for their Tithes. There is also a great Cave in this Island, in which, when the Tide is out, the Water is yet two Fathom deep; but when the Tide is in, 'tis above four Fathom. There Multitudes of People, of both Sexes, and of all Ages, sitting on the Rocks, with Hooks and Lines, do promiscuously catch all sorts of Fish, in great abundance.

(*u*) Whales taken in abundance about the Island *Lewis*.

There is a small Island, about Sixty Miles from *Lewis*, to the North-East, of a low and plain Soil, and well inhabited, its Name is * *Rona*, the Inhabitants thereof are rude Persons, void almost of all Religion. The Laird of it assigns a certain number of Families to Inhabit and Till it, and he allows them a sufficiency of great and small Cattle, whereby they may live well, and pay their Tribute, too; that which is above their own provision, they send every year to *Lewis*, to their Land-lord, who lives there; they commonly pay him, in the Name of a Tribute or Rent, a great quantity of Barly-Meal, sewed up in the Skins of Sheep, (for that kind of Grain grows plentifully amongst them,) Muttons and Sea-Fowl dried in the Sun, as much as remains, as a Surplusage of their yearly Provision; and if the multitude of *Heads* doth abound, they send also the Supernumerary Persons to their Land-lords. So that these, in my Judgment, are the only Persons in the whole World, who want nothing, but have all things to Satiety. And besides, being ignorant of Luxury and Covetousness, they enjoy that Innocency and Tranquillity of Mind, which others take great pains to obtain, from the Precepts and Institutions of Wise Men. And this they have from their Ignorance of Vices, neither doth any thing seem to be wanting to their great Happiness, but that they do not understand the excellency of their Condition. There is in this Island, a Chapel, dedicated to St. *Ronanus*, wherein (as old Men say,) there is a Spade always left, wherewith if any one Dye, there is alway a place marked out, and prepared for his Grave; moreover in this Island, besides other Fishery, many *Whales* are also taken.

* *Rona*, with the Condition of its Inhabitants.

(*w*) *Ronanus*, his strange Spade.

Sixteen Mile from thence, towards the West, lies the Island (*x*) *Suilkyr*; a Mile long, which brings forth no Grass, no not so much as Heath, only it hath black Rocks, some of which are covered with black Moss. Sea-Fowl do commodiously lay their Eggs, and hatch them there. Before the young are fledg'd enough to fly away, the neighbour Islanders sail thither from *Lewis*, and they allow themselves Eight days time, more or less, to cull or gather them up, untill they load their * Skiffs with their Flesh dried in the Sun, and also with their Feathers. In this *Island* also, there is a rare kind of Bird unknown in other parts, called (*y*) *Colca*, it is little less than a Goose, she comes every year thither, and there Hatches and Feeds her young, till they can shift for themselves. About that time, her Feathers fall off of their own accord, and so leaves her Naked, then she betakes her self to the Sea again, and is never seen more, till the next Spring. This also is singular in them, that their Feathers have no

(*x*) *Suilkyr*.

* Or *Berlins*.

(*y*) A rare Bird, called *Colca*.

no Quills, or Stalks, but do cover their Bodies with a gentle Down, wherein there is no Hardneſs at all.

Next follow the * *Orcades*, lying ſcattered in the North of *Scotland*, partly in the *Deucaledonian*, and partly in the *German Seas*. Concerning the Name of them, Writers, both Ancient and Modern, do well enough agree; but the reaſon of the Name, no Man (that I know) hath explained. Neither doth it appear, who firſt poſſeſſed them: All ſay, that they were of a *German Original*, but from what Nation of *Germany*, they ſay not: If we may form a conjecture from their Speech, both heretofore and now, they uſe the (z) *Gottiſh Language*. Some think, they were *Picts*, induced by this Argument, that the Sea, dividing them from *Caithneſs*, is called the *Pentland* * *Sea*, or Firth. They judge alſo, that the *Picts* themſelves were of the Race of the *Saxons*, grounding their Opinion chiefly on the Verſes of *Claudian*, in his ſeventh *Panegyrick*, which run thus:

* The *Orcad.s*.

(z) *Goths*, a People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, thence tranſplanted into *Germany* near the River *Oder* in *Sileſia*.

* Or *Pictland-Sea*.

——— *Maduerunt Saxone fuſo*
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum Tumulos flevit glacialis Jerne.

Engliſhed thus:

The Orcades *were moiſt with* Saxon's *Gore*;
The Blood of Picts, *there ſpilt, warm'd* Thule's *Shore*;
For Tombs of Scots *Icy Jern wept ſore.*

But their error may eaſily be refuted, partly out of *Bede* the *Anglo-Saxon*, who, affirming, that the *Britains* ſang the (a) Praiſes of *God* in five ſeveral Languages, reckons the *Pictiſh* to be one; but if the *Picts* had then ſpoke the *Saxon* Language, he would not have diſtinguiſhed it from the *Saxon*; (which then the *Engliſh* uſed, without corruption;) And partly alſo, out of thoſe very Verſes of *Claudian*, where he expreſly declares; That the *Picts* were a different People from the *Saxons*; For, he ſays, that the *Orcades* were the Country of the *Saxons*; and *Thule*, of the *Picts*; but whatſoever their Original were, in this our Age, they uſe a Language different both from *Scotch* and *Engliſh*, but very near the *Gothiſh*. In their daily converſation, the common People do as yet retain much of their Ancient Parſimony, and therefore they are very ſound in mind, and healthy in Body. (b) Few of them dye of Diſeaſes, but almoſt all of them, of old Age; and their Ignorance of Delights and Pleaſures contributes more to the maintaining of their health, than the Skill and Diligence of *Phyſitians* doth, to others. The ſame Parſimony makes much, both for the elegancy of their Beauties, and the talneſs of their Stature. They have but a ſmall increaſe of Corn, except only of Oats, and Barly. Out of which they extract both Bread and Drink too. Of Animals, which Herd together, they have Sheep, Kine, and divers Goats, ſo that they have abundance of Milk, Butter, and Cheeſe among them; They have alſo an innumerable company of Sea-Fowl, of which, and of Fiſhes, their Diet doth, for the moſt part, conſiſt. There is * no venemous Creature

(a) The *Britains* praiſed God in Five Tongues.

(b) The Inhabitants of the *Orcades*, Parſimonious and long-liv'd.

* No venemous Creature in the *Orcades*, nor any Tree.

ture there, no, nor any one Deformed to look upon. They have little Horſes, in ſhew contemptible, but ſtrong enough, for all uſes, even beyond belief. They have never a Tree growing, no, nor Shrub, neither, beſides Heath; which happens, not ſo much for the fault of the Soil, or Air, as of the Lazineſs of the Inhabitants, as doth eaſily appear by the roots of Trees, which, in many Places, are there digged out of the Earth. As oft as Foreigners import any Wine thither, they drink it greedily, even to exceſs. They have an Ancient Cup, or Goblet among them, which, to (procure the greater Authority to their Carouſings) they ſay, did belong to (c) *St. Magnus*, who firſt inſtructed them in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. It ſo far exceeds the bigneſs of other Drinking-bowls, that it may ſeem to have been a relick of the Feaſt of the *Lapithæ*. They try an Experiment upon their * Biſhops, at their firſt coming to them, therewith; He that can drink up a whole One, at one Draught, (which ſeldom happens) they count him a very *Nonſuch* of a Man; and do look upon it as an happy Omen and Preſage, that the Crop of the following Years will be ſuperabundant. From which practice of theirs, a Man may eaſily conjecture, that their Parſimony which I ſpake of, proceeds not ſo much from Reaſon and Choice, as from Penury and Want; and the ſame neceſſity which produced it at firſt, did perpetuate, and tranſmit, it to their poſterity; Till, the Neighbor-Nations being corrupted by prevailing Luxury, their Ancient Diſcipline was, by degrees, weakned and impaired, and They alſo gave up themſelves to charming Pleaſures and Delights; and being thus inclined to Luxury, they were hurried on thereto, by their commerce with Pyrates, who, not daring to land on the Continent, becauſe it was full of Inhabitants, took in freſh Water at theſe Iſlands, and there, either chang'd their Wine, and other Merchandize, for the Proviſions of the Country; or elſe, ſold them to the Iſlanders, at a low price; And, the Iſlanders, being few in number; and unarmed too, and diſperſed alſo in the tempeſtuous Sea, that they could not convene to aſſiſt one another, being conſcious of their own weakneſs, either did receive, or, at leaſt, did not reject Security, brought home to their doors, eſpecially, it being mixed with Gain and Pleaſure, to boot, which are the uſual Companions thereof. But this pollution of Manners did infect the *Great* ones moſtly, and the *Prieſts*. Among the *Vulgar*, many footſteps of their former Moderation do yet remain. * The Sea is there very raging and tempeſtuous, which is cauſed, not only by the violence of Winds, and the poſition of the Heavenly Conſtellations; But alſo by the meetings of contrary Tides, raiſed up, and flowing in from the Weſt Ocean, and making ſuch a conflict between the Streights of the Land, that the Surges, occaſioned thereby, ſometime meeting, oppoſite one to another, and being all impetuouſly whirled together, cannot be paſſed, neither by Oars nor Sails; If any Mariners dare come too near, one of theſe Three miſchiefs befals them. They are either driven back, with a forcible violence, into the Sea; or elſe, by the rapidneſs of the foaming Waves, they are daſhed upon Shelves and Rocks; Or, laſtly, are ſwallowed up by the rolling *Vortices* of the inſucking Waters. There are only two Seaſons, wherein theſe

(c) *Magnus* his Bouncing Cup, or Waſſail Bowl.

* A ſtrange Teſt for a Biſhop.

*The Sea very Tempeſtuous about the Orcades, and the Reaſon, why?

Streights

Streights are passable; either, when, upon the Falling back of the Tides, the conflict of Waters ceasing, the Sea is thereby calmed; or, else when it comes in a full Chanel, to the height of its increase at Spring-Tides, That force languishing, on both sides, which raised and made the Waters Tempestuous and Stormy; The Ocean, as it were, sounding a Retreat to its Storms, and thereupon, the Mountainous Surges thereof do retire (that I may so speak) into their own proper Caverns and Recesses.

* Moreover, *Authors* do not agree concerning the number of the *Orcades*; *Pliny* reckons them to be Forty; others, about Thirty; But *Orosius* comes neareſt the Truth, he makes them Thirty Three, of which, Thirteen are inhabited; the rest, not; but left to feed Cattle. For many of them are low, and so narrow in compass, that if they should be Tilled, they would scarce maintain above one person or two. Some of them shew like bare Rocks, or else, such as are covered but with squalid Moss.

* Authors do not agree, concerning the number of the *Orcades*.

The biggest Isle of the *Orcades*, is call'd by many of the Ancients * *Pomona*; At this day they call it the *Main Land*, because it exceeds the rest so much in bigness; for it is Thirty mile long; It is well inhabited, for it hath in it Twelve Parish Churches, and one Town, besides; which, the *Danes*, who were long Masters of the *Orcades*, called *Cracoviaca*; we *Scotchmen*, call it, by a corrupt name, * *Kirkwall*. In this Town there are two Castles of a reasonable bigness, standing near together, one belonging to the *King*, the other to the *Bishop*. And between them is a *Church* magnificent enough, for those places; Between the *Church*, and the Castles, there are frequent Buildings on both sides, which the Inhabitants call Two Cities, one the *Kings*, the other the *Bishops*. The whole Isle runs out into Promontories, between which the Bays of the Sea making an influx, do afford safe Anchoring for Ships, and here and there, a good Port. In Six several Places of this Island, there are Metals * *i. e. White* and *Black Lead*, so good, that there are not better in all *Britain*. This Island is about Twenty four Mile distant from *Caithness*. The *Pictish* Sea, called * *Pentland* Firth, running between them; of whose Nature we have spoken before.

* *Pomona*, or the *Mainland*, the greatest Island of the *Orcades*.

* *Danes* long Masters of the *Orcades*,

* *Kirkwall* the chiefest Town in *Mainland*.

* White and black Lead in *Mainland*.

* *Pentland* Firth divides *Mainland* from *Caithness*.

In that narrow Sea, there are many scattered Islands, of which * *Strom-oy*, not unfruitful for the bigness of it, is distant from *Caithness* but a Mile, but they do not reckon that amongst the *Orcades*, because of its propinquity to the *British* shore; and also because the *Earls* of *Caithness* have always been *Lords* of it. Sayling from hence towards the North, we meet with * South *Ranalds*, or *Ranals-Oy*, the first of the *Orcades*, which is Sixteen Mile from *Dungsby-head*, Skiffs and small Ships pass over in Two Hours from it, to this Island, the Tide being with them, though there be no Wind, such is the Violence of this Current. This Island is Four Miles in length, and it hath a convenient Port, Sirnamed St. *Margarets* hope. From it, a little towards the East, are two small Islands, uninhabited, and left for Cattle to Pasture in. They call them in their Country Speech, (*a*) the *Holmes*, that is, Grassy Plains situate by Waters. To the North, is the Island *Burra*, and two *Holmes* between *That* and *Mainland*. From

* *Stromoy*.

* South *Ranalds-Oy*, the first Isle of the Orcades.

(*a*) *Holmes*, what?

* *Burra*

* *Burra*, &c. **Burra* toward the West, there lie Three Islands in order, *Scuna*, *Flata*, and *Fara*; and beyond them, *Hoia*, and *Valis* or *Waes-Isle*, which some make Two, others but One Island, because about both the Equinoctis (at which times, the Sea doth most Tempestuously foam and rage) the Tide falling back, and the Lands being bared, they cohere and are joyned together by a narrow neck of Land, and so make One Island; but upon the return of the Tide, and the renewed interjacency of the Sea, they again represent the form of Two. In this Island are the highest Mountains of all the *Orcades*. (*b*) *Hoia* and *Waes Isle* are extended Ten Miles in length, and from *Ranalsa*, they are distant Eight Miles; from *Duncansby* or *Dungisby*, in *Caithness*, above Twenty Mile. On the *North* is the Island * *Granisa*, situate in a very narrow Arm of the Sea. For *Hoia* is distant from the nearest Promontory, which is That of *Pomona*, or *Mainland* only two Mile. These are the Islands situate in the very Streights, between *Mainland* and *Caithness*. The West side of *Mainland* looks to the open Sea, no Islands or Rocks appearing therein: From its East Promontory it a little runs out into the Sea; (*c*) *Coupins-Oy*, almost covers it on the North. Nearer the shore is * *Stapins-Oy*, something inclining to the East, situate over against *Kirk-wall*, two Miles distant. it self being Six Mile long. On the West part of *Mainland*, lies (*d*) *Rows-Oy*, Six Miles in length. From thence toward the East stands * *Eglisa*, or *Eglis-Oy*, where Fame reports, that St. *Magnus* was buried. From hence to the Southward, lie (*e*) *Wyer-Oy*, and *Gress-Oy*, and not far from thence *Wester-Oy*, which is Eighty Miles distant from *Schetland*. *Papa*, and *Stronza*, are also Eighty Miles distant from *Schetland*. Almost in the middle of the passage between them, lies * *Fara*, or *Fair* Isle, which is conspicuous and visible both from the *Orcades*, and from *Schetland* too; for it ariseth into Three very high Promontories, begirt with lofty Rocks, every way inaccessible, save that toward the North East, it being a little lower, affords an Harbour safe enough for small Ships. The Inhabitants thereof are very Poor; for the Fishermen, which Sail that way every year, coming to Fish from *England*, *Holland*, and other Countries near the Sea, do plunder and carry away, what they please.

(*a*) *Hoia*, and *Waes*-Isle.

* *Granisa*.

(*c*) *Coupins-Oy*.

* *Stapins-Oy*.

(*d*) *Rows-Oy*.

* *Eglis-Oy*, or *Eglisa*, where St. *Magnus* was buried.

(*e*) *Wyer-Oy*, *Gress-Oy*, and *Wester-Oy*, &c. *Fair* Isle in the mid way between the *Orcades*, and *Schetland*.

* Many outlandish Fishermen resort to *Fair* Isle.

The next after It, is the greatest Island of (*f*) the *Schetlandish*, and therefore the Inhabitants call it the *Continent* or *Mainland*, it is Sixty Miles in length, and in some places Sixteen in bredth, it spreads it self into many small Promontories: Two of them I shall Name, the one long, but narrow, running to the North; the other broader running to the South-East. The Maritime parts of it are, for the most part, inhabited; but to the inward parts no Animal comes but Fowl. Some few years since, the Inhabitants endeavoured to form Plantations, further then their Ancestors had done, but the success did not answer. Their wealth is from the Sea, for it lies convenient for Fishing on every side.

(*f*) *Schetland* Isles, the greatest of them called *Mainland*, as well as the greatest of the *Orcades*.

Ten Mile further toward the North, is the Isle *Zeal*, (*g*) or *Tell*, above Twenty Mile long, and Eight broad; so uncouth a place, that no Creature can live therein, unless he be born there. A Merchant of *Breme* is reported to dwell in this Island, who doth import all sorts

(*g*) *Tell*.

ſorts of Foreign Wares (which the Inhabitants have need of) in great abundance. Between this *Iſland* and *Mainland*, lie theſe ſmall Iſlands, *Linga*, *Orna*, *Bigga*, * *Sanctterry*. About Nine Mile beyond it, to the North, ſtands *Vuiſt*, extended above Twenty Mile in length, and Six in bredth. 'Tis of a plain and level Soil, otherwiſe 'tis not unſightly to the Eye, but that it is ſurrounded with a very raging Sea. Between it and *Tell*, *Via*, *Vra*, *Linga*, are interjected. Beyond it toward the Weſt, are the two *Skerrys* and *Burra*; on the Eaſt is *Balta*, *Honnega*, *Fotlara*, or *Pheodor-oy*, Seven Mile long, diſtant Seven Mile from *Vuiſt*, and Eight from *Tell*, 'tis over againſt the *Streights* which divide *Vuiſt* from *Tell*. Then many Petty Iſlands lie on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Mainland*, as *Mecla*, the Three Eaſtern *Skirrys*, *Chualſa*, or * *Whals-Oy*, *Noſtvada*, *Braſa*, and *Muſa*; the Weſt ſide is begirt with the Weſtern *Skirrys*, *Rotti*, *Papa* the leſs, *Vemendru*, *Papa* the greater, *Vallu*, *Trons* Iſle, *Burra*, *Hara* the greater, *Hara* the leſs, and amongſt them almoſt as many *Holmes*, or *Plain Iſlands*, for Paſturage only are interſperſed.

* The Names of ſome ſmall *Schetland* Iſlands.

(b) *Vuiſt*, or *Vuiſt* Iſle.

* Divers other ſmall Iſlands.

The (i) *Schetlanders* live after the ſame manner, as the *Iſlanders* of the *Orcades* do, ſave that as to their Houſhold Proviſion, they are a little more hardy. Their Apparel is after the *German* Faſhion, which according to their Abilities is not uncomely. Their incomes ariſe from a ſort of Cloth, which they make very thick, and ſell to the *Norwegians*, as alſo from Oyle, expreſſed out of the inwards of Fiſhes; from Butter, and from Fiſhing: They Fiſh in ſmall Veſſels of two Oars, which they buy of the *Norwegians*. Part of the Fiſh which they catch, they Salt, and part they dry in the Wind. Out of thoſe being ſold, they raiſe up a Sum of Money to pay their *Tribute*, and to provide Houſes, wherein they may dwell, and Houſhold Stuff, ſo that a great part of their livelihood ariſes from thence. They who ſtudy neatneſs in their Houſhold Utenſils, have ſome Silver Veſſels alſo. They uſe Meaſures, Numbers and Weights, after the *German* Faſhion. Their Language is alſo *German*, or almoſt the ancient *Gothiſh*. They know not what 'tis to be Drunk, only every Month they invite one another, and on thoſe days they are (k) innocently Merry and Jocund, without thoſe Brawls and other Vices, which are occaſioned by Drunkenneſs, for they perſuade themſelves that this cuſtom contributes much for the maintaining of Mutual Friendſhip. The firmneſs of their Health appeared in one Nam'd * *Lawrence* in our Age, who, after he was an Hundred years old, Married a Wife. And when he was an Hundred and Forty, he uſed to Fiſh with his *Skiff* even in a very rough and Raging Sea, he died but lately, not by the force of any grievous Diſeaſe, but only by the Infirmities and Languiſhment of old Age.

(i) The *Schetlanders* manner of Life and Trade.

* Their Language.

(k) Their Innocent Mirth, and Longævity.

* One *Lawrence*, a *Schetlander*, Married at an Hundred years of Age, and lived above an Hundred and Forty.

The Second BOOK.

WHEN I endeavored to retreive the Memory of *British* Affairs, for above Two Thousand years past, many Impediments did offer themselves in Bar to my design; amongst which This was the chiefest, That there were for a long time no Monuments of *Learning* in those Countries, whence the knowledge of our *Original* was to be fetched; and when Letters came, though but late, into play, they were nipp'd almost in the very Bud; for I may safely affirm, That all the Nations which hitherto have seated themselves in *Britain*, have passed thither from *France*, *Spain* and *Germany*. The *French* first of all received the * Characters of Letters from the *Marsellian Greeks*, by which they used to make up their Accounts, and to send Letters one to another. The Figures of the *Letters*, were *Greek*; but the Langauge was *Gallick*. But their Laws and the Rites of their Religion, they did not commit to Writing, no not in *Julius Cæsars* time; and much less did they Record their Noble Exploits, which yet, 'tis very probable, were very considerably Great; and those things which were either acted, or suffered, or else undergone in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Græcia*, and *Asia*, had been buried likewise in the same Oblivion, (so that Posterity would never have come to the knowledge of them,) if *Foreign* Writers had not Recorded and Transmitted them down to us. I confess, in *Spain*, the *Greeks* had the use of Letters; and before them, the *Phœnicians*, who inhabited the shore of the *Mediterranean* Sea: But of the *Barbarians*, only the (*a*) *Turdetani* (as *Strabo* writes,) had any knowledge of them. But as for any Ancient Writer, there was yet none that I know of. For *Varro*, *Pliny*, and if there were any other *Latin* Authors, who touched any thing, by the by, concerning the first Inhabitants of *Spain*, they confirm their Opinions therein, rather by bare Conjectures, than the solid Testimony of Writers: In that part of *Britain* which * *Cæsar* visited, there were no ancient Records at all; and among the more Inland Inhabitants, which were more Barbarous, they were much less to be expected. So that when he asked them, concerning the *Origin* of their *Nation*, and the oldest Inhabitants thereof, as he writes, they return'd him no certain answer at all.

After *Cæsar*, *Cornelius* * *Tacitus*, an Author both Faithful and Diligent, when the *Roman Navy* had coursed about *Britain*, and had discovered all the inmost Roads and Recesses thereof; yet he found out nothing of certainty, that he could commit to Posterity. Moreover * *Gildas*, who lived above Four Hundred years after *Tacitus*, doth affirm, that what he writes was not from any Monuments of Antiquity, of which he could find none at all, but from Transmarine Report. As for * *Germany*, That Country was furnished with Learning last of all; but seeing, she had nothing to produce out of old Records, which could be avouched for Truth, according to her wonted Ingenuity in other Cases, she Coyned no Fictions of her own,

* The Origin of Letters.

(*a*) *Turdetani*, a People dwelling in part of *Portugal*, and in *Algarbia*, and *Medina Sidonia*.

* *Cæsar.*

* *Tacitus.*

* *Gildas* lived 400 years after *Tacitus*.

* *Germany* received Letters last of all.

own, to obtrude on the World. So then, they, who affirm, that they deduce the Original of the *Britans* from old *Annals*, must first tell us, Who transmitted down those *Annals* to us? As also, Where they have been concealed so long? And how they came down uncorrupted to us, after so many Ages? In this case, some fly to the *Bards* and * *Sanachies*, as the Preservers of Ancient Records, but very ridiculously, which will be more clearly understood, if I explain what kind of Men these were, to whom they would have credit to be given, in matters so Momentous, and those so obscure too, and so remote from our Memory. First * *Strabo*, and *Ammianus* do clearly enough express, what the *Bards* were, both before, and also in their Times. But * *Lucan* doth it very plainly and succinctly, as to our present purpose, in these Verses,

* *Sanachies* a sort of Chanters, inferiour to *Bards*, called by the *Dynywossals* (or Gentlemen) of the Highlands, *Sanachies*, contracted from *Senecciones*.

* *Strabo*, *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Lucan*, describe, who the *Bards* were.

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
Laudibus in longum, Vates, diffunditis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi.

Englished thus:

Ye Bards, *such Valiant Souls, as fall in War,*
Perpetuate with Rhimes, and Praises rare.

But the very Oldest of them were altogether ignorant of Letters, neither did they leave any Records of Ancient Matters behind them.

The other were *Bardlings* or *Sanachies*, (as they call them,) which were maintain'd by the chief of the Ancient Clans, and by some Wealthy Men besides, one a peice, on purpose to Chant out (by Heart,) the Memories of their Patrons, and the Atchievements of their Ancestors, from their first Rise. But these too, having no Learning at all, let any Man judge, what credit is to be given to them, all whose hopes and subsistence did depend on Soothing and Flattering of others. Besides, though what they deliver were most true, yet it would not much advance the *Writer* of an *History*: Lastly, let us consider, how often the *Writers* of such Famous Deeds as are past, are found in manifest Mistakes, how often they themselves do Waver, Doubt, Fluctuate, and are at a loss, and how vastly some of them do differ from others, and not a few contradict themselves. If such Lapses are incident even to those, who seek after Truth, with great Labour and Study, what can we hope for, from such other Persons, who being without Learning (by which they who casually mistake, may be better informed, and those who mistake on purpose, may be confronted,) do trust their Memory, alone? I might allege, that the Memory is often times impaired by Disuse; it is weakned by Age; or wholly lost by some Diseases. Besides, if they have a desire to please their Patrons, (as it often comes to pass,) or, on the contrary, if they have a mind to cross them; or, if the Passions of Anger, Hatred, or Envy do intervene, (which pervert the Judgment,) Who can affirm any thing for Truth, upon such Mens Authorities? Or, Who would take the pains to

refute it, though it were False? Or, Who would deliver down for *certain*, what he received from such uncertain Authors? Wherefore, in so great a silence of old * *Writers*, (concerning matters of Antiquity,) who were all so hugely ignorant, even of things acted in their own times, there being nothing assuredly true and sincere, I count it more modest, to be silent in what one knows not, than by devising Falshoods to betray ones own Ignorance, and to slight and despise the better Judgments of other Men.

* Great uncertainties amongst the ancient Writers of *British* Affairs, and the Reasons why?

It follows then, that there was so great a scarcity of *Writers* amongst all the Nations of the *Britains*, that, before the coming in of the *Romans* thither, all things were buried in the profound Darkness of Silence, in so much, that we can get no Information of what was Acted, even by the *Romans* themselves, otherwise than from *Greek* and *Latin* Monuments: And as for those things, which preceded their coming, we may believe rather their Conjectures, than our own Fictions. For what our *Writers* have delivered, every one concerning the Original of his own Sept or Nation, is so absurd, that I should have counted my time lost to go about to refel it, unless there were some who delighted in such Fables, as if they were as true as Gospel, and so prided themselves with the Ornaments of other Mens Feathers.

Moreover, the disagreement of later *Writers* makes a great accession to the difficulty of this Task, for they deliver such Repugnancies, that a Man cannot well tell, whom to follow; yea, there is such an absurdity amongst them, that all of them seem most deservedly fit to be rejected. Neither do I so much wonder at the Silence of the *Ancients*, in a matter so obscure, or the Dissonancy of *later* Writers in feigning Falshoods; as at the agreeing impudence of some few: For they write of those times, in which all things were dubious and uncertain, with so much positiveness and confidence, as if their design were rather to court the Readers Ear, than to respect the Faithness of their Narrations.

For in those first times, seeing the use of Tillage was not common, neither among the *Britains*, nor many other Nations; but all their Wealth consisted in Cattle, Men had no regard to their substance, which was very small, because they were either expelled from their Habitations by such as were more powerful than themselves; or, they themselves did drive out the weaker ones; or else, they sought out better Pasture for their Cattle in Wild and Desert places: Upon one or other of these Grounds, they easily changed, their Dwellings, and the Places, they removed to, with new Masters soon got new Names. Besides, the Ambition of the wealthier sort added much to the difficulty, who, to perpetuate their Memory to Posterity, called Countrys, Provinces and Towns by their own Names. Almost all the Cities in * *Spain*, had two Names. The Names of the Inhabitants in It, and also the Names of the Cities and Countries therein, received frequent alterations. Not to speak of *Egypt*, *Greece*, and other remote *Countries*.

* Several Countries have changed their Names.

Sæpius & nomen posuit Saturnia tellus.

Fair Italy (*says Fame,*)
Full oft hath chang'd her Name.

Add

Add hereunto, that those Nations, who live in the same *Country*, have not always the same *Names*. That which the *Latins* call * *Hispania*; The *Greeks*, *Iberia*; The Poets, *Hesperia*; St. *Paul* in his Epistle, *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* in Their History, call *Spania* (i. e.) *Spain*. The Name of the *Greeks*, so celebrated by the *Latins*, and all Nations of *Europe*, is more obscure than the *Greeks* themselves. The *Hebrews* and *Arabians* keep their Old Words, almost in all Nations, which were not so much as heard of by other People. *Scot*, and *English* are the common Names of the *British* Nations, which, at this day, are almost unknown to the * Ancient *Scots*, and *Britains*; for they call the one *Albines*, the other *Saxons*. And therefore 'tis no wonder, if, in so great an uncertainty of Human Affairs, as to the Names of Men and Places; *Writers*, who were born at several times, far distant one from another, and having different Languages, and Manners too, do not always agree amongst themselves. Though these things have occasioned difficulties great enough, in searching out the first Original of Nations, yet some of the Moderns too, being acted by a Principle of Ambition, have involved all things in more thick and palpable darkness. For, whilst every one would fetch the *Original* of his Nation, as high as he could; and so endeavour to enoble it by devised Fables, by this immoderate Licence of coyning Fictions, What do they but *obscure*. That, which they ought to *Illustrate*? And, if at any time they speak *Truth*, yet, by their frequent and ridiculous Untruths, at other times, they detract from their own Credit; And are so far from obtaining that Esteem, which they hoped for, that, by reason of their Falshoods, they are laughed at, even by those, whom they endeavour'd to cajole into an Assent.

* *Spain* hath several Names.

Or *Highlanders*.

To make this plain, I will first begin, as with the *Ancientest* Nation, so, from the most notorious and impudent Falshood. They who compiled a * *New History* of the Ancient *Britains*, having interpolated the Fable of the *Danaides*, proceed further to feign, That one * *Diocletian*, King of *Syria* begat 33 Daughters on his Wife *Labana*; who killing their Husbands on their Wedding night, their *Father* crouded them all together into one Ship, without any *Master* or *Pilot*; who, arriving in *Britain*, then but a Desert, did not only live solitarily in that cold Country; and not very full of Fruits growing of their own accord, neither; but also, by the Compression of *Cacodæmons* (forsooth) they brought forth *Giants*, whose Race continued till the arrival of *Brutus*. They say, the Island was called *Albion* from * *Albine*, and that * *Brutus* was the Nephews Son of *Æneas*, the *Trojan*, and the Son of *Æneas Sylvius*. This *Brutus* having accidentally killed his Father with a Dart, it was looked upon as a lamentable and piteous Fact, by all Men; yet, because it was not done on purpose, the punishment of Death was remitted, and Banishment either enjoyned, or voluntarily undertaken, by him. * This Parricide having consulted the Oracle of *Diana*, and having run various hazards through so many Lands and Seas, after 10 years arrived in *Britain*, with a great number of Followers; and by many Combats having conquered the terrible Giants in *Albion*, he gain'd the Empire of the whole Island. * He had three Sons,

* The Fabulous Origin of the *Britains*.

* *Diocletian*, a supposed King of *Syria*, and *Labana* his Wife, with their 33 Daughters.

* *Albine*.

* *Brutus*, and his Knights Errant Adventures.

* *Brutus*, a Parricide.

* *Brutus* his Three Sons.

Sons, (as they proceed to Fable) *Locrinus*, *Albanactus*, and *Camber*; between whom the Island was divided; *Albanactus* ruled over the *Albans*, afterwards called *Scots*; *Camber* over the *Cambrians*, (*i.e.*) the *Welsh*; They did both Govern their several Precincts (as Viceroys) yet so, as that *Locrinus* had supreme Dominion, who, being Ruler of the rest of the *Britans*, gave the Name of * *Loegria* to his part. Later Writers, that they might also propagate this Fabulous Empire as much as they could, do make this Addition to it, That *Vendelina* succeeded her Father *Locrinus*; *Madanus*, * *Vendelina*; *Menpricius*, *Madanus*; and *Ebrancus*, *Menpricius*, which later, of Twenty Wives begat as many Sons; of which, Nineteen passed into *Germany*; and by force of Arms conquered that Country, being assisted by the Forces of their Kinsman, *Alba Sylvius*, and from those Brothers the Country was called * *Germany*. These are the things, which, the *Brittons*, and after them, some of the *English*, have delivered concerning the first Inhabitants of *Britain*.

* An old Name for *England*.

* *Vendelina*.

* *Germany*, whence so called, according to old Story.

Here I cannot but stand amazed at their design, who might easily, and without any reflection at all, have imitated the *Athenians*, *Arcadians*, and other famous *Nations*, and have called themselves * *Indigenæ*, seeing it would have been no disgrace to them to own that Origin, which the Noblest and wisest City in the whole World counted her Glory; especially, since that Opinion could not be refuted out of Ancient *Writers*; and had no mean *Assertors*, besides; yet, that they had rather forge Ancestors to themselves, from the *Refuse* of all Nations, whom the very Series of the Narration itself did make suspected, even to the unskilful Vulgar; and also none of the Ancients, no, not by the meanest suspition, did confirm. Besides, if that had not pleased them, seeing it was free for them, (as some of the *Poets* have Writ) to have assumed Honourable Ancestors to themselves, out of any old Books; I wonder in my heart, what was in their Minds, to make choice of such, of whom all their posterity might justly be ashamed. For what great folly is it, to think nothing Illustrious, or Magnificent but what is Profligat and Flagitious, or, at least, but a size below it; yet some there are, that value themselves, among the ignorant, upon the score of such Trifles; as for * *John Annius*, a Man (I grant) not unlearned, I think, he may be pardoned, seeing Poets claim a Liberty to celebrate the Original of Families, and Nations, with the mixture of Figments, but 'tis not equal to allow the same Privilege to those who undertake, professedly, to write an History.

* Born in the same Country where they live.

Johannes Annius.

To begin then fartherst off: What is more abhorrent from all belief, than that a few * *Girles*, without the help of Men to manage their Vessel, should come from *Syria*, through so many Seas (which Voyage, even now adays, (when Men have attain'd, by Use and Custom, more skill in Navigation,) is yet hazardous, (thô with a brave and well-furnished Navy,) to the tag end, as it were, of the World, and into a desolate Island too; and there to live without Corn or Fruits of Trees; Yea, that such Ladies of a Royal Stock should not only barely maintain their Lives, in so cold a Climate, destitute of all things; But also should bring forth Giants; and that their Copulations, or Marriages, might not seem unsuitable to their State,

* The Story of the 33 Sisters confuted.

that

that they were got with Child (would you think it?) by *Cacodæmons*. As for that *Diocletian*, pray, at what time, and in what part of *Syria*, did he Reign? How comes it to pass, that *Authors* make no mention of him, especially since the Affairs of no Nation are more diligently transmitted to Posterity, than those of the *Syrians* are? How came he to be called * *Diocletian?* Certainly that Name took its rise a Thousand Years after him, amongst the *Barbarians*, and being Originally *Greek*, is declined after the *Latin* form.

* The Fable of *Diocletian* confuted.

The next Accession of Nobility, (forsooth) is * *Brutus*, the Parricide, that he so might not, in that respect, be inferiour to * *Romulus*. This *Brutus*, whatsoever he were, whom the *Brittons* make the Author of their Name and Nation, with what Forces, with what Commerce of Language, could he penetrate so far into *Britain?* Especially in Those Times, wherein the *Roman* Arms, even in the most flourishing State of their Commonwealth, having conquered almost all the World besides, could scarce come: For it is needless to mention, how, before *Rome* was built, the Affairs of *Italy* were at a very low ebb; and how the Inhabitants thereof were averse from all Peregrination and Travel. Neither need I enquire, Whether he came by Land, or Sea? The *Alps*, till that time, were pervious only to *Hercules*; and the *Gauls*, by reason of their connatural Fierceness, were as yet unacquainted with converse of Foreigners. As for Sea-Voyages, The *Carthaginians* and the *Greeks* inhabiting *Marseilles*, scarce dared to venture into the *Ocean*, but very late, and when things were well setled at Home; And, even then, their Voyages were rather for Discovery, than Conquest; much less can we believe, that *Alban*-Shepherds, a wildish sort of people, would undertake so bold an attempt. Besides, all Men, who are not ignorant of *Latin*, do know, that the Name of * *Brutus* began to be celebrated under *Tarquinius Superbus*, almost Five Hundred Years after that *Commentitious Brutus*; when *Lucius Junius*, a Nobleman, putting off his Native Grandeur, descended below himself, on purpose, to avoid the Cruelty of their *Kings*; And, on pretence of being *Fooliſh*, he took that new Sirname to himself, and transmitted it to his Posterity. But the *Monk*, who was the Forger and Deviser of this Fable of *Brutus*, seemed to see the absurdity of the Invention, himself; yet, he thought to stop all Mens Mouths with the pretence of Religion (forsooth) in in the Case, and would have every Body think, that they obeyed the Oracle of *Diana*. Herein, I will not be nice in inquiry, why this Oracle of *Diana* was unknown to Posterity, when the Oracles of * *Faunus*, (*a*) of *Sybilla*, and the (*b*) *Prænestine Vaticinations*, or Lots, were then in so great Credit.

* *Brutus* his Story refelled.

* *Brutus* and *Romulus* compared.

* The Name of the True *Brutus*, when it began, and how?

* *Faunus* the Third King of the *Aborigines*, to whom *Saturn* (by whom he was entertained) caused a Grove and Cave to be dedicated, whence Oracles were given forth, (according to old Story.) (*a*) *Cumæa*, so called from *Cuma* in the Gulph of *Naples*. (*b*) Little Pieces of Oak-Wood-Lotteries, marked with Letters or Words, almost like Dice, which when they were thrown, the Priest gave his Response according to the Letter which was uppermost, at *Præneste*, now *Palestrina*, in *Italy*.

I will only ask, In what Language did *Diana* answer? If they say, In *Latin*; I demand, How *Brutus* could understand a Language, which arose Nine Hundred Years after his time? For, seeing *Horace*, a very Learned Man, doth ingenuously confess, That he did not

not understand the (c) *Saliar* Rythmes, which were made in the Reign of *Numa Pompilius*, How could that *Brutus*, who died so many Years, before the Priests called (c) *Salii* were instituted, understand *Verses*, made long after *Horace* his time, as the Tenour of their Composure doth shew? Besides, how could the Posterity of *Brutus*, so totally forget the *Latin* Tongue, that not the least Footsteps of it remain'd amongst them? And whence got They that Language which they now use? Or, if it be granted, that their (supposed) *Gods*, as well as their *Men*, *then* spake *British* in *Italy*, yet surely it was not the Tongue the *Britains* now make use of; For That is so patch'd up of the Languages of the Neighbour-Nations, that several Countries may know and own their own Words therein. But if they say, That those Ancient *Latins* spake *British*, how could that *Monk* understand so old a Word, which was given forth 2000 Years before? But why do I prosecute these things, so particularly, seeing it appears by many other Arguments also, that the same *Monk* did forge this whole Story, and begat such a *Brutus*, (in his own Brain) as never was in Nature, and also devised the Oracle of *Diana*, too. I shall add the Verses themselves, that the Vanity of such cunning Sophisters may more easily be discovered.

(c) *Salii* were Twelve Priests, instituted by *Numa Pompilius*, in Honour of *Hercules*, or, as some say, of *Mars*. And the *Carmen Saliare*, which they sang, was composed by the same *Numa*, in an obsolete and almost unintelligible Language or Style.

* *Brutus*'s Address to the Oracle.

* *Brutus*'s supposed Address to the Oracle, with *Diana*'s Answer thereunto.

Diva, potens nemorum, Terror Sylvestribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per ætherios,
Infernasque domos: Terrestria Jura resolve,
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
Dic certam sedem, quâ te veneremur in ævum,
Quâ tibi Virgineis Templa dicabo choris.

Englished thus:

Goddess of Groves, and Wild-Boars chase,
Who dost th' Etherial Mansions trace,
And Pluto's *too; Resolve this Doubt,*
Tell me, what Country to find out,
Where I may fix, and Temples raise,
For Virgin-Chores to sing thy praise.

The Oracles Answer.

Diana answers in Verses of the same kind, (so that they must needs be made by one and the same Poet) not perplexed and ambiguous ones; or, such as may be interpreted divers ways, but clear and perspicuous ones, wherein she promiseth That which she could never give, *viz.* The *Empire of the whole World.*

Brute, *sub Occasum Solis trans* Gallica *regna,*
Insula in Oceano est, undique cincta mari.
Insula in Oceano est, habitata Gigantibus Olim,
Nunc deserta quidem, Gentibus apta Tuis.

Hanc

Hanc pete, namque tibi Sedes erit illa perennis,
Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis;
Hic de prole tuâ Reges nascentur, & illis
Totius Terræ subditus Orbis erit.

Rendred thus:

Toward the West, beyond Gauls *Kingdom's Bound,*
An Isle there is, which th' Ocean doth Surround;
An Island once inhabited by Giants fell,
Now desolate, where thy Comrades may dwell;
Go thither, Brutus, *there's a lasting place,*
Another Troy *for Thee, and for thy Race;*
Kings of Thy Stock shall there the Scepter sway,
Whom the subdued World shall Obey.

I suppose, by these *Verses*, compared with the *Histories*, the whole Forgery will be discovered, and that plainly enough. For, besides the vain promises on both sides, the Rythms say, That the *Island* was not *then* inhabited but desolate, but that it was inhabited *before*; But where (I pray,) then were those Portentous Figments of *Gogmagog* and *Tentagol*, and other frightful Names of Men, invented for *Terrour*, (shall I say,) or for *Laughter*, rather? What will become of those doughty Combates of *Corineus*, and others, the Companions of *Brutus*, against not the *Earth-born*, but *Hell-born*, *Giants*? Thus far concerning *Brutus*, and his Oracle.

Though these be so great Fictions, yet Posterity is so little ashamed of them, that, but a few years ago no mean *Writer* amongst them, hath impudently feigned, That the *Trojans* spake the *British Language*. (d) *Homer* and * *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, do easily refel the vanity of this shameless Opinion. For the one gives *Greek* Names to all the *Trojans*; the other in a long and serious Disputation, doth contend, that the *Trojans* were Originally *Greeks*? I pass by this consideration, that when *Brute* arrived in *England* with no great Train, how within the space of Twenty years he could establish Three Kingdoms; and how, they, who, all of them put together at first, could scarce make up the number of one mean Colony, should in so short a time People an Island the biggest in the whole World, and furnish it not only with Villages and Cities, but set up in it Three large Kingdoms also; yea, who a while after, it seems, grew so numerous, that *Britain* could not contain them, but they were forced to Transport themselves into the large Country of *Germany*; where, overcoming the Inhabitants, they compelled them to assume their own Name, which was not a *British*, but a *Latin* one; and so from those Nineteen Brothers, (forsooth,) (which indeed were not properly *own Brothers*, as we say, for almost each of them had a several Mother,) that the Country should be called *Germany*. I have related this Fable, as absurd as it is, not to take the pains to refute it, but to leave it to the *Germans* themselves for Sport and Ridicule.

(d) *Homer.*
* *Dionysius Halicarnasseus.*

This in General concerning the Fables of the *Brittons*. But the intent of those who devised them, seems not very obscure to me, for that Monstrous Fiction of *Devils* lying with Virgins, seems to tend hereto; *viz.* That they might either prove an Alliance between their *Brutus*, and two of the greatest Neighbouring Nations; or else, that they might vye with them in the Nobleness of their Original. For the *Gauls* affirmed, (as *Cæsar* hath it) that they were descended from Father *Pluto*; and so did the *Germans*, according to *Tacitus*. The cause of devising this Figment, concerning *Brutus*, seems to be alike. For seeing the (e) *Buthrotii* in *Epirus*, other People in *Sicily*; *The Romans*, *Campanians*, and *Sulmonenses* in *Italy*; The * *Arverni*, * *Hedui*, (f) *Sequani*, and last of all the (g) *Francs* in *Gaul*, did celebrate, I know not what, *Trojans* as their Founders. The Writers of *British* Affairs, also thought it very conducive to the advancement of the Nobility of their Nation, if they derived its Original too, from the very Archives of *Antiquity*, and especially from the *Trojans*, either because of the famousness of that City, which was praised by almost all Nations; or else, by reason of its Alliance with so many Nations, which are said to have started up, as it were, out of the same common Shipwrack of that one Town. Neither did they think themselves guilty of any effrontery in the Falshood, if they did somewhat participate of the (feigned) Nobility, which upon the same account was common to so many Nations, besides themselves. Hence arose, as I judge, the Fiction of *Brutus*, and other Fables of an older date, as impudently devised, as foolishly received; it will, perhaps, be enough to shew the vanity of all those things, to put the *Reader* in mind, that they were unknown to *Ancient Writers*; that when Learning flourished, they dared not peep abroad, that they were coyned in its decay, recorded by unlearned *Flatterers*, and entertain'd by ignorant, and too credulous, Persons, who did not understand the Fraud of such *Cheaters*. For such is the disposition of those *Impostors*, who do not seek the publick good by a true History, but some private advantage by Flattery, that when they seem highly to Praise, then they most of all deride and jeer. For what do they else, who, pretending to advance the Nobility of a People, for its greater splendor do fetch it from the Skum and Riffraff of Nature? And yet, credulous, (shall I say,) or not rather sottish Persons, do Pride themselves with a pretended Eminency of an Original, which none of their Neighbours will envy them for.

They also who have wrote of * *Scotish* Affairs, have delivered down to us a more Creditable and Noble Origin, as they think, but no less Fabulous than That of the *Britains*. For they have adopted Ancestors to us, not from the *Trojan Fugitives*, but from those *Greek* Hero's, whose Posterity Conquered *Troy*. For, seeing in those Ancient times, two Nations of the *Greeks* were most of all celebrated, the (h) *Dores* and the (h) *Jones*, and the Princes of the *Dores* were the *Argivi*; and of the *Jones*, the *Athenians*. The *Scots* make one (i) *Gathelus* to be the chief Founder of their Nation, but whether he were the Son of *Argus*, or of *Cecrops*, that they leave in doubt; and that they may not be inferior on this accompt, to the eminency of the *Romans*, they added to him a strong Band of *Robbers*, with which

(e) *Buthrotii*, Inhabitants of *Buthrotum*, (new *Butrinto*) a small Village in *Epirus* on the Sea coast not far from the Isle *Corfu*, once a large Roman Colony.

* *Arverni*, Inhabitants of *Auvergne* in the Dukedom of *Burgundy*, their chief City is *Clermont*.

* *Burgundians*.

(f) People of the *Franch* Country.

(g) *Francs*, Originally a People of *Francosia* in *Germany*, who in the declining of the Roman Empire, conquered *Gallia*, and called it *Frankinland*, now *France*; they were composed of so many warlike Tribes, that the Turks do call all the Western Christians *Francs* to this very day.

* Old Scotish Writers blamed.

(h) *Dores*, and *Jones*, who?

(i) The Scots fabulous Original from one *Gathelus* a Grecian and *Scota* his Wife.

which he going into *Egypt*, perform'd gallant Exploits, and after the departure (would you think it) of *Moſes*, was made *General* of the Kings Forces in that Land. And that afterwards, with his Wife *Scota*, the Daughter of the *King of Egypt*, he ſailed about the whole ſhore of *Europe*, adjacent to the Mediterranean Sea, and having paſſed through ſo many Countries, which were deſolate in that Age, or elſe, inhabited but by few, and in few places, as *Greece*, *Italy*, *France*, (not to mention the numerous *Iſlands* of the *Mediterranean* Sea,) ſome will have him to Land at the River (*k*) *Iberus*, but leaving that Country which he could not keep, they draw him on further to (*l*) *Galæcia*, a Country much more Barren. Some Land him at the Mouth of the River * *Durius*, being the firſt of all Men, as I ſuppoſe, who adventured into the Ocean with a Navy of Ships; and that there he built a brave Town, which is now called from his Name *Portus Gatheli*, or *Port a Port*, whence the whole Country, which from *Luſus* and *Luſa*, the Children of *Bacchus*, was a long time called (*m*) *Luſitania*, began to be called (*m*) *Portugal*, and afterwards being forced to paſs into *Gallæcia*, he there built *Brigantia*, now called *Compoſtella*; alſo that *Braga* in *Portugal* was built by him, at the Mouth of the River *Munda*.

(*k*) Now *Ebro*, a famous River in *Spain*, riſing in the Mountains of *Aſturia*, and diſimboguing it ſelf into the Mediterranean, in *Catalonia*.
(*l*) *Gallæcia* the Country about *Compoſtella* in *Spain*.
* *Durius*, or *Douro*, *Duero* in Spaniſh, ariſing in old *Caſtile*, and after a courſe of 140 Spaniſh Leagues falls into the *Atlantick* Ocean, below *Port a Port*.
(*m*) *Luſitania* and *Portugal*, the Original of thoſe Names.

Theſe are the things which the *Scots* have fabulouſly wrote concerning the Original of their Nation. In feigning of which, how uncircumſpect they were, we may gather from hence, that they did not give a *Greek* Name, to that Grecian *Gathelus*, who was indeed unknown to the *Greek* Writers; that they allotted a *Latin* Name, from an Haven or Port, to the City built by him rather than a *Greek* one, eſpecially in thoſe times, when *Italy* it ſelf was known to few of the *Greeks*; that they doubt whether he were the Son of *Argus*, or of *Cecrops*; ſeeing *Argus* lived almoſt an Hundred years before *Cecrops*. That he, who had arrived at ſuch a Figure by his Prudence, even amongſt the moſt ingenious Perſons of the World, as to enjoy the Second place to the *King*, and to be put in *Moſes*, the Fugitiv's, room; and beſides, being a ſtranger, to be honoured with the Marriage of the *Kings* Daughter; that he, I ſay, leaving the fruitfulleſt Region in the World, and paſſing by the Lands of both *Continents*, both to the Right and Left, and alſo ſo many *Iſlands* all fruitful in Corn, and ſome of them alſo famous for the Temperature of the Air, as *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, (which, at that time, were rather ſeiz'd than cultivated, and inhabited by a wild ſort of People,) ſhould break out into the very Ocean, the very Name whereof was formidable, eſpecially ſince Men had then but ſmall skill in Marine Affairs; or, that he built the City of *Port-Gathelus*, or *Port a Port*, at the River *Duero*, the Name of which City was never heard of till the *Sarazens* obtain'd the Dominion of *Portugal*; alſo, that he built *Braga*, at the Mouth of the River *Munda*, ſeeing there is ſo many Miles diſtance between *Braga* and *Munda*; Two Rivers alſo being interjected betwixt them, *viz.* *Duero* and *Vouga*, or *Vaca*; and *Braga* it ſelf is not altogether a Maritime place: Moreover, I may well ask, how *Gathelus* a *Grecian*, born of a Noble Family; and beſides, eminent for famous Deeds, ſeeing he was of a moſt ambitious Nation, in commending his Name

to Posterity, and being conveighed with a great Train into the extream parts of the World, and as then matters stood, almost rude and barbarous, having built *Towns*, did not impose his own, no not so much as a *Greek*, Name on them. For the Name of *Portugal*, or, (as some will have it,) the Port of *Gathel*, being unknown to so many Ancient Writers, who have professedly undertook to describe the Names of Countries, and Places, began to be celebrated but about Four Hundred years ago. And the silence of all the *Greeks* and *Latins*, concerning the coming of *Gathelus* into *Spain*, makes it much suspected, especially since the *Ancients* make notable and frequent mention of the *Phœnicians*, *Persians*, *Carthaginians*, *Iberians*, *Gauls*, and of the Companions of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who came into that Conntry. But our Fablers, (as I judge) never read the Monuments of the Ancients; if they had, seeing it was free for them to assume an Author and Founder of their Nation and Nobility, out of any of the *Famous Grecians*, they would never have pick'd up an Ignobler Person, for their Founder; passing by *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who were Famous amongst all Nations, and whom they might have cull'd out, as well as any other, for the Original of their Race.

These are the things which our *Writers* have delivered, concerning the Rise of our *Nation*, which, if I have prosecuted more largely, than was necessary, it is to be imputed to them, who pertinaciously defended them, as a * *Palladium* dropt down from Heaven. He that considers That, will, no doubt, by reason of the *obstinacy* of my Adversaries, be more favorable to me. Concerning the other Nations, which came later into these *Islands*, and fixed their Habitations there, *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, because their *History* doth not contain any Monstrous absurdity, I shall speak of them hereafter, in a fitter place.

But these two Nations (which I have mentioned,) seem to me to have deduced their Original from the *Gauls*, and I will give you the reasons of my Judgment therein, when I have first premised a few things, concerning the Antient Customs of the *Gauls*; all *Gaul* tho' it be fruitful in Corn, yet it is said to be, and indeed is, more fruitfull in Men; so that, as *Strabo* relates, there were 300000 of the * *Celtæ*, only, who were able to bear Arms, though they inhabited but a third part of *France*, therefore though they lived in a fruitful Country, yet being overburthened by their own multitudes, 'tis probable, that for the lessening of them, they were permitted to use * Masculine Venery. Yet neither when by this Expedient, there seemed not provision enough made against the penury of their Soil, the company of *Heads* being as yet numerous and burdensome, sometimes by publick Edicts, and sometimes by private Persuasions, they sent forth many *Colonies* into all the neighbouring *Countries*, that their Multitudes at home might be exhausted.

To begin with * *Spain*, They sent their Colonies so thick thither, that *Ephorus*, as *Strabo* relates, extends the length of *Gaul* even to the *Gades* or *Cadiz*, and indeed all that side of *Spain* toward the North, by the Names of the People and Nations inhabiting them, hath long witnessed a *French* Original. The first we meet with, are, the *Celtiberi*.

—— *Pro-*

* *Palladium*, properly the Image of *Pallas* in *Troy*, which as long as they kept in her Temple, *Troy* could not be taken, (as the *Trojans* thought,) but when *Ulysses* stole it away then they were soon destroyed by the *Greeks*.

* The Ancient *Gauls* in *Cæsars* time, divided from the *Belgians*, by the River *Seine*; and from the *Aquitanians*, by the *Garron*, from whom the old *Grecians* called, the North-West part of *Europe*, *Celto-Scythia*.

* From which no Issue could insue.

* Colonies of *Gauls* sent into *Spain*.

—— *Profugique a gente Vetustâ*
Gallorum, Celtæ, *miscentes nomen* Iberis,

The wandring Celts *in* Spain *their Seats did fix,*
And there their Names with the Iberi *mix.*

These did propagate their bounds so far, that, though they inhabited a Craggy Country, and besides not over fruitful, yet *Marcus Marcellus* exacted from them Six Hundred Talents, as a Tribute. Moreover, from the * *Celtæ*, or *Celtiberi*, the *Celtici* derive their Original, dwelling by the River *Anas*, by *Ptolomy* Sirnamed * *Boetici*; and also other * *Celts* in *Portugal*, near to the River *Anas*, and if we may believe *Pomponius Mela*, a *Spaniard*, the *Celts* do inhabit from the Mouth of the River *Duero*, unto the Promontory, which they call *Celticum* or * *Nerium*, *i. e. Capo D[illegible]is Terræ*, but distinguished by their Sirnames, *viz.* the *Gronii*, *Presamarci*, *Tamarici*, *Nerii*, and the rest of the *Gallæci*, whose Name shews their Original to be *Gauls*.

* *Celtæ* and *Celtiberi*, whence?
* *Celtici Boetici.*
* *Celtici Lusitanici.*
* *Nerium Promontorium.*

On the other side, there passed out of *France* into *Italy*, the (*a*) *Ligurians*, the (*b*) *Libii*, (*c*) the *Salassii*, (*d*) the *Insubres*, (*e*) the *Cenomani*, the (*f*) *Boii*, and the (*g*) *Senones*, and, if we may believe some Ancient Writers, the *Venetians* themselves. I need not relate how large Dominions these Nations had in *Italy*, seeing all who are but a little versed in History, cannot be ignorant thereof, neither will I be too scrupulous in inquiring what Troopes of *Gauls* made their Seats in *Thrace*, or, leaving it, having subdued *Macedonia* and *Greece*, passed into *Bithinia*, where they erected the Kingdom of (*h*) *Gallo-Græcia* in *Asia*, seeing that matter doth not much concern our purpose.

(*a*) People of *Piemont.*
(*b*) People about *Brixia* and *Verona.*
(*c*) The *Salassii* of *Piemont* also.
(*d*) *Insubres* of *Gallia-Transpadana* about *Millan.*
(*e*) Of *Main*, or rather *Normandy.*
(*f*) *Boii* People of *Acquitain.*
(*g*) *Senones* were a Warlike People of *Gaul* inhabiting the Country now called *Le Sennois.*
(*h*) *Galatia.*

My discourse then hastens to *Germany*, and concerning the (*i*) *Gallish* Colonies therein, we have most Authentick Evidences, *C. Julius Cæsar*, and *C. Cornelius Tacitus*; the first of them in his Commentaries of the *Gallick* War, writes, that at one time the *Gauls* were esteem'd more Valiant than the *Germans*. And therefore that the (*k*) *Tectosages* possessed the most fruitful part of *Germany* about the *Hercynian* Forest; and the *Bohemians*, as the other affirms, do declare by their Names, that their Founders were the (*l*) *Boii*. And sometimes the (*m*) *Helvetians* possessed the nearer places between the Rivers *Main* and *Rhene*, also the (*n*) *Decumates* beyond the *Rhene*, were of *Gallick* Original, and the (*o*) *Gothini* neer the *Danow*, whom *Claudian* calls *Gothunni*: *Arrianus* in the Life of *Alexander* calls them *Getini*; and *Flavius Vopiscus*, in the Life of *Probus* *Gautunni*. But *Claudian* reckons even the *Gothunni* amongst the (*p*) *Getæ*; and *Stephanus* is of Opinion, that the *Getes* are called *Getini*, by *Ammianus*, so that perhaps the *Getes* themselves may acknowledge a *Gallick* Original, seeing it is certain, that many *Gallick* Nations passed over into *Thrace*, and there resided in that Circuit thereof, which the *Getes* are said to have possessed; *Tacitus* also writes, that

(*i*) Colonies of *Gauls* sent into *Germany.*
(*k*) A Colony from *Languedock* in *France*, to the *Neccar* in *Germany*, and the Country about that River.
(*l*) *Aquitanians* in *Gaul.*
(*m*) *Swissers.*
(*n*) *Decumates* People of *Moldavia.*

Wirtenburg. (*o*) *Gothini*, on the River *Oder.* (*p*) The *Getes* were a People of *Dacia* about

in his time, the *Gothini* uſed the *Gallick* Language; beſides, the (q) *Cimbri*, as *Philemon* ſays, and (if we believe *Tacitus*) the (r) *Æſtiones*, dwelling by the *Swediſh* Sea, where they gather *Amber*, did ſpeak *Britiſh*, which Language was then the ſame with the *Gallick*, or not much different from it. There are many Footſteps of *Gallick* Colonies, through all *Germany*, which I would willingly recite, but that, what I have already alleged is enough for my purpoſe; *viz.* To ſhew how widely *France* did extend her Colonies, round about *Brittain*.

(q) *Danes.*

(r) *Pruſſians* or *Livonians.*

What then ſhall we ſay of (a) *Britain* it ſelf; which did equal thoſe Nations neither in greatneſs, ſtrength, nor skill in Military Affairs? What did ſhe, that was ſo neer to the Valianteſt of the *Gauls*, and not inferiour to the neighbour Nations, either in the mildneſs of the Air, or the fruitfulneſs of the Soil; did ſhe, I ſay, entertain no *Foreign* Colonies? Yes, many, as *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* affirm, and, as I hold, all her Ancient Inhabitants came from thence. For 'tis manifeſt, that (b) three Nations did anciently poſſeſs the whole Iſland, the *Brittons*, *Picts*, and *Scots*, of which I will ſpeak hereafter.

(a) Colonies of *Gauls*, ſent into *Britain.*

(b) Three Nations anciently inhabited *Britain*; the *Britons*, *Picts*, and *Scots.*

To begin then with the *Brittons*, whoſe Dominion was of largeſt extent in *Albium*: The firſt, that I know, who hath diſcovered any certainty concerning them, was *C. Julius Cæſar*. He thinks, that the inmoſt Inhabitants were (c) *Indigenæ*, becauſe, after diligent enquiry, he could find nothing of their firſt comming thither; neither had they any Monuments of Learning, whence he might be informed. He ſays, that the Maritime parts of the *Iſland* were poſſeſſed by the (d) *Belgæ*, whom hopes of Prey had allured thither, and the fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and mildneſs of the Air, had detained there. He thinks this a ſufficient argument to confirm his Opinion, that many did retain the Names of the Cities, whence they came, and that their Buildings were like thoſe of the *Gauls*.

(c) *Indigenous*, *i. e.* born in the ſame Country.

(d) In *Cæſar's* time, *Belgium* was accounted part of *France.*

Cornelius Tacitus, a grave Author, adds; that their Manners are not unlike, and that they are equally bold in running into Dangers, and as fearful how to get out of them; that there were great Factions and Sidings among them Both. And laſtly, that *Britain*, in his time, was in the ſame State as *Gaul* was, before the coming of the *Romans*. *Pomponius Mela* adds further, That the *Brittons* uſed to Fight on Horſeback in Chariots and Coaches, being harneſſed in *French* Armour. Add hereto, that *Bede*, who lived before all thoſe, who have wrote ſuch Fabulous things of the Origin of the *Britons*, and is of greater Authority than them all, affirms; That the firſt Inhabitants of the Iſland came out of the Tract of (e) *Armorica*. Some Grammatiſts of the *Greeks*, differ much from the above mentioned *Authors*, for they ſay, that the *Brittons* received their Names from *Britannus*, the Son of *Celto*. They aſſuredly agree in this, that they would derive their Original from the *Gauls*; of the later Authors, *Robertus* * *Canalis*, and * *Pomponius Lætus*, in the Life of *Diocleſian*, (an Author not to be deſpiſed) do ſubſcribe to this Opinion; both of them, as I ſuppoſe, being convinced by the Power of Truth. Yet, Both ſeem to me to miſtake in this point, that they deduce them from the *Peninſula* of the *Brittons*, which is now called

(e) *Britany* in *France.*

* *Robertus Canalis.*
* *Pomponius Lætus.*

Britany

Britany to the River *Loir*, especially since the Maritime Colonies of *Britain*, as *Cæsar* observes, do testifie by their very Names, whence their (*f*) Transportation was.

(*f*) *Viz.* From the *Belgians.*

It follows, that we speak of the *Gallick* Colonies, sent into (*g*) *Ireland*; I shewed before, that all the North side of *Spain* was possessed by *Gallick* Colonies. And there are many reasons assignable, why they might pass out of *Spain* into *Ireland*, for either the easie passage might be a great inducement; or else, the *Spaniards*, might be expelled out of their Habitations by the excessive Power and Domination of the *Persians*, *Phænicians*, and *Græcians*, who, having overcome the *Spaniards*, rendred them Weak and Obnoxious to their Oppression and Violence. Moreover, there were Causes amongst the *Spaniards* themselves, for they being a People cemented and made up of many Nations, and not well agreeing among themselves, the desire of Liberty, and the avoiding of Servitude, in the midst of Civil Wars and new Tumults, arising amongst a People that was greedy of War, might make them willing to depart: He that weighs these causes of Transmigration, will not wonder, if many of them did prefer a mean condition abroad, conjoyned with Liberty, before a Domestick and bitter Servitude, and when they were once arrived there, the State of *Spain* growing daily more and more Turbulent, made them willing there to abide; for sometimes the *Carthaginians*, and sometimes the *Romans*, did exercise all the Miseries of Servility upon the Conquered *Spaniards*, and so compelled them to avoid those Evils, by a flight into *Ireland*, there being no other neighbour Nation into which, either in their Prosperity they might so well transport their over-abounding Multitudes; or else wherein, in adversity they might find a shelter against their Calamities. Besides, the Clemency of the Air did retain them there, for, as *Cæsar* says, the Air of *Britain* is more temperate than That of *France*. And *Ireland* exceeds Both in goodness of Soil, and also in an equal Temperature of the Air and Climate. Besides, Men born and educated in a barren Soil, and given to Lazines besides, as all *Spaniards* are, being transported almost into the richest Pastures of all *Europe*, no marvail, if they willingly withdrew themselves from homebred Tumults, into the bosome of a Peace beyond Sea. Notwithstanding all that I have said, yet I would not refuse the Opinion of any Nation concerning their Ancestors, provided it were supported by probable Conjectures, and ancient Testimony.

(*g*) Colonies of *Gauls* sent into *Ireland.*

For *Tacitus*, upon sure Conjectures, as he thinks, doth affirm, that the West side of *Britain* or *Albium*, was inhabited by the Posterity of the *Spaniards*. But it is not probable, that the *Spaniards* should leave *Ireland* behind them, being a Country nearer and of a milder Air and Soil, and first Land in *Albium*, but rather that they first arrived in *Ireland*, and from thence emitted their *Colonies* into *Britain*. And that the same thing happen'd to the *Scots*, all their *Annals* do testifie; and *Bede*, *Lib.* 1. doth affirm. For all the Inhabitants of (*h*) *Ireland* were first of all called *Scots*, as *Orosius* shews; and our *Annals* relate, that the *Scots* passed more than once out of *Ireland* into *Albium*: First of all, *Fergusius*, the Son of *Ferchard*, being their *Captain*; and after some Ages, being expelled from their Habitations they'

(*h*) Inhabitants of *Ireland*, anciently called *Scots.*

they returned into *Ireland*; and again, under their General *Reuthanus*, they return'd into *Britain*. And afterwards in the Reign of *Fergusius* the Second, great aid of *Irish-Scots* were sent, who had their Quarters assigned in *Gallaway*. And *Claudian* in his time shews, That Auxiliaries were transmitted thence against the *Romans*; for he says,

——Totam cùm Scotus Jernam
Movit, & infesto spumavit Sanguine Tethys.

The Scot *all* Ireland *did excite,*
To cross the Seas, 'gainst Rome *to Fight.*

And in another place,

Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Jerne.

Whole heaps of Scots *cold* Ireland *did lament.*

But in the beginning, when both People, *i. e.* the Inhabitants of *Ireland* and their Colonies sent into *Albium*, were called *Scots*, that there might be some distinguishment betwixt them, some *Scots* were called *Irish-Scots*, others *Albin-Scots*; and by degrees, their Sirnames came to be their Names, so that the ancient Name of *Scots* was almost forgotten, and not to be retrieved from common Speech, but only from Books and Annals. As for the Name of *Picts*, I judge it not their Antient and Country Name, but occasionally given them by the *Romans*, because their Bodies were indented, as it were, with Scars, which the Verses of *Claudian* do shew,

Irish-Scots and *Albin-Scots.*

Claudian.

Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

He nimble Moors, *and painted Picts did tame,*
With far-stretch'd Sword the Scots *he overcame,*
And with bold Oars the Northern Seas did Furrow.

And elsewhere,

Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimes, Picto moriente, figuras.

The Legion came, the outmost Britains *Guard,*
Which the fierce Scot *did curb with Bridle hard;*
And Read the Marks i' th' Skins of dying Picts,
Insculp'd with Iron.

(a) *Herodian.*

(a) *Herodian* also makes mention of the same Nation, but concealing its Name, and says plainly, That they did paint their Bodies;

dies; but he doth not affirm, That they did it with Iron; Neither (says he) are they acquainted with the use of Apparel, but they surround their Belly and their Neck with Iron, as thinking that Metal to be an Ornament and sign of Riches; as the other Barbarians do, Gold. And moreover, they mark their Bodies with sundry Pictures, and with Animals of all shapes, and therefore they will put on no Garments, lest they should hide their Paint. With what Name they call themselves, the thing is so ancient, that it is hard to determine. 'Tis certain, their Neighbour-Nations do not agree concerning their Name; for the *Brittons* call them (*b*) *Pictiades*; The *English*, *Pichti*; The old *Scots*, *Peachti*. And besides, the Names of some places, which were heretofore under the Jurisdiction of the *Picts*, but are now possessed by the *Scots*, seem to have a different Appellation from them all. For the Hills called (*c*) *Pentland-Hills*, and the (*d*) *Pentland-Bay*, or *Firth*, seems to be derived from *Penthus*, not from *Pictus*. But, I verily believe, those Names were imposed, in after-times, either by the *English*, or else by the *Scots*, who used the *English* Tongue; for the *Ancient Scots* did neither understand nor use them. As for the Name of *Picts*, whether the *Romans* Translated a *Barbarous* Word into a *Latin* one of a near sound; or, whether the *Barbarians* applyed a *Latin* Word, every one to his own Country Tone and Declension, 'tis all a case to me. Well then, being agreed of the Name, and it being confest by all Writers, That they came from the Eastern Parts into *Britain*; from *Scythia*, say some; from *Germany*, say others; it remains, that tracing their Footsteps by Conjectures, we come as near the Truth as we can. Neither do I perceive any surer Foundation of my Disquisition, than by painting their Bodies; so did the (*e*) *Arii* in *Germany*, and the * *Agathyrsi*, but it was only, that they might appear more terrible to the Enemy in War, and they did it only with the Juyce of Herbs. But seeing the *Picts* mark'd their Skins with Iron, and stigmatized them with the Pictures of divers Animals: The better way will be to inquire, What Nations, either in *Scythia*, *Germany*, or the Neighbor-Countries, did use that Custom of painting their Bodies, not for Terror, but Ornament. And, *First*, we meet with the (*f*) *Geloni*, according to *Virgil*, of whom *Claudian* speaks in his first Book against *Ruffinus*;

(*b*) *Pictiadæ*, *Picti*, and *Peachti*, old Names for *Picts*.

(*c*) *Pentland-Hills* in *Lothian*.

(*d*) *Pentland-Firth*, the *Firth* between *Caithness* and *Orkny*.

(*e*) *Arii*, a People of *Poland*, but formerly accounted part of *Germany*.

* People of *Europæa Sarmatia* and *Scythia*, now under the *Moscovite*.

(*f*) *Geloni*, Inhabitants of *Scythia Europæa* upon the River *Boristhenes*.

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus.

The Geloni *love to Print*
Their Limbs with Iron Instrument.

We meet also with the (*g*) *Getæ* in *Thrace*, mentioned by the same Poet;

(*g*) People of *Dacia*.

Crinigeri sedere patres, pellita Getarum
Curia, quas plagis decorat numerosa cicatrix.

Skin-wearing Getes *consult, with Hair unshorn,*
Whose marked Bodies num'rous Scars adorn.

Therefore, seeing the *Geloni*, as *Virgil* writes, are Neighbors to the *Getes*, and either the * *Gothunni*, or *Getini*, according to *Arrianus*, are number'd amongst the *Getes*; and seeing the *Gothunni*, as *Tacitus* says, speak the *Gallick* Language; what hinders, but that we may believe the *Picts* had their Original from thence?

But, from whatsoever Province of *Germany* they came, I think it very probable, that they were of the ancient Colonies of the *Gauls*, who seated themselves either on the (*h*) *Swedish Sea*, or on the (*i*) *Danow*. For the Men of a *Gallick* Descent, being counted Foreigners by the *Germans*, (as indeed they were) I judge their Name was used in a way of reproach, so that one word, *i. e.* (*k*) *Walsch*, (with them) signifies a *Gaul*, a Stranger, and a Barbarian, too. So that it is very credible, That the Ancestors of the *Picts*, either being expell'd by their Neighbors, or driven up and down by Tempests, were easily reconciled to the *Scots*; yea, were befriended and aided (as 'tis reported) by them, as a People allyed to Them, almost of the same Language with them, and their Religious Customs not unlike. So that, it might easily come to pass, that thereupon they might mix their Blood, and, by Marriages, make a Coalition, as it were, into one Nation. For otherwise, I do not see, how the *Scots*, which then possessed *Ireland*, being a fierce and rough-hewn People, should so easily enter into an Affinity and compleat Friendship with Strangers, who were necessitous and destitute of all things, which they never saw before, and with whom they had no Commerce, in point of Laws, Religion, or Language.

But here the Authority of *Bede*, the *Anglo-Saxon*, doth somewhat obstruct my passage, who is the only Writer, that I know of, that affirms, That the *Picts* used a different Language from the *Scots*; For, speaking of *Britain*, he says, That It did search after, and profess the Knowledge of the highest Truth, and the sublimest Science in five Languages, the *English*, *British*, *Scotish*, *Pictish*, and *Latin*. But, I suppose, *Bede* calls five Dialects of one and the same Tongue, Five Tongues, as we see the *Greeks* do, in the like case: And as *Cæsar* doth, in the beginning of his Commentaries of the *Gallick* War. For he says, That Three parts of *Gaul* did use different Languages and Customs. But *Strabo*, though he grants that the (*l*) *Aquitans* used a different Language from the other *Gauls*; yet, he affirms, That all the rest of the *Gauls* used the same Language, but with a little Variation. The (*m*) *Scots* also do not differ from the *Britains* in their whole Language, but in Dialect rather, as I shall shew hereafter; seeing their Speech, at present, doth so far agree, that it seems of old to have been the same, for they differ less than some *Gallick* Provinces do, which yet are all said to speak *Gaulish*. And therefore other Writers give not the least suspition of a different Language; and They, as long as Both Kingdoms were distinct, as if they had been People of one Nation, did always contract Marriages one with another; and as they were mixed in the beginning, so afterwards they carried themselves as Neighbors, and oftentimes as Friends, until the Destruction of the *Picts*.

Neither

* People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, so called because compounded of *Goths* and *Huns*, whence *Claudian* calls them *Mixti Gothunni*.

(*h*) The *Baltick*, or rather the *Bothnick* Sea or Gulph.

(*i*) The River *Danubius*, arising in the *Alps*, and running through *Germany*, *Hungary*, &c. at last dischargeth it self by six Mouths into the *Euxin* Sea.

(*k*) *Walsch* hath several Acceptations.

(*l*) *Aquitans*, *i. e.* the *Guiennois* in *France*.

(*m*) The *British* and the *Scots* anciently used one Language, but a different way of pronunciation.

Neither did the remainder of them, (who, when their Military Race was extinct, yet muſt needs be many) in any degree, corrupt the *Scotiſh* Tongue: Nor indeed are there any Footſteps of a Foreign Language in the Places and Habitations which they left. For all the Countries of the *Picts*, and many particular Places therein too, do yet retain *Scotiſh* Appellations, except a very few, who, upon the *Saxon*-Tongu's prevailing over our Country-Language, had *German* Names impoſed upon them.

Neither is This to be omitted, That, before the coming of the *Saxons* into *Britain*, none of the *Britiſh* Nations uſed Interpreters to underſtand one another. Wherefore, ſeeing the *Scotiſh*, *Engliſh*, and *German* Writers do unanimouſly accord, That the Original of the (*n*) *Picts* was from *Germany*; and it is alſo manifeſt, That the *Gothunni*, or *Getini*, were Colonies of the *Gauls*, whoſe Language they ſpoke; and that the *Æſtii* ſpake *Britiſh*, by the *Swediſh*, or *Baltick* Sea: Whence may we rather fetch the Deſcent of the *Picts*? Or, They being expell'd from their Native Habitations, Whither ſhould they go but to their own Kindred? Or, Where were they likely to obtain Marriage-Unions, but amongſt a People of Affinity with them, in Blood, Language and Manners?

(*n*) *Picts* had their Origin from *Germany*.

But if any one deny, That the *Picts* were deſcended from the *Gothunni*, or * *Æſtii*, or *Getæ*, being induc'd to that Perſuaſion by the great diſtance of thoſe Countries from *Britain*; Let him but conſider, How many, and How great Migrations of People were made, even in all parts of the World, in *thoſe* Times, wherein the coming of the *Picts* into *Britain* is recorded to have been, and alſo for many Ages after; and then he may eaſily grant, that ſuch things might not only be done, but be done with great facility, too. The *Gauls* did then poſſeſs a great part of *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Britain*; by their Colonies; They proceeded ſo far as *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, by their Depredations; and after they had waſted *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, they fixed their Seats in *Aſia*.

* People of *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*.

The (*o*) *Cimbri*, * *Ambrones*, and (*p*) *Teutones*, having waſted *Gaul*, pierced into *Italy*: The *Geloni*, whom *Virgil* places in *Thrace*, are, by other Writers, ſaid to dwell near to the (*q*) *Agathyrſi*, in *Scythia*.

(*o*) *Danes*.

* People of *Switſerland*.

(*p*) People of *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia Europæa*.

Germany, near the *Baltick* Sea. (*q*) Of *Volegna* in *Moſcovy*, which was then called

The *Goths*, for a great while, an obſcure Nation, yet, in a ſhort time, like a Flood, over-ran *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. And therefore, ſeeing, for many Ages after, Thoſe, who were Grandees, and more powerful than others, challeng'd to themſelves the Seats of their Inferiours; the Weak, being obnoxious to the Injuries of the Strong, left their Country, which they could not keep; ſo that, its no great Wonder amongſt the Wiſe, if Men, having long conflicted with adverſe Fortune, and being toſſed up and down by many Peregrinations; having, beſides, no certain Habitation, did, at length, betake themſelves to remote, or far diſtant, Countries.

Besides, we see, That the *Roman* Writers do place Two Ancient Nations within those Limits, which did bound the Kingdoms of the *Scots* and *Picts*, the * *Mayatæ* and * *Attacottæ*. Of these, (I suppose) the (r) *Mayatæ*, whom *Dion* alone, of all the Authors that I know, doth mention, were of the *Picts* Race, seeing he places them in the Countries neareſt to the (t) *Caledonian* Sea; and it is certain, that the *Picts* did inhabit those Provinces. As for the (f) *Attacottæ*, it appears out of *Marcellinus*, That they were the Progeny of those, who, sometimes being excluded by *Adrian's* Wall, afterwards enlarging their Dominions unto the Wall of *Severus*, were comprehended within the *Roman* Province, because I find in a Book of the *Romans* concerning Camp-Discipline through their Provinces, that, among the *Foreign* Auxiliaries, there were some Troops of the *Attacottæ*, as well as of the *Britains*: Which makes me hesitate, Whether of the Two to admire in *Lud*, his Boldness, or his Stupidity; His Boldness, who affirms, That the *Attacottæ* were *Scots*, but without any certain Author, or probable Conjecture; His Stupidity, that, in the very place of *Marcellinus*, cited by him, he sees not, that the *Scots* are plainly distinguished from the *Attacottæ*. For *Marcellinus* says, The *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacottæ*, vexed the *Britains*, with perpetual Miseries. Of the same Stupidity is he guilty, when he affirms, That the *Caledonii* were of the Nation of the *Britains*; whereas, 'tis plain, they were *Picts*, which *Lud* himself doth clearly demonstrate by a Testimony out of a *Panegyrick*, dedicated to *Constantius*, which he produces against himself. For, says the Author of that Oration, *The Woods of the* Caledones *and of other* Picts; That Testimony (such was his Folly) he produces for himself, not observing, (such was his Stupidity) that it makes against him. If we look to the Word it self, 'tis *Scotish*, for *Calden* in *Scotch* is that Tree called the Hasel, whence, I judge, came the Name of the *Caledonian* Woods, and the Town of the *Caledonians*, situate by the River *Tay*, which is yet called (u) *Duncalden*, *i. e.* the Hasel-Hill-Town. And if I dared to indulge my self so much Liberty, as to disagree from all the Books of *Ptolemy*, for the *Deucaledonian*, I would write the *Duncaledonian*, Sea; and for the *Dicaledones* in *Marcellinus*, (w) *Duncaledones*: Both the Sea and the Nation being Sirnamed from the Town, *Duncalden*. What I have written may satisfie any favourable Reader, yet I shall add other Testimonies, which * *C. Plinius* thinks to be manifest Signs of the Originals of Nations, *viz.* Religion, Language, and Names of Towns.

First of all, it is manifest, That the Bond of Religion, and the Identity of Sentiment as to the (supposed) Gods, hath been always held the strictest tye of Obligation, and Allyance, amongst Nations. Now the *Britains* and the *Gauls* maintain'd the same Divine Worship, they had the same Priests, the *Druydes*, amongst them, who were in no Nation, else; whose Superstition had so besotted the Minds of both Nations, that many have doubted, which of the two (first) learn'd that sort of Philosophy, one from the other. *Tacitus* also says, that they had the same Sacred Rites and Superstitious Observations. And that

* *Mayatæ.*
* *Attacottæ.*
(r) A Nation of the *Picts*, that lived North of *Adrian's* Wall in *Northumberland* and the *Mers*.
(f) One of the Tribes of the *Picts*, living near the *Scots* on the *East* Sea, betwixt *Tweed* and *Tine* in *Northumberland*.
(t) *Caledonians* a mixt People of *Picts* and *Scots*, that inhabited the *Caledonian* Forest.
(u) Or *Dunkalden* in *Perthshire*.
(w) *Duncaledones.*
* The Sameness of Religion, Language, Names of Places, are Characters of one and the same Nation.
The *Britains* and *Gauls* of one Religion.

that Tomb erected near * *New Carthage*, called *Mercurius Teutates*, as *Livy* writes, doth shew, that the *Spaniards*, the greatest part of whom drew their Original from the *Gauls*, were not free from those Rites. Also, the same kind of *Priests* or *Sacrists*, called by both of them * *Bards*, were in great Honour, both amongst the *Gauls* and *Britains*. Their Function and Name doth yet remain among all those Nations, which use the old *British* Tongue: and so much Honour is given to them, in many places, that their Persons are accounted Sacred, and their Houses, Sanctuaries: Yea, in the height of their Enmities, when they manage the cruellest Wars one against another, and use their Victories, as severely; yet these * *Bards* and their retinue have free liberty to pass and repass, at their pleasure. The Nobles, when they come to them, receive them honourably, and dismiss them with Gifts. They make *Canto*'s not unelegant, which, * *Rhapsodists* recite, either to the better sort, or else to the vulgar, who are very desirous to hear them; and sometimes they sing them to Musical Tunes and Instruments. Many of their Ancient Customs yet remain; yea, there is almost nothing changed of them in *Ireland*, but only in Ceremonies and Rites of Religion. This for the present concerning their Religion. It remains now, that we speak concerning their Ancient Language, and the Names of the Towns, and of their People. But these Parts, thô several, (for the most part,) shall yet be promiscuously handled by me; because that many times one depends upon another, as its foundation; especially, sithence a proper Name, either by its Origination or Declination, doth assert, or indicate, the Country whence a Man comes: Yet, thô these things are intwisted, and do mutually confirm one another, for the Reader's Instruction, I will sometime handle them, severally, as much as I can.

*Cartagena on the Mediterranean in Murcia in Spain.

* *Bards* were the Heralds, Poets, and Musitians of the Ancient *Gauls* and *Britains*.

Bards pass'd freely between the Armies of disagreeing Nations.

* *Rhapsodists* (i. e.) Rehearsers, or Interpreters of old Verses by piece-meal.

First of all, *Tacitus* in the Life of his Father-in-law, *Agricola*, doth affirm, That the *Gaulish* Tongue did not much differ from the *British*; whence I gather, that they were sometimes the same; but, by little and little, either by Commerce with Foreign Nations; or, by the Importation of new Commodities, unknown before to the Natives; or, by the Invention of new Arts; or, by the frequent change of the Form of Garments, Arms, and other Furniture; A Speech, or Language, that was very flexible of itself, might be much alter'd, sometimes augmented, sometimes adulterated, many new words being found out, and many old ones corrupted. Let a Man but think with himself, how much the Inconstancy and Humourousness of the Vulgar doth assume to it self, in this particular; and how ready Men are, and always were, to loath present things, and to study Innovations; he will find the judgment of the best of Poets, and the only Censor, in these Cases, to be most true,

Tacitus

Ut Sylvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et, juvenum ritu, florent modò nata vigentque.

Horat. de Arte Poeticâ.

As withered Leaves fall off from Trees,
And new supply their places;

So

So Languages decay and ceaſe,
New Speech brings in new Grace's.

And a little after,

Multa renaſcentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc ſunt in honore, vocabula, ſi volet uſus,
Quem penes arbitrium eſt, & jus & norma loquendi.

Many Words ſhall fall,
Which now we highly prize:
And Words, which now *have fallen,*
Shall hereafter *Riſe;*
Uſe, or Cuſtom, Rules this thing,
And governs Language, as a King.

'Tis true, he ſpake this of the *Latin* Tongue, which, by the great care of the *Romans*, was kept uncorrupted, and which all the Nations contained within the large bounds of their Empire, did diligently Learn. And therefore 'tis no wonder, if a Language, (even before Colonies were ſent into all parts, out of *Gaul*,) which already had different Dialects at home; and alſo, was afterwards corrupted by the mixture of divers Nations, being in it ſelf *too* barbarous at firſt, and almoſt neglected by thoſe themſelves that uſed it; and after it again re-enter'd, from a Foreign Soil, into *Britain*, which was then divided into Kingdoms, for the moſt part, obnoxious to Strangers; 'tis no wonder, I ſay, if, upon all theſe prejudices it was not always conſiſtent with it ſelf. For at firſt, the (*a*) *Celtæ*, and the (*b*) *Belgæ* did uſe a different Dialect, as *Strabo* thinks. Afterwards, when the *Celtæ* ſent abroad great Colonies into *Spain*, as the Names of *Celtiberi* and *Celtici* do declare. And the *Belgæ* made their deſcent into the Maritime parts of *Britain*, as may be collected from the Names of (*c*) *Venta Belgarum*, of the (*d*) *Atrebates*, and (*e*) *Iceni*, it muſt needs follow, that on the one ſide the *Spaniards*, and on the other the *Romans*, the *Engliſh*, the *Danes*, and the *Normans*, muſt bring in many ſtrange Words with them, and ſo corrupt the Country Speech. Yea, I rather judge it more worthy of Admiration, that the Languages of neighbouring Nations, having been adulterated by the coming in of ſo many ſtrange People, and in great part chang'd by the Speech of neighbour Counties, that yet, ſo long time after, the *Britains* ſhould not differ in their whole Language, but only in certain Idioms aud Dialects only: For, if any one of them, though of another Nations, do hear a Man ſpeak *Britiſh*; yet he may acknowledge the ſound of his own Language, and may underſtand many Words, though he do not comprehend his whole Diſcourſe. Neither ought it to ſeem ſtrange to us, if the ſame Words do not ſignifie the ſame things in all Nations, if we conſider, what alterations Commerce with neighbouring Countries doth daily make in the Speech of all Nations; and, how much change is made by daily Converſation with Foreigners; how many new Words are coined to expreſs things, newly invented; how many are imported

(*a*) The *Celts* were a numerous People Inhabiting principally about *Lyons*, from whom one part of *France* was called *Gallia Celtica*.
(*b*) Inhabitants of *Belgium* (now the *Low Countries* or the *Netherlands*) in *Cæſar*'s time, counted a third part of *France*, by the Name of *Gallia Belgica*.
(*c*) *Winchester*.
(*d*) Inhabitants of *Berkſhire*, ſo called from the *Atrebates* of *Gallia Belgica*, who tranſported themſelves thither.
(*e*) Living in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge* and *Huntingtonſhire*, tranſplanted from the *Iceni* in *Belgium*.

imported with Wares and Traffick, even from the furtheſt parts of the World; how many old obſolete Words are diſus'd; how many are lengthned by the addition of Letters or Syllables; and how many are ſhortned by contrary Decurtations; and ſome alſo new pargeted (as it were) by mutation or tranſpoſition of Letters. I will not inquire, in how ſhort a time, and how much, the (*f*) *Ionick* Speech did degenerate from the (*g*) *Attick*, and how much the other *Greeks* differ'd from them both. Let us but obſerve the Speech of the nobleſt Nations in *Europe*, how ſoon did the *French*, *Italick*, and *Latin* Tongues, all derived from the ſame Root, degenerate from the purity of the *Latin*; yet in the mean time, they differ no leſs amongſt themſelves, than the old *Scotiſh* and the *Britiſh* Tongues do. Yea, if we look over all the Provinces of *France*, (I mean thoſe who are judg'd to ſpeak true *Gallick* or *French*) what a great difference ſhall we find between the Inhabitants of (*h*) *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and the (*i*) *Gaſcoigners*? And how vaſtly the (*k*) *Limoſins*, the (*k*) *Perigordins*, and the (*k*) *Auvergnians*, though neighbours to both, yet differ from both, in their Speech? And how much the reſt of the Provinces of *France* do differ, even from all of them? And, to come nearer home; the *Engliſh* Laws of *William* the *Norman*, eſtabliſhed Five Hundred years ago, and wrote in *French*, yet now no *French* Man can underſtand them, without an Interpreter. Nay, if thoſe old Men, who have lived long in the World, can remember, that many Words are grown obſolete, which were in uſe when they were Children; and what Words unheard of by our Anceſtors, have ſucceeded in their places; they will not at all wonder, that the ſame Original Language, in length of time, ſhould be changed, and ſeem wholly different from it ſelf; eſpecially amongſt Nations far remote, and alſo often warring one againſt another. On the other ſide, when I ſee that concord (laſting ſo many Ages rather than years,) in the *Britiſh* Language, and that even amongſt Nations, either very diſtant one from another, or elſe maintaining mutual Animoſities againſt one another; ſuch a concord, as is hardly to be found amongſt many Tribes and People of the *Gauls*, who yet have long lived under the ſame Kings and Laws: I ſay, when I ponder within my ſelf, ſuch an agreement in Speech, which as yet preſerves its ancient Affinity of Words, and no obſcure markes of its Original; I am eaſily induc'd to believe; that, before the coming in of the *Saxons*, all the *Britains* uſed a Language, not much different from each other; and it is probable, that the Nations, adjoyning to the *Gallick* ſhore, uſed the *Belgick* Tongue, from whoſe limits a good part of the *Britans*, bordering on *France*, had made a Tranſmigration, as *Cæſar* informs us. But the *Iriſh*, and the Colonies ſent from them, being derived from the *Celtæ*, Inhabitants of *Spain*, 'tis probable, they ſpake the *Celtick* Tongue. I ſuppoſe, that theſe Nations returning, as it were, from a long Pilgrimage, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the neighbour-Seats, and almoſt coaleſcing into one People, did confound the Idioms of their ſeveral Tongues reſpectively; ſo that, it was neither wholly *Belgick*, nor wholly *Celtick*, nor yet wholly unlike to either of them: Such a mixture we may obſerve in thoſe Nations, which are thought to ſpeak the *German* Tongue, and yet have much declined

(*f*) The *Jones* were a Colony of the Greeks, which Inhabited *Jonia*, on the *Mediterranean* Sea in *Aſia*.

(*g*) The *Attick Dialect* was uſed in and about *Athens*, and was the ſmoothest and pureſt Greek.

(*h*) Containing the Provinces of *Savoy*, *Provence* and *Languedock*.

(*i*) Formerly inhabiting the Kingdom of *Navar*, but now the Country called *Gaſcoign*.

(*k*) Inhabiting *Limoſin*, *Pericord*, and *Auvergn*.

clined from the ancient Phraſe thereof: I mean, the *Danes*, the Maritime *Saxons*, thoſe of *Freiſland*, thoſe of *Flanders*, and the *Engliſh*; amongſt all which, 'tis eaſie to find ſome Letters, Sounds, and Inflections, which are proper to the *Germans* only, and not common to any other Nation; beſides, I ſuppoſe, that a ſurer ſymptom of the Affinity of a Language may be gathered from this Sound of Letters; from the familiar way of each Nation in pronouncing certain Letters; and from the judgment of the Ear thereupon; and alſo, from the Compoſition and Declenſion of Words, than from the ſignification of ſingle or particular Words. Examples hereof we find in the *German* Letter *W*, in the compoſition of the Words *More-Maruſa* and *Armoricus*, of which, I have ſpoken before: And in the Declenſion of thoſe Words, which amongſt the *Gauls*, end in *Ac*, of which there is a vaſt number, which Form amongſt the Scots is * *Hypocoriſtical*, *i. e. Diminutive*, and ſo it was amongſt the ancient *Gauls*. From *Drix*, which, amongſt the *Scots*, ſignifies a *Briar*, is derived *Driſſac*, *i. e.* a *Briarling*, or little *Briar* buſh. And from *Brix*, which ſignifies a Rupture or Cleft, *Brixac*, which now the *French* pronounce (*a*) *Briſac*. For what the *Scots* pronounce *Brix*, that the *French* call *Breſche*, even to this very day, there being no difference at all in the ſignification of the Words: The Cauſe of the different Writing, is, that the ancient *Scots*, and all the *Spaniards* to this very day, do uſe the Letter *X* for double *SS*. And therefore the old *Gauls*, from *Brix*, have called a Town of the (*b*) *Canomani*, (*c*) *Brixia*; and again, from *Brixia*, *Brixiacum*, now commonly *Briſac*. After the like Form, *Aureliacum*, *i. e.* (*d*) *Orilhach*, is derived from *Aurelia*, *i. e. Orleans*; and, from (*e*) *Evora*, which is called *Cerealis* or *Ebora*, Sirnam'd by the *Spaniards*, *Fœlicitas Julia*, *Eboracum*, *i. e. York*, is derived; as the *Brigantes* have declined it, (who had their Origin from the *Spaniards*) retaining in the Declenſion thereof, the propriety of the *French* Tongue. Furthermore, beſides thoſe things which I have mentioned, all that Coaſt of *Britain*, which is extended to the South-Weſt, retains the ſure and manifeſt Footſteps of a *Gallick* Speech and Original, according to the clear teſtimony even of Foreigners themſelves. Firſt, in that Coaſt, there is *Cornuvallia*, *i. e. Cornwal*, as many call it, but by the Ancients 'twas called *Cornavia*, and, by the Vulgar, *Kernico*; even as in *Scotland*, the (*f*) *Cornavii*, placed by *Ptolemy* in the moſt Northern Diſtrict of that Country, are commonly called *Kernicks*; ſo that (*g*) *Cornuvallia* is derived from *Kernick* and *Valli*, as if you ſhould ſay *Kernico-Galli*, *i. e. Corniſh Gauls*. Moreover, *Vallia*, *i. e. Wales*, another Peninſula in the ſame ſide, doth avouch its Anceſtors both in Name and Speech. They who come near in Language to the Sound of the German Tongue, pronounce it by *W*, a Letter proper to the *Germans* only; which the reſt of their neighbours, who uſe the old Tone, can by no means pronounce: Yea, if you ſhould Torture them to make them pronounce it aright, yet, the *Corniſh*, the *Iriſh*, or *Highland-Scots* could never do it. But the *French*, who call it *Vallia*, do always prefix *G* before it; and not in that Word alone, but they have many others alſo, which begin with *G*; for they, who, by reaſon of the Propinquity of the

* *Hypocoriſtical i.e.* diminutive, as *Thingling* from *Thing*.

(*a*) A well fortified Town in *Alſatia*, built on an Hill, and a ſtrong paſs on the *Rhene*.
(*b*) People of *Le-Main* in *France*.
(*c*) Now *Breſſia*.
(*d*) A Town of *Auvergn* in *France*.
(*e*) In *Portugal*.

(*f*) *Cornavii* in *Scotland*, and *England* too; in the one, the *Caithneſs*-Men; In the other, the *Corniſh*-Men are ſo called.
(*g*) Etymology of *Cornwal*.

the Countries do *Germanize*, do call the *French* Tongue (*a*) *Walla*; and beſides, in a multitude of other Words, they uſe this change of Letters: On the other ſide, that Country which the *Engliſh* call *Wales* and *North-Wales*; the *French* call (*b*) *Gales* and *North-Gales*, as yet pertinaciouſly inſiſting on the footſteps of their ancient Tongue.

(*a*) The *French* Tongue by ſome called *Walla*.

(*b*) The *French* pronounce *Gales* and *North-Gales*, for *Wales* and *North-Wales*.

But (*c*) *Polydore Virgil* pleaſeth himſelf with a new fancy; which, he thinks, he was the firſt inventer of; whereas no Man, though but meanly skilled in the *German* Tongue, is ignorant, that the Word *Walſch* ſignifies a Stranger or Foreigner; and, that therefore the *Valli* were call'd Foreigners by them; but he reckons, as we ſay, without his Hoſt: For, if that Name were derived from *Stranger-ſhip*, I think it would agree better to the *Angles*, or *Engliſh*, as an adventitious People, rather than to Thoſe; whom, by reaſon of their Antiquity, many of the ancients have thought to be *Indigenous*: Or, if that name were impoſed upon them by the *Engliſh*, they might with better reaſon have given it to the *Scots* and *Picts*, than to the *Britains*, becauſe with the former they had leſs acquaintance and very rare Commerce: And if the *Engliſh* called them *Valli* in reproach, would the *Brittons*, (think we) who, for ſo many Ages, were the deadly Enemies of the *Engliſh*, and now made more obnoxious to them by this affront, own that *Name?* Which they do not unwillingly, calling themſelves in their own Tongue* *Cumbri*. Beſides, the Word *Walſh*, doth not primarily ſignifie a *Stranger* or *Barbarian*; but, in its firſt and proper acceptation, a *Gaul*. And therefore, in my Judgment, the Word *Vallia* is changed by the *Engliſh* from *Gallia*, they agreeing with other Neighbour Nations in the Name, but obſerving the propriety of the *German* Tongue in pronouncing the firſt Letter by *W*, *viz. Wallia*. The Ancient Inhabitants of that Peninſula were called * *Silures*, as appears out of *Pliny*, which Name in ſome part of *Wales* was long retained, even in ſucceeding Ages. But * *Leland*, a *Britain* by Birth, and a Man very diligent in diſcovering the *Monuments* of his own Country, doth affirm; That ſome part of *Wales* was ſomtime called *Roſs*, which Word in *Scotland*, ſignifies a *Peninſule*. But the Neighbour *Nations* ſeem in Speaking, to have uſed a Name or Word, which held forth the Original of the *Nation*, rather than One that demonſtrated the ſite and form of the Country. The ſame hath happened in the Name *Scots*; For whereas they call themſelves *Albini*, a Name derived from *Albium*: Yet, their Neighbours call them *Scoti*, by which Name their Original is declared to be from the *Iriſh*, or *Hibernians*.

* Or *Cambri*, from their King *Cambet*, as ſome.

* The Inhabitants of *South-Wales*.

* *Leland*.

On the ſame ſide and *Weſtern* Shore, follows *Gallovidia*, *i. e. Galway*, which word ('tis evident) both with *Scots* and *Welch*, ſignifieth a *Gaul*, as being made up of *Gallus* and *Wallus*, part impoſed by the one, and part by the other. For the *Valli* or *Welch* call it *Wallowithia*. This *Country* yet uſeth for the moſt part its ancient Language. Theſe three *Nations* comprehend all that *Tract* and ſide of *Britanny*, which bends towards *Ireland*; and they as yet retain, no mean indications, but rather deeply imprinted Marks of their *Gallick* Speech and Affinity; of which, the cheif is, that the

* *Gallowai*, whence derived.

* Ancient Scots, i.e the Highlanders divide the Nations inhabiting *Britain* into Two, the first *Gael*, the second, *Galle* or *Gald*, i. e. *Gallæci* and *Galli*.

* *Ancient Scots* did divide all the Nations, inhabiting *Britain*, into two Sorts, the one they call *Gael*, the other *Galle* or *Gald*, *i. e.* according to my Interpretation, *Gallæci* and *Galli*. Moreover the *Gallæcians* do pleaſe themſelves with that Title, *Gael*, and they call their Language (as I ſaid before) *Gallæcian*, and do glory in it, as the more refin'd and elegant, undervaluing the *Galli* as *Barbarians*, in reſpect of themſelves: And though originally the *Scots* called the *Britains*, *i. e.* the moſt Ancient Inhabitants of the Iſland, *Galli*; yet cuſtom of ſpeaking hath by degrees obtained, that they called all the *Nations*, which afterwards fixed their Seats in *Britain* by that Name, which they uſed rather as a Contumelious, than a National, one. For the Word *Galle* or *Gald* ſignifies That amongſt them, which *Barbarian* doth amongſt the *Greeks* and *Latins*; and *Walſch* among the *Germans*.

* Another Argument of Affinity between the *Gauls* and *Britains*, from the Names of Towns, Rivers, &c.

Now at laſt we are come to this point, *i. e.* That we are to demonſtrate the Community of Speech, and thereupon an ancient * Affinity between the *Gauls* and the *Britains*, from the Names of *Towns*, *Rivers*, *Countries*, and ſuch other Evidences. A Tickliſh Subject, and to be warily handled; for I have formerly proved, that a publick Speech or Language may be altered for *many* Cauſes; for though it be not changed altogether, and at once, yet it is in a perpetual Flux, and doth eaſily follow the inconſtancy of the alterers, by reaſon of a certain Flexibility, which it hath in its own Nature. The Truth whereof doth appear chiefly in thoſe Ranks of things, which are ſubject not only to the Alterations of Time, but are alſo obnoxious to every Man's Pleaſure or Arbitrement; ſuch as are all particular things invented for the daily uſe of Mans Life, whoſe Names either grow obſolete, or are made new and refined, for very light and trivial Cauſes. But the Caſe is far different in thoſe things, which are time-proof, and ſo, after a ſort, are Perpetual or Eternal. As the Heavens, the Sea, the Earth, Fire, Mountains, Countries, Rivers; and alſo in thoſe, which, by their Diuturnity, as far as the infirmity of Nature will permit, do in ſome ſort imitate thoſe perpetual and uncorrupted Bodies; ſuch are Towns, which are built as if they were to be Sempiternal. So that a Man cannot eaſily give Names to, or change the old of, *Nations* and *Cities*, for they were not *raſhly* impoſed at the beginning, but in a manner by general and deep advice and conſent by their *Founders*, whom Antiquity did greatly Reverence, aſcribing Divine Honour to them; and, as much as they could, making them *Immortal*. And therefore, theſe *Names* are deſervedly continued, and receive no alteration without a mighty Perturbation of the whole Oeconomy of things, ſo that if the reſt of a *Language* be changed, yet theſe are pertinaciouſly retained, and are never ſupplanted by other Names, but as it were, with unwillingneſs and regret. And the cauſe of their impoſing at firſt, contributes much to their continuance. For thoſe, who, in their *Peregrinations*, either were forced from their *old* Seats; or, of their own accord, ſought *new*; when they had loſt their own Country, yet retained the *Name* thereof, and were willing to enjoy a Sound moſt pleaſing to their Ears; and by this umbrage of a *Name*, ſuch as it was, the want of their Native Soil, was ſomewhat alleviated and

addulc'd

ſoftned unto them, ſo that thereupon they judged themſelves not altogether *Exiles*, or *Travellers*, far from Home. And beſides, there were not wanting ſome Perſons, who, being ſuperſtitiouſly inclined, did conceive an Holier and more Auguſt Repreſentation in their Minds, than could be ſeen in Walls and Houſes, and did ſweetly hug that Image and delightful Pledge of their *own* former Country, with a love, more than *Native*. And therefore, a ſurer Argument of Affinity is taken from This ſort of Words, than from *Thoſe*, which, on Trivial Cauſes, (and oft on none at all) are given to, or taken away from, ordinary and changeable Things. For though it may caſually happen, that the ſame Word may be uſed in divers *Countries*, yet it is not credible, that ſo many *Nations*, living ſo far aſunder, ſhould fortuitouſly agree in the frequent impoſing of the ſame Name.

In the next place, Thoſe Names ſucceed, which are derived from, or compounded of, the former Primitives. For, oft-times, the [a] Similitude of Declination and Compoſition doth more certainly declare the Affinity of a Language, than the very *Primitive* words thereof do; for theſe are, many times, caſually given: But the *Other*, being declined after *one* certain Mode and Form, are directed by one fixed Example, which the *Greeks* call Ἀναλογία. And therefore this certain and perpetual manner of *Nominal* Affinity, (as *Varro* ſpeaks) doth, after a ſort, lead us to an Affinity of *Stock*, and old Communion of *Language*. Moreover, there is a certain Obſervation to be made in all *Primogenious* Words, from whence we may know, which are *foreinly* introduced, and which are *Patriots*. For, as the Words *Philoſophia*, *Geometria*, and *Dialectica*, though oft uſed by *Latin* Writers, yet have ſcarce any *Latin* Word of kin to them, or derived from them, from whence they may ſeem to draw their Original; ſo, on the other ſide, the Words *Paradiſus* and *Gaza*, are uſed by the *Greeks*; and yet it appears by this, That they are Inquiline or *Forein*, becauſe they can't ſhew any *Original*, nor any *Progeny*, derived from them, in the *Genuin* Greek Tongue.

[a] Derivative Words ſhew the Affinity of a Language more than their Primitives.

The ſame Obſervation may be alſo made in other *Tongues*, which will help us to judge, what Words are *Domeſtick*, and what are *Adventitious*, or Forein. Let it ſuffice to have ſpoken thus much in *General*. Let us now propound Examples, concerning every *Particular* part; Where, Firſt, we meet with thoſe Words, which end in *Bria*, *Briga* and *Brica*. *Strabo*, in his Seventh Book, with whoſe Opinion *Stephanus* concurs, ſays, That *Bria* ſignifies a *City*; to confirm their Opinion, they produce theſe Names, derived therefrom, [b] *Pultobria*, [c] *Brutobria*, [d] *Meſembria*, and [e] *Selimbria*. But the place by them called *Brutobria*, by others is named *Brutobrica*; and the places, which *Ptolemy* makes to end in *Briga*, *Pliny* cloſes with *Brica*; ſo that, 'tis probable, [f] That *Bria*, *Briga* and *Brica*, ſignifie the ſame thing. But that they all have their Original from *Gaul*, appears by this, That the *Gauls* are reported, anciently, to have ſent forth Colonies into *Thrace* and *Spain*, and not They into *Gaul*; and therefore, amongſt proper *Claſſick* Authors, we uſually read the Words following.

[b] Or *Bruttobrica*, a City of *Thrace*, on the Coaſt of the *Ægæan* Sea, now called, by the *Greeks*, *Ænos*, or *Eno*; and by the *Turks*, *Ygnos*.

[c] An Ancient Town in *Spain*.

[d] A City of *Bulgaria*, ſituate on the *Euxien* Sea. 15 Miles Weſt from *Conſtantinople*.

[e] *Selivre*, a City of *Thrace*, ſituate upon the *Propontis*, with words compounded of them.

[f] *Bria*, *Briga* and *Brica* are ſynonymous, all ſignifying a City or Town;

g *Braga* in *Portugal.*
h *Arrabida.*
i *Caſtanheira*
m *Portugal.*

k *Arcos.*
l *Azvaga* in *Portugal.*
m *Alcaſor* near *Saragoſſa* in *Spain*; which being at firſt called *Salduba*, from the Salt-Pits there, was afterwards rebuilt by *Cæſar Auguſtus*, and called *Cæſarea Auguſta*, ſome Footſteps of which Name do yet remain in the word *Saragoſſa.*
n *Aſtburgh.*

* People of *Bavaria* and *Suabia* in *Germany*, ſo called from the Rivers *Vindis* (*Werd*) and *Licus* (*Lech*,) near which they lived.

o *Villar del Pedroſo.*
p *Puente del Arcobiſpo.*

* People of *Extremadura* in *Spain.*
q *Ardea ol Muro.*

* Part of old *Caſtile* in *Spain.*

r *Boppart*, in the Biſhoprick of *Treves*, or *Triers.*
s *Broughton* in *Hamſhire*, as *Camden*: Quære, Whether not *Stockbridge*, which though a mean place now, yet was formerly a noted Town, as appears by its ſending Burgeſſes to Parliament at this Day: It is yet a conſiderable Paſs, between *Wincheſter* and *Salisbury.* (1) Which divide *France* from *Italy*, or rather *Piemont* from *Dauphine.* (2) Inhabitants of *Extremadura*, or *Andaluſia*, in the Kingdom of *Corduba*, in *Spain.* (3) *Guadalquivar*, a famous River in *Spain.* n *Barcelos*, a Town now of *Portugal*, formerly of *Spain*, near the River *Celand*, Inhabited heretofore by the *Celerini.* x People of *Hiſpania Bætica.* y In *Extra-medura*, in *Spain.* z *Miranda de Ebro.* a *Biſcainers.* b People of *Burgos* in *Spain.* c *Lagos* in *Portugal.* d *Bermeo*, as ſome; *Bilbao*, in *Spain*, as others. e *Alanguera* in *Portugal.* f Province of *Santaren*, in that Kingdom. g *Fuente d'Ivero*, as ſome; or elſe *Braganza*, as others, ſay. h *Lagos.* i Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Leon* in *Spain.* k *Cape* of St. *Vincent*, in *Portugal.* l *Langroiva.* m Dwelling by the River *Anas* in *Portugal.*

g *Abobrica* in *Pliny*, in the Circuit of *Braga.*
Amalo-brica in the *Itinerary* of the Emperor *Antoninus.*
h *Arabrica*, *Pliny*, in the *Bracarenſian* Circuit alſo.
i *Arabrica* another, *Ptolemy*, in *Luſitania*, or *Portugal.*
k *Arcobrica*, *Ptolemy*, amongſt the *Celtiberians*, i. e. *New-Caſtillians.*
l *Arcobrica* another, *Ptolemy*, amongſt the *Luſitanian-Celticks.*
m *Arcobrica* a Third, in the * *Cæſar-Auguſtan*-Province.
n *Artobrica*, *Ptolemy*, in the * *Vindilici*'s Country.
o *Auguſtobrica*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, in *Portugal.*
p *Auguſtobrica* another, *Ptolemy*, in the * *Vecton*'s Country.
q *Auguſtobrica* a Third, *Ptolemy*, in the * *Pelendon*'s Country.
Axabrica, *Pliny*, of the *Luſitanicks.*
r *Bodobrica*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, and in the Book of the Knowledge of the *Roman* Empire, in *High-Germany.*
s *Brige*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, in *Britany.*
Brige, in *Strabo*, a Town by the (1) *Cottian* Alps.
Bruto-brica, in *Strabo*, between the (2) *Turduli* and the River (3) *Bætis.*
u *Cæliobrica*, *Ptolemy*, of the *Celerini*, i. e. People in *Portugal.*
Cæſarobrica, *Pliny*, in *Portugal*, alſo.
Catobrica, of the x *Turduli*, in the *Itinerary* of the Emperor *Antoninus.*
Corimbrica, *Pliny*, in *Portugal*, if I miſtake not, corruptly for *Conimbrica*, of which mention is made in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, which City, as yet, keeps it ancient Name, by the River *Munda*, in *Portugal.*
Cotteobria, *Ptolemy*, in the y *Vecton*'s Country.
Deobrica, *Ptolemy*, among the *Vecton*'s, alſo.
z *Deobrica*, another, *Ptolemy*, of the a *Autrigones.*
Deobricula, *Ptolemy*, of the b *Morbogi.*
Deſſobrica, not far diſtant from c *Lacobrica*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus.*
d *Flavio-Brica*, *Pliny*, at the *Port* d *Amanus.* *Ptolemy*, in the *Autrigons*, calls it *Magnus*, but I know not whether *Magnus*, ought to be writ in *Pliny*, or no.
e *Serabrica* in the f *Scalabitan* Province, which *Pliny* writes *Jerabrica.*
g *Juliobrica*, in *Pliny*, and in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, of the *Cantabrians*, or *Biſcainers*, heretofore called *Brigantia.*
h *Lacobrica*, in the i *Vaccæans* Country, in *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Feſtus Pompeius.*
Lacobrica, at the k Sacred Promontory, in *Mela.*
l *Lancobrica*, of the m *Luſitanick Celts*, *Ptolemy.*

n *Latobrigi*,

[n] *Latobrigi*, near to the *Svitzers*, *Cæsar*.

[o] *Medubrica*, Sirnamed *Plumbaria*, by *Pliny*, in *Portugal*; this, if I miſtake not, is called *Mundobrica*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

[p] *Merobrica*, Sirnamed *Celtica*, in *Portugal*; *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*.

[q] *Mirobrica*, in the Country of the [r] *Oretani*.

[ſ] *Mircbrica*, another in [t] *Beturia*, or, in the Country of the [u] *Turditani Bætici*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*.

[x] *Nemetobrica*, in the Country of the *Luſitanick Celts*, *Ptolemy*.

[y] *Nertobrica*, in the *Turduli*'s Country of *Bætica*, *Ptolemy*.

[z] *Nertobrica*, another, in the [a] *Celtiberians* Country, *Ptolemy*, which, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, is called *Nitobrica*.

[b] *Segobrica*, in the *Celtiberians* Country, *Pliny*, but *Ptolemy* counts it the Head City of *Celtiberia*.

[c] *Talabrica*, in *Luſitania*, *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*.

[d] *Turobrica* in the *Celts* Country of *Bætica*, *Pliny*.

[e] *Tuntobrica* amongſt the [f] *Bracarean Gallæci*, *Ptolemy*.

Vertobrica, Sirnamed *Concordia Julia*, *Pliny*, in the *Celt-Bæticks* Country.

Volobrica, of the [g] *Nemetes*, *Ptolemy*.

[n] *Lanjanne*.

[o] *Monobriga*.

[p] *Santjago de Lacem*.

[q] *Malabrica*.

[r] Inhabiting the Country of *La Mancha*, in *New-Caſtile*.

[ſ] *Villa de Capilla*.

[t] *Eſtremadura*.

[u] Inhabiting part of *Algarbia* and *Medina Sidonia*.

[x] *Val de Nebro*.

[y] *Valera*.

[z] *Almunha*.

[a] *Spaniards*, lying beyond the River *Iberus* in *Arragon* and *Caſtile*. [b] *Segorve*, as *Cluſius* thinks. [c] *Talega*, or *Talega*, in *Portugal*. [d] *Alcantara*. [e] *Braganza*, as ſome; or rather *Burgua de Regoa*. [f] The *Gallicians* living near *Braga*, in *Portugal*. [g] Inhabitants in and about *Spire*, in *High Germany*.

Very many Names of Towns, and Nations, ſeem to belong to this Claſs, in all the *Provinces*, into which the *Gauls* diſtributed *Colonies*; For, as *Burgundus* and *Burgundio* ſeem to be derived from *Burgo*; ſo doth *Brigantes* from *Briga*. The Nominative Caſe of this word, in *Stephanus*, is *Brigas*, whence we decline *Brigantes*; as we do *Gigantes*, from *Gigas*. The *Brigantes*, according to *Strabo*, are ſituate by the *Cottian Alps*; and, in the ſame Tract, is the *Village*, or Town *Brige*. And the [h] *Brigiani*, in the *Trophy of Auguſtus*, are reckoned amongſt the *Alpin Nations*. [i] *Brigantium*, is an *Alpine Town*; and the *Brigantii*, are in the Country of the * *Vindelici*, according to *Strabo*; and *Brigantia*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*; And the Mountain [k] *Briga*, (*Ptolemy*) is near the Fountains of the *Rohſne* and the *Danow*. Alſo *Brigantium* in *Rhætia*, (*Ptolemy*) is the ſame *Town*, I ſuppoſe, which in the Book of the *Knowledge of the Provinces* of the People of *Rome*, is called *Brecantia*, and the [l] *Brigantine Lake*. And in *Ireland*, are the [m] *Brigantes*, *Ptolemy*: The *Brigantes* alſo are in *Albium*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Seneca*. And the Town *Brige*, or *Brage*, and *Iſobrigantium*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*. And the Town [n] *Brigantium*, in *Oroſius*, by the [o] *Celtick Promontory*, and *Flaviobrigantium*, or *Beſanzon*, in *Ptolemy*, in the * *Great Port*: And a later *Brigantia*, i. e. *Braganza*, now in the Kingdom of *Portugal*.

[h] Dwelling in and about *Brianzon*.

[i] *Bregentz*.

* Or *Bavarians*.

[k] *Monti de Brianza*.

[l] *Bodenſee*, or *Lake of Conſtance*.

[m] Inhabitants of *Galtray*, *Waterford* and *Tipperary*.

[n] *Brianzon*.

[o] *Capo de Finis terræ*; or *Nerium*, in *Galicia*.

* *Almeria*.

There is alſo another Claſs or Rank of Words, which do either begin in * *Dunum*, or end therewith, which is a *Gallick* Word, as appears by thoſe Heaps of Sand of the *Morini*, as yet called *Duni*, or the *Downs*; and thoſe other Heaps of Sand in the Sea over againſt them in the *Engliſh* Shore, which retain the ſame *Name* of *Downs*. Yea, *Plutarch*, (I mean, He, who wrote the Book of Rivers) in declaring

* Words compounded of *Dunum*.

declaring the Original of *Lugdunum*, *i. e. Lions*, acknowledges *Dunum* to be a *Gallick Word*. And indeed in expreſſing the Names of *Villages* and Towns, there is ſcarce any one *Word* or *Termination*, more frequent than That, amongſt the Nations, who yet preſerve the old *Gallick* Tongue almoſt intire; I mean, the *Brittons* in * *Gallia Celtica*; and the * Ancient *Scots* in *Ireland* and *Albium*; and the *Valli* or *Welch*; the *Kernicovalli*, or *Corniſh*, in *England*; for there is none of thoſe Nations, which do not challenge that Word or Termination for their own; only here is the difference, That the old *Gauls* did end their Compound Words with *Dunum*, but the *Scots* ordinarily place it in the beginning of Words; of this ſort, there are found,

* Or *Lugdunenſis*, the Country about *Lyons* in *France*.
* *Highlanders*, or *Iſlanders*.

In *France*.

[a] *Auguſtodunum* of the *Ædui* or *Burgundians*.
[b] *Caſtellodunum*, of the *Carnotenſian* Province, *i. e.* of *Chartres*.
[c] *Melodunum*, by the River *Sequana*, or *Sein*.
[d] *Lugdunum*, at the Confluence of the Rivers *Arar* and *Rhoſne*.
Auguſtodunum, another *Autun*, of the *Arverni*, or *Anvergneois* and *Clermontians*, *Ptolemy*.
[e] *Lugdunum*, of the *Conveni*, or *Comingeois*, near the River *Garon*; *Ptolemy*.
[f] *Novidunum*, in the * *Tribocci*'s Country, *Ptolemy*.
[g] *Uxellodunum*, in *Cæſar*.
[h] *Juliodunum* in the *Pictons* Country, *i. e. Poictiers*.
Iſodunum, and [i] *Regiodunum*, of the *Bituriges*, *i. e.* Inhabitants of *Berry*.
Laodunum or *Laudunum* in the County of *Rhemes*.
[k] *Cæſarodunum*, (*Ptolomy*) of the *Turones*, *i. e. Tourenois*.
[l] *Segodunum*, of the * *Ruthenians*, *Ptolemy*.
[m] *Velannodunum*, (or St. *Flour*) in *Cæſar*.

[a] *Autun* in *Burgundy*.
[b] *Chaſteaudun*.
[c] *Melun*.
[d] *Lyons*.
[e] St. *Bertrand de Comminges*.
[f] *Noyon*.
* Or, *Alſatians*.
[g] *Cadenac*.
[h] *Lodun* or *Loudun*.
[i] *Dun le Roy*.
[k] *Tours*.
[l] *Rodez*.
* Or, *Rovergueens*.
[m] Some take it for *Chaſteau Laudon*.

In *Spain*.

[n] *Caladunum*, *Ptolomy*, of the *Bracari*, or *Braganzians*.
[o] *Sebendunum*, *Ptolemy*.

[n] *Sela*.
[o] *Campredon* in *Catalonia*.

In *Britain*.

[p] *Camulodunum*, of the * *Brigantes* Country, *Ptolemy*.
[q] *Camulodunum*, a *Roman Colony*, *Tacitus*.
[r] *Dunum*, a Town of the *Durotriges*, or *Dorſetſhire* Men. *Ptolemy*.
Maridunum, *i. e. Carmarthen*, of the [s] *Demetæ*, *Ptolemy*, and the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

[p] *Almondbury* in *York ſhire*, as *Cambden*; but *Weſt Cheſter*, as ſome others.
* The old Inhabitants of *York ſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmerland* and *Cumberland*.
[q] *Maldon* in *Eſſex*.
[r] *Dorcheſter*, called alſo *Durnium*, and *Durnovaria*, from the River *Vare*, gliding by it, which ariſeth at a Town ſome few Miles diſtant, called *Evarſholt*, *i. e.* the head of *Vare*, and paſſing by *Dorcheſter*, runs into an Arm of the Sea, at *Varham*, *i. e.* a Town on the *Vare*, now *Warham*.
[s] Old Inhabitants of *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, and *Carmarthen-Shires*, formerly called *Weſt-Wales*.

Rigodunum,

Rigodunum, of the *Brigantes*, *Ptolemy*, *i. e. Ribchester* in *Lancashire*.

Cambodunum, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, *i. e. Raines* near *Almonbury* in *Yorkshire*.

Margidunum, in the same *Itinerary*, *i. e. Margedoverton* in *Leicestershire*, near *Belvoir Castle*; or, as some, *Leicester* it self.

Sorviodunum, or *Sorbiodunum*, in the same *Itinerary*; *i. e. Old Sarum* in *Wiltshire*.

Segodunum, *i. e. Seton* in *Northumberland*; and *Axelodunum*, *i. e. Hexam*, in *Northumberland* also, in the Book of the *Notitia Romani Imperii*, or *Knowledge of the Roman Empire*, *&c.*

Later Towns in *England*.

Venantodunum, *i. e. Huntingdon*.
Dunelmum, *i. e. Durham*.

In *Scotland*.

Duncaledon, called also *Caledonia*, *i. e. Dunkelden*.
Deidunum, *i. e. Dundee*, or rather *Taodunum*, by the River *Tay*.
Edinodunum, which Word the Ancient *Scots* do yet retain, but they who *Germanize*, had rather call it *Edinburgh*.
Dunum, a Town in *Ireland*, called *Down*.
Noviodunum or *New Down*, *i. e. Dunmoore* Castle in *Coval*.
Brittannodunum, *i. e. Dumbritton* or *Dumbarton*, at the Confluence of the *Clyde* and *Levin*.
And at this day there are abundance of Names, of Castles, Villages and Hills derived therefrom.

In *Germany*, these Names are read in *Ptolemy*.

Lugdunum, *i. e. Leyden*; *Segodunum*, *i. e. Nurinburgh*; *Tarodunum*, *i. e. Friburgh*; *Robodunum*, *i. e. Brin*; *Carrodunum*, *i. e. Crainburgh*.

In the *Alps* Country.

[a] *Ebrodunum* and [b] *Sedunum*.

In the *Vindelici* or *Bavarians* Country, in * *Rhatia*, the *Grisons* Country, and *Noricum*.

[c] *Cambodunum*, [d] *Corrodunum*, [e] *Gesodunum*, [f] *Idunum* and [g] *Noviodunum*; and in the Book of knowledge of the *Roman Empire*, [h] *Parrodunum*.

In *Sarmatia* and *Dacia*, according to *Ptolemy*.

[i] *Corrodunum*, [k] *Singindunum*, by the *Danow*; *Noviodunum* at the Mouth of the *Danow*; also another [l] *Noviodunum*.

And

[a] *Yverdon*.
[b] *Sedan*.
* Which Anciently comprehended *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carniola*, *&c.*
[c] *Baergon*.
[d] *Korburgh*.
[e] *Linz*, or, as some, *Gastensal*.
[f] *Judenburgh*, as some; *Idenaw*, as others; but *Windisch Matray*, as *Sanson*.
[g] *Neumarck*.
[h] *Partenkirck*.
[i] *Korburgh*.
[k] *Semendria*, or *Zinderin*.
[l] *Neuburgh*.

And there are, in the same Provinces, not a few words declined from * *Dur*, which among the old *Gauls* and *Brittons* signifies *Water*, and as yet retains the same signification amongst some, as there are

In France.

Durocotti in the *Rhemish* Circuit, *Ptolemy*; we read them also called *Durocorti*; Moreover, *Cæsar* makes mention of [m] *Divodurum*, of the [n] *Mediomatrices*. *Tacitus*, *Divodurum*, near *Paris*; in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, [o] *Batavodurum* amongst the *Batavi*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*. [p] *Breviodurum* in the *Itinerary* of the *Emperor Antoninus*. [q] *Gannodurum* in *Ptolemy* near the *Rhine*. [r] *Gannodurum* in the *Helvetians* Country, *Ptolemy*. [s] *Octodurum*, or *Octodorus*, amongst the [t] *Veragri*, *Cæsar*.

In *Rhætia*, the *Vindelicis*'s Country, and *Noricum*.

[a] *Bragodurum*, [b] *Carrodurum*, [c] *Ebodurum*, [d] *Gannodurum*, and *Octodurum*, *Ptolemy*. *Venaxamodurum* and [e] *Bodoaurum*, in the Book of the *Knowledge of the Provinces*.

In Spain.

Octodurum, and [f] *Ocellodurum*, *Ptolemy*: The River [g] *Durius* flowing into the *Ocean*, and [h] *Duria* into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and, in *Ireland*, the River [i] *Dur*; *Ptolemy*.

In Britain.

[k] *Durocobrivæ*, [l] *Duroprovæ*, [m] *Durolenum*, [n] *Durovernum*, [o] *Durolipont*, [p] *Durotriges*, [q] *Durocornovium*, [r] *Durolitum*, [s] *Duronovaria*, [t] *Lactodurum*.

Perhaps the two *Alpine* Rivers, *Doria* the *Greater* and the *Less* (the one running into the *Po*, by the [u] *Salassians* Country; the other, by the *Piemonteis*) do belong to the same Original; And also [x] *Issidorus*, and [y] *Altissidorus*, Cities of *France*, so called (as I judge) from their situation near Rivers. To which *Dureta* may be referred, which word, in Spanish, signifies a *Wooden Throne*, as *Suetonius* writes, in the Life of *Augustus*; The like may be said of *Domnacus*, the proper Name of a Man in *Cæsar*, which seems to be corrupted from *Dunacus*; For *Dunach* may signifie *Dunan*, and *Dunensis* both; as *Romach* doth, *Romanus*; *Dunacus*, or rather *Dunachus*, is yet used for the proper Name of a Man, which, those who are ignorant of both Tongues, the *Latin* and the *British*, do render (but amiss) sometimes *Duncan*, sometimes *Donat*.

* The word *Magus*, also in all the Provinces, in which the Publick use of the *Gallick* Tongue obtained, is very frequent in expressing the Names of Cities; which shews that it was of a *Gallick* Original. But of the Derivatives from it, we may rather guess, than affirm for certain, that they were wont to signifie a House, City, or such like Building. We read in the *Book of Knowledge* of the Empire of the People of *Rome*, the Prefect of the [z] *Pacensian* Levies, in Garison at *Magi*; and also in the *same Book*, the Tribune of the second

* Words declined from *Dur*.
[m] *Metz*.
[n] Inhabitants of Païs *Messin*.
[o] *Wyck te Duerstede*.
[p] *Briare*.
[q] *Constance*.
[r] *Lauffenburgh*.
[s] *Martenach*.
[t] People of *Gallia Narbonensis* near the *Rhosne*.
[a] *Pfullendorff*, as some, but *Bayerne* Cattle, as *Cluverius*.
[b] *Korburgh*.
[c] *Olmutz*.
[d] *Costenitz*.
[e] *Instat*.
[f] *Fermosello*.
[g] *Duero*.
[h] *Guadalaviar*, near *Valentia*.
[i] *Ledung* in the West of *Ireland*.
[k] Inhabitants of *Redborn* in *Hertfordshire*.
[l] Of *Rocoester* in *Kent*.
[m] Of *Lenham* in *Kent*.
[n] Of *Canterbury*.
[o] *Godmanchester* by *Huntington*.
[p] *Dorsetshire* Men.
[q] *Cirencester* in *Gloucestershire*.
[r] *Laiton* in *Essex*.
[s] *Dorchester* in *Dorsetshire*.
[t] *Lutterworth*, or, as some, *Longborough* in *Leicestersh*.
[u] *Val d'Osta*.
[x] *Issoir*.
[y] *Auxerre*
[z] Names of Places ending in *Magus*.
[a] *Badajox*, a City in *Spain*, where once the *Romans* had a *Colony*; [b] It is also called *Pax Augusta*.

ſecond *Cohort* placed at *Magni*; We read alſo of *Magni* in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, I dare not poſitively aſſert, whether it be *one Town*, or *many*. But I incline, of the Two, rather to think, that they were ſundry Towns.

Towns ending in *Magus* are Theſe, [a] *Noviomagus*, in *Ptolemy*, amongſt the [b] *Santons*; *Noviomagus* of the [c] *Lexovi*; *Noviomagus* of the [d] *Vadecaſſii*; *Noviomagus*, of the [e] *Nemetes*; *Noviomagus* of the *Tricaſſini*; [f] *Noviomagus* of the [g] *Bituriges*; [h] *Juliomagus* of the [i] *Andegavi*; [k] *Rotomagus* of the *Venelocaſſi*; [l] *Cæſaromagus* of the [m] *Bellovaci*; *Rotomagus* of the [n] *Nervii*; [o] *Borbetomagus* of the *Vangiones* in High *Germany*; *Vindomagus* of the [p] *Volci Arecomici*. Alſo in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, [q] *Argentomagus*; and in High *Germany*, *Noviomagus*. In the Book of the Knowledge of the Roman Empire; *Noviomagus* of *Belgica Secunda*; in *Rhætia*, [r] *Druſomagus*, *Ptolemy*. In *Britain*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, [s] *Caſaromagus*; [t] *Sitomagus*; [u] *Noviomagus* of the [x] *Regni*; [y] *Vacomagi*; [z] *Magiovinium*; *Vicomagi*, part of the *Picts* Country. *Ptolemy*.

[a] *Noviomagus*, is a Proper Name for ſo many places, that it is hard to diſtinguiſh Them ſeverally in *Engliſh*, for it ſignifies *Odenheim*, *Newenburgh*, *Nimmegen*, *Spire*, *Solac*, *Bourg*, &c.

[b] *Xaintogners*, in *France*.

[c] Inhabitants at *Liſieux*, a Town in *Normandy*, and the Country there about called *Le-Lieuvin*. [d] *Nivernois*. [e] About *Spire*. [f] Living at St. *Paul de trois Chaſteaux*, a City in *Daulphin*. [g] Living in and about *Berry*. [h] *Angiers*. [i] *L'Anjouans*. [k] *Roven*. [l] *Beauvois*. [m] *Beauvoiſins*. [n] *Tournois*. [o] *Wormes*. [p] Living in *Armagnac*. [q] *Argenton*. [r] *Memmingen*. [s] *Chelmesford*. [t] *Thetford*. [u] *Wood-Cote* near *Croydon*. [x] Inhabitants of *Surry*, as *Leland*; of *Suſſex*, as *Camden*. [y] People about *Sterling*, or, as ſome, of *Murray* in *Scotland*. [z] *Aſhwel* in *Hertford-ſhire*, as ſome, or *Dunſtable* in *Bedford-ſhire*, as others.

There are alſo other Names of Places, common to many of theſe *Nations*, but not ſo frequently uſed, nor ſo much diſperſed as the former; ſuch as are *Hibernia*, *i. e.* [a] *Ireland*, amongſt the *Romans*, the Name of an Iſland, called by *Pomponius Mela*, *Ptolemy* and *Juvenal*, *Juverna*; by *Strabo*, *Claudian*, and the Inhabitants thereof, *Jerna*. That which ſome call the *Nervian* Promontory, *Strabo* calls *Jerne*; *Jernus*, or *Jern*, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Mela* calls it *Jerna*; [b] *Jernus*, is alſo a River of *Ireland*: In *Ptolemy*, 'tis reckoned a River of [c] *Scotland*, falling into *Tay*. Another of the ſame Name glides through *Murray*; the Country adjacent to both is called [d] *Jerna*.

[a] *Ireland* hath ſeveral Names.

[b] *Camden* thinks it to be the River *Maire* in *Munſter*, in the County of *Deſmond*, but, why not *Loch-Earn*, in the County of *Fermanagh*. [c] *Earn* ariſing out of *Loch-Earn*. [d] *Strath-Earn*.

We read of the City [e] *Mediolanum*, in *Ptolemy*; as one [f] *Inſubrum*, of the *Santones*; another of the [g] *Aulerci Eburaici*; another by the *Loir*, *i. e. Menu*; a fourth by *Sequana*, or the *Sein*, (now as I think) named *Meulan*, or *Melun*; another in High *Germany*, called [h] *Alciburgum*; another by the [i] *Danow*; another in [k] *Britain*, of which mention is made in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

[e] *Millain*: [f] *Xaintoign*. [g] *D'Eureux*.

[h] *Duesburgh*, or *Asburgh*. [i] *Meteleiw*. [k] *Lancaſter* as *Lud*; *Lanvellin* in *Mongomery-ſhire*, as *Camden*; others, *Midland*.

Alſo *Marcolica*, a Town in *Spain*; [l] *Macolica*, in *Ireland*; *Vaga*, a River in *Portugal*; and [m] another of *Wales* in *England*. [n] *Avo*, in *Mela*, *Avus*, in *Ptolemy*, a River of *Galæcia*, as yet retains its Name. In *Argyle*, there is alſo a River of the ſame * Name, flowing out of the *Lough Awe*. The *Promontorium Sacrum*, one is in [o] *Spain*, another in [p] *Ireland*. [q] *Ocellum* is a Promontory in *Britain*; [r] *Ocel-*

[l] *Malck*, on the River *Shanon*. [m] *Wye*. [n] *Rio d'Aveiro*. * *Awe*. [o] *Cabo de S. Vincent*. [p] *Ban*, in the County of *Wexford*. [q] *Spurnhead* in *York-ſhire*. [r] *Fermoſel*.

lum is also in *Gallæcia*, in the *Lucensian* District; [f] *Ocelli* are Mountains in *Scotland*; [t] *Ocellum* is the last Town of *Gallia Togata*, *Cæsar* mentions [n] *Uxellum*, a Town in *Britain*, perhaps for *Ocellum*; for *Martianus*, in explaining the Ancient Names of the Cities of *Gallia*, says, that the Word is variously writ, *Ocellum*, *Oscela*, and *Oscellium*; hence perhaps comes [x] *Uxellodunum*, which is also sometimes writ *Uxellodurum*. So there is [y] *Tamar*, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Ptolemy*; *Tamaris*, in *Mela*; *Tamarici*, a People of *Gallæcia*; the River *Tamarus*, *Pliny*; and [z] *Tamara*, a Town in *Britain*,

[a] *Sars*, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Ptolemy*; [b] *Sarcus* in *Scotland*, *Mela*.

[c] *Ebora*, a Town of *Portugal*, called *Liberalitas Julia*, in *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; [d] *Ebura*; that which is *Cerealis* in *Bætica*, in *Pliny* is *Ebora*; *Ptolemy* mentions * *Aulerci Eburaici* in *Gallia Celtica*; and also *Eboracum*, *i. e. York*, of the *British Brigantes*.

Deva, now *Dee*, a River of *England*; and three in *Scotland*, so called, one in *Galway*, another in *Angus*, the third divides *Merne* from *Marr*.

The * *Cornavii* in *England*, are in the farthest part of the *West*, in * *Scotland*, they are the farthest *North*. Both of them are now called *Kernici*; there seems also to have been a third sort of *Kernici* in *Scotland*, at the Mouth of the River *Avennus*, or *Even*, which is the boundary between the Coasts of *Lothian* and *Sterling*. For *Bede* makes the *Monastery* of *Abercorn* to be at the end of *Severus* his Wall, where now the Ruins of the Castle of *Abercorn* do appear. *Aven* is often read, a River both of *England* and *Scotland*. *Aven* in *Scotish*, and *Avon* in *Welsh*, signifies a River.

Of the Three * Nations which first inhabited this Island, after the coming of *Cæsar*, the *Britains* were Subject to the Emperors of *Rome* successively, little less than Five Hundred years; but the *Scots* and *Picts* were under the subjection of their own Kings. At length, when all the Neighbouring *Nations* did conspire for the Destruction of the *Romans*, they recalled their Armies from their most remote Provinces, to maintain their Empire at home. And by this means, the *Britains*, being destitute of Foreign Aid, were miserably vexed by the *Scots* and *Picts*; insomuch, that they craved Aid of the * *Saxons*, which then infested the Seas with a Pyratical Navy. But that project cost them dear. For the *Saxons* having repelled the *Picts* and *Scots*, being tempted by the fertility of the Country, and the weakness of the Inhabitants, aspired to make themselves *Masters* of the *Island*. But after various Successes in War, seeing they could not arrive at what they aimed at by Force, they resolved to accost the *Britains* by Fraud. Their Stratagem was this. There being a Conference or Treaty, agreed upon at a set Day and Place, between the Nobles of both Parties; The *Saxons* having a sign given them by *Hengist* their Captain, slew all the * *British* Nobility, and drove the common People into Rugged and Mountainous Places; so that they themselves possessed all the *Champain*, and divided the fruitfulest part of the *Island* between them, into Seven Kingdoms. This was the State of Affairs in *Britain*, about the year of *Christ* 464. And whereas three *German* Nations did originally undertake Expeditions into *Britain*, the other two, by degrees, passed into the Name

of

[f] *Ocel-Hills.*
[t] *Esilles* or *Exilles.*
[n] *Lestithiel* in *Cornwal.*
[x] *Cadenac* in *France.*
[y] Or, *Tambre.*
[z] *Tamerton*, by the River *Tamar* in *Cornwall.*
[a] Or, *Ars.*
[b] *Sarck* or *Sars* in *Annandale.*
[c] *Evora.*
[d] *S. Lucar de Barameda.*
* Of *d'Evreux.*
* *Dee* or *Die.*
* *Cornish.*
* *Cambrenses*-Men.
* Three Nations (besides the *Brittons*,) anciently inhabited this Isle.
* *Saxons* invited in by the *Brittons*,
* Where, by Stratagem, they and their General treacherously Murder the *English* Nobility.

of *English-Men*. But the Peace made with the *Brittons*, nor with the *English* amongst themselves, was never faithfully observed; About the year of our Lord 317, * the *Danes*, being powerful at Sea, did first molest *England* with pyratical Incursions, but being Valiantly repulsed, about Thirty three years after they came with greater Forces, and made a descent into the Country with a Land Army. At the first conflict they were *Victors*, but afterwards they contended with the *English*, with various Successes, till in the year 1012, *Swain*, having wholly subdued the *Britains*, by their publick Consent, obtained the *Kingdom*, which yet remain'd but a few years in his Family. For the *Saxons* having again Created *Kings* of their own Nation, about Twenty four years after, were overcome by * *William* the *Norman*, most of their Nobility being Slain, and their Lands divided among the *Normans*, by which means the common People were kept in a miserable Slavery, till *Henry* the Sevenths time, who, easing part of their burden, made the condition of the Commonalty a little more Tolerable. But those which are in favour with the King, or would seem to be truly Illustrious and Noble, derive their whole Sept from the *Normans*.

* *Danes* invade and Conquer *England*, under *Swain*.

* *William* the *Norman* Conquers the *Danes*, and is Crowned King of *England*.

These are the discoveries which I have been able to make, out of ancient Writings, and other, no obscure, Indications, concerning the *Original*, *Customs*, and *Language* of the Three Ancientest Nations in *Britain*; all which do induce me to believe, that the old *Britains*, and the other Inhabitants of *Britain*, were derived from the *Gauls*, and did originally use the *Gallick* Speech; of which many Footsteps do manifestly appear, both in *France* and *Britain*. Neither ought it to seem strange, if, in a Language which admits of a change each moment of our Life, many things receive different Names in divers places, especially in a such a Longinquity of time; yea, we may rather admire, that the same Foundations of a Language, (that I may so speak,) and the same manner of Declension and Derivation, doth yet continue amongst a People, so far remote one from another, and so seldom agreeing together in converse of Life; yea, oft being at mortal fewds one with another.

Concerning the other * Three Nations, the *Angles*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, we need make no solicitous Inquiry; seeing the Times and Causes of their coming are known almost to all. But I have entred upon this task, that I might restore Us to our *Ancestors*, and our *Ancestors* to Us; if I have performed this well, I have no reason to Repent of a little Labour, though spent in none of the greatest concerns; if not, yet, they who concur not with me in Opinion, cannot (I beleive) disallow or blame my Good-Will. And * I am so far from grudging or taking it ill, to have what I have Written refuted, that if any Man can discover greater certainty, and reduce me from my mistake, I shall return him great Thanks for his Pains.

* Three other Nations came into *Britain*.

* The Authors Ingenuity.

I had resolved to put an end to this disquisition, concerning the Original of the *Nations* of *Britain*, if * *Lud* had not called me back, even against my Will, who maintains, That the *Scots* and the *Picts* came but lately into *Albium*. Though I might, without any Offence, pass by the *empty* vanity of the Man, joyned with his Ignorance;

* *Lud* further confuted.

yet, leſt the Faction of Unlearned ones, ſhould too much Pride themſelves with ſuch a *Patron*, I thought fit, in a few Words, to convince the *obſtinacy* of the Man, and that principally from thoſe Arguments and Witneſſes, which he himſelf produceth againſt us.

Firſt, I will ſpeak concerning his manner of Reaſoning, and afterwards of the *Matter* it ſelf.

Julius Cæſar, (ſays he,) and *Cornelius Tacitus*, Writers of ſo great diligence; as alſo *Suetonius*, *Herodian*, and other *Romans*, who have wrote of *Britiſh* Affairs, have, in no part of their Works, made mention of *Scots* or *Picts*, and therefore doubtleſs, they had no Seats in *Britain*, in that Age. Wilt thou accept of this condition, *Lud*, that what Nation no Ancient *Writer* hath mentioned, never any ſuch Nation was? If you embrace this Motion, ſee how many Nations you will exclude from their Beings in one or two lines? How great a Table of Proſcriptions will you make? Yea, What great Perſons will you proſcribe, *Brutus*, *Albanactus*, and *Camber*? What Nations will you wholly eradicate, the *Loegri*, the *Cambri*, the *Albani*, according to thy *Poſtulatum*, who art a Tyrant in *Hiſtory*, and Grammar both, as declining *Albanus* from *Albanactus*. But if that Condition proffered, do not pleaſe.

—— Quia tu Gallinæ Filius albæ,
Nos viles pulli, nati infælicibus ovis.

Becauſe you are the Favorite of Fate,
But we're condemn'd to a low baſe State.

I will propound another to you, and ſuch an one too, as you ought not, and (I think) dare not, refuſe. There is a certain kind of probation out of Fragments, out of which, if you a little harden your Forehead, you may prove any thing. I am the more inclined to make uſe of this way of Proof, becauſe you ſeem to love it moſt of all, as proving (forſooth) out of a Fragment, known (I beleive) to thy ſelf alone, that an innumerable Multitude of the *Cimbri* went forth to deſtroy the *Roman* Empire; I will therefore ſhew you out of a *Fragment*, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were in *Britain* before *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, which you deny. In that Book to which you have given the Title of *Fragmentum Britannicæ Deſcriptionis*, *i. e.* A Fragment of the Deſcription of *Britain*; I think, eſpecially for this Reaſon, becauſe you thought your ſelf to have ſufficiently proved, out of one of the two Fragments, that the *Iſland* was rather to be called *Pritania*, than *Britannia*; and out of the other, that you had diſgorged ſuch a multitude of *Cimbri*, as were enough to Conquer all *Britain*: For this cauſe, you thought that your Fragment would get credit enough on that ſingle account. In that Book, you write, that the Name of *Scots* and *Picts*, together with the *Franks* and *Engliſh*, or *Angles*, were well known to the *Roman* World, and as a Witneſs of this Opinion, (a meet one indeed,) he produced * *Mamertinus* in the *Panegyrick* dedicated to *Maximinianus*, which witneſs, if I underſtand him a right, makes againſt *Lud*. For *Mamertinus*, ſpeaking

Mamertinus.

ſpeaking of the firſt coming of *Julius Cæſar* into *Britain*, hath theſe Words; *Moreover the Nation, as yet rude and dwelling in* Britain, *accuſtomed to none but the Arms of the* Picts *and the* Hiberns, *or* Iriſh, *their half-naked Enemies, did eaſily yeild to the Arms and Enſigns of the* Romans. See, I pray, what *Lud* would infer out of this Teſtimony; Firſt, that the *Brittons* alone did then inhabite the Iſland. Next, that the People there Named *Hiberni* or *Iriſh*, were afterward called *Scots*; but the Author of the *Panegyrick* doth aſſert neither of the two. For he affirms, that before the coming in of *Cæſar*, the *Britons* waged War againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, of the *Britiſh* Soil, *i. e.* Enemies dwelling in the *Britiſh* Soil, ſo that *Soli Britanni*, is the Genitive not Nominative Caſe; the other, he falſly aſſumes to himſelf; for I think, I have ſufficiently demonſtrated out of *Paulus Oroſius* a *Spaniard*, and *Bede* an *Engliſh* Man, that all the Inhabitants of * *Ireland* were anciently called *Scots*, and then at length, when they ſent Colonies into *Albium*, the Name of *Scots* was almoſt extinguiſhed at home, and began to grow famous abroad: In another place, he contends, that the *Caledonii* were called *Britons*, grounding his aſſertion on no other Argument, than that he finds they were called *Britains*, which is a Name common to all who inhabit the ſame *Iſland*. But I have ſhewed before, out of the place of the *Panegyrick*, quoted by him, that the *Caledonians* were *Picts*, * *Marcellinus* affirms the ſame thing, who ſays, that there are two ſorts of *Picts*, the *Dicaledones*, or, (as I think it ought to be writ,) the *Duncaledones*, and the *Vecturiones*. But the *Caledonii* or *Caledones* dwelt in *Britain* before the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, neither were they unknown to the *Romans*, as *Lucan* plainly ſhews, who died in *Nero*'s time.

* All the Inhabitants of *Ireland* anciently called *Scots*.

* *Marcellinus* divides the *Picts* into *Dicaledones*, and *Vecturiones*. See p. 18.

Aut vaga cùm Tethys Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

When raging Seas on Sandwich *ſhores do beat,*
The troubled Waves do Britiſh Caledons *cheat.*

But why do I trouble my ſelf to procure Foreign Teſtimonies, ſeeing we have a clear and nicking one at home, I mean *Bede*, the Writer of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of *England*, for he takes notice of the Order, and almoſt of the very Moments, of time, wherein *Foreign* Nations paſſed over into *Britain*. Theſe are his Words in his Firſt Book. 'Firſt of all, the *Iſland* was inhabited by *Brittons*, 'whence it hath its Name, who from the *Armorick* Tract, as it is re-'ported, being wafted over into *Britain*, poſſeſſed the South-parts 'thereof, and having ſeized upon the greateſt part of the *Iſland*, be-'ginning from the South, it hapned that the Nation of the *Picts*, 'coming (as 'tis reported) out of *Scythia*, and entring into the O-'cean, with long Ships, or Gallies, but not many, by ſtreſs of Wind 'and Weather, were driven beyond all the bounds of *Britany* into *Ireland*; and a little after, Wherefore the *Picts* coming into *Britain*, 'begun to ſeat themſelves in the North parts of the *Iſland*: The 'Southern being poſſeſſed by the *Brittons*: And at length, after a few lines interpoſed, he adds, In proceſs of time, Britany *after the* Brit-

tons

tons *and the* Picts, *took in a third Nation of the* Scots, as part of the *Picts*. Then, after many passages, *he subjoins*; *But the same* Britanny *was inaccessible and unknown to the* Romans, *until the time of* C. Julius Cæsar. Whosoever thou art, who readest these passages, observe, I pray, Whence, at What time, and in What order, this *Author*, much more ancient and grave than *Lud*, doth affirm, that these Nations entred *Britain*, to wit, that the *Brittons*, from the *Armorick* Tract entred first, but the time not certain. That the *Picts*, out of *Scythia*, came next into those parts of *Britain*, which were yet void of Inhabitants, and that not long after the entrance of the *Brittons*, who were not as yet increased into such a multitude, as to be able to inhabit the whole *Island*. What then becomes of the *Scots*? When came they into *Britain*? In process of time, says he, *viz.* The *Picts* granting them the uninhabited Seats in their Districts, they came last to the former two. So the *Brittons*, as *Bede* affirms, came into this *Island* out of *Armorica* in *France*, and, not long after, the *Picts* out of *Scythia*; both of them seized on the vacant and uninhabited places, at last, the *Island* being divided betwixt them, the *Scots* entred not by force, but were admitted into the Portion, and Lot of the *Picts*, and that long before *Britain* was known to the *Romans*. Here, How will you deal with *Lud*? Who produces *Gildas* and *Bede*, as witnesses to his Fables, *viz.* That the *Scots* and the *Picts* did first of all fix their Habitations in *Britain*, in the Reign of the *Roman Emperor Honorius*, in the year of *Christ* 420, of which two, *Gildas* makes nothing for him; and *Bede* doth evidently convince him of Falshood. But let the *Reader* beleive neither *Lud* nor *Me*, but his own Eyes; and let him diligently weigh the Places of each *Writer*; but (says he) *Dion* calls the *Caledonians*, *Britanni*; I grant he doth so, so doth *Lucan*, and also *Martial*, in that Verse,

Quinte Caledonios *Ovidi visure Britannos*;

The Caledonians, *which in* Britain *be*,
Quintus Ovidius *is about to see.*

But none of them therefore, deny them to be *Picts*; yet they have good reason to call them *Britains*: For, as the whole Island is called *Britanny*, so all its Inhabitants are deservedly called *Britains*. For all the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Sicily* are generally called by the *Romans*, *Sicilians*, without any difference, though they themselves call one another, some *Sicilians*; other *Siciliotes*; so the possessors of *Britany* are, by Foreigners, all called *Britains*; but they themselves oft call the ancient Inhabitants *Brittons*, and the other Nations living therein, sometime by the private Names of the Countries, whence they came, and sometimes by the common Name of *Britains*. Wherefore the * *Caledonians*, *Picts* and *Scots*, are sometimes called, each Nation by its own Name, yet all of them, not seldom, by the general term, *Britains*. But *Brittons*, of which I have spoken, no Man ever gave them that appellation.

* *Caledonians, Picts* and *Scots*, are sometimes called *Britains*.

There

There is also another difference amongst them, to be observed in the Word *Britannia*; as there is amongst the *Greeks* and *Latins* in the Word *Asia*. For *Asia* sometimes denotes the third part of the Habitable World, and sometimes it is taken for that part of the *Greater Asia*, which is situate on this side the Mountain *Taurus*, and is wont to be called *Asia the Less*. So *Britanny* is sometimes used for the Name of the whole Island in general; and otherwhiles, only for that part of it, which was subjected to the *Romans*, which part was bounded sometimes by the River *Humber*, and sometimes by the Wall of *Adrian*, and sometimes by the Wall of *Severus*; and the Inhabitants of this part, are by *British* Writers more usually called *Brittons*, than *Britans*; but the other dwellers in the Island, *i. e.* the *Scots* and the *Picts*, *Bede* sometimes calls *Britains*, and sometimes *Strangers* and *Foreigners*; we may also find the same observable difference in *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*. And therefore the *Caledonians* will be counted *Brittons*, never a jot the more, for being styled *Britains* by *Dion*, *Martial*, *Lucan*, or any other good Author, than the * *Brutians* * will be *Romans*, though both of them are *Italians*. If *Lud* had taken notice of these things, he had never involved himself in such dark *Labyrinths*, nor had he so rashly and inconsiderately made a positive determination in a point so obscure, nor had denied the *Caledonians* to have been *Picts*, because they are termed by *Dion*, *Britains*. Neither hath *Lud* any just cause to wonder, that no *Writer* more ancient than *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Claudian*, hath made mention of the *Scots* and *Picts*, though they dwelt so many, I will not say, years, but ages, in *Britain*. For, not to speak of the *Valli*, *Cambri*, * *Loegri*, Names lately known to the World, I may ask him, why, seeing so many *Greek* and *Latin* Writers have written of the Affairs of *Greece*; yet no *Grecian* once Names his Country-men *Græci*; nor no *Latin* Author calls them *Hellenes*? Why did the Names of the Nations which I mentioned but now, creep so late into the History of *Britain*, which that *Cambro-Britain* makes to be so ancient? If you ask any *English-man*, of what Country he is, none will answer, that he is a *Saxon*; yet the *Scots*, *Picts*, *Irish*, both the *Brittons*, *i. e.* those that inhabit *Britain*, and those who dwell in *France*, do still unanimously call them *Saxons*: Why do not the old *Scots*, even to this very day, acknowledge and own the Name of *Scots*? It ought not then to seem absurd to any Man; if, when the *Romans* asked their *Captives*, of what Nation they were; one said a *Mœatian*, another an *Attacottian*, a third a *Caledonian*; and the Names which Foreign Nations received from them they still retained, and used in their common publick Discourse; neither, as I judge, will it seem incredible, that some Names are more known to *Historians* and Strangers; and others, to the Inhabitants of the Country. Though the Premises do make it sufficiently appear, that the coming of *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, is not only more ancient than *Lud* will grant it to be; yea, that it was but a little later than the *Britains* themselves coming into it, yet I shall add other, and those no contemptible, Conjectures. The *Brigantes*, a great and powerful Nation, were seated beyond the River *Humber*, about *York*, and did possess the whole bredth of the *Island*, between the

two

* *Brutians*, a People of *Magna Græcia* in *Italy*, heretofore possessing the two *Calabrias*.

* *Romans*, inhabiting the District about *Rome*.

* An old Name for *English*-Men.

two Seas; it is probable, that they came not from the Tract of *France*, which was neareſt, for no *Brigantes* are ſaid to have inhabited there, but out of *Spain*. Firſt into *Ireland*, and from *Ireland* into *Britain*, as being a Neighbour *Iſland* to it; neither doth this differ from the conjecture of *Cornelius Tacitus*, which he makes concerning the *Ancient Inhabitants* of the *Iſle*. If the *Brigantes* came from *Ireland*, then they muſt be of *Scotiſh* Race, as all the reſt of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* were. *Seneca* alſo ſeems to confirm this Opinion, in that Elegant *Satyr* of his, concerning the Death of *Claudius*, in theſe Words,

Ille Britannos ultra noti littora Ponti,
Et cæruleos Scutabrigantes dare Romuleis
Colla Catenis juſſit, & ipſum nova Romana
Jura ſecuris tremere Oceanum.

He, th' Britains, *which beyond known Seas did dwell,*
And blew Scutabrigantes *did compel*
Romes *Yoke to bear. Yea the Ocean, ſo far ſpread,*
His Government, and his new Laws, did dread.

* *Scutabrigantes*, for *Scotobrigantes*, according to *Joſeph Scaliger*.

In theſe Verſes, *Joſeph Scaliger*, the Son of *Julius*, is of Opinion, that for * *Scutabrigantes*, we ought to read *Scotobrigantes*. Of how great Learning and Judgment that young Man is; of what induſtry in comparing ancient Writers; and of what acuteneſs in finding out the meaning of obſcure Paſſages, the Books ſet out by him do declare. At preſent I ſhall only ſay, that having undertaken to illuſtrate the Affairs of *Britain*, I thought his Judgment was not to be omitted; and I will declare, in a few Words, why I think it to be true; for ſeeing we read in *Cæſar*, and other *Authors*, eminent both for diligence and knowledge, that the *Britains* were wont to paint their Bodies with *Woad*; and in *Herodian*, that they uſed narrow Shields in War, (ſuch as *Livy* aſcribes to the *Aſiatick Gauls*,) and no great Ornament in their Arms; it ſeem'd abſurd, to make mention of the Sheild, which was not Painted, the mention of the Body, which was Painted, being omitted. Now the old *Britains* were Painted, not for comlineſs, as other *Nations*, not a few were; but that their blewiſh colour might render them more terrible to their *Enemies* in Fight; but how that colour could appear terrible in a narrow Sheild, I do not underſtand. And therefore it is very probable, that that Learned Man, and Skilful in *Britiſh Affairs*, as who, according to *Dion, kept the whole Iſland under Tribute*, wrote the Word, *Scotobrigantes*, that he might diſtinguiſh them from the other *Brigantes*, both *Spaniſh* and *Gallick*. It makes alſo for the ſame purpoſe, that in thoſe Verſes he ſeparates the *Britains* and *Brigantes*, as two different Nations, which is alſo done by ſome *Britiſh* Writers, who make *Humber* to be the boundary of *Britain*. This matter being not well conſidered by * *Hector Boetius*, as I judge, lead him into a miſtake, who, having ſome where read, that the *Silures* and *Brigantes* were called *Scoti*, as having their Original from *Ireland*, placed them in part of the Kingdom of the *Scots*, in

* *Hector Boetius* miſtaken.

* *Albium*.

Albium. His miſtake, though it may juſtly offend others, yet ought not to have been ſo ſeverely cenſured by *Ludd*, who hath committed as great Miſtakes in the ſame kind; for he makes the *Cumbri*, or (as he calls them) the *Cumri*, to iſſue out of a Corner of *Britain*, to plunder the whole World: For he infers from one or two Words, common to them both, that the *Cimbri* and *Britanni* were of one Nation. Thoſe Words are *Moremaruſa* and *Trimarchia*; Here it is worth the while to take notice of the Man's acuteneſs, in diſputing, and of his ſubtilty (forſooth) in drawing out of Inferences and Concluſions. This Word *Moremaruſa*, ſays he, is a *Britiſh* Word, but it was once a *Cimbrick* one, and no Nations elſe beſides, which dwelt by the *Baltick* Sea. But ſeeing our Country-Men uſe the ſame Word, and are called by the ſame Name with thoſe other *Cimbri*, therefore (ſure) both were of the ſame Stock and Nation. Iron.

In this Matter, firſt he affirms Falſhoods for Truths, and alſo takes Uncertainties for Certainties. For it is a manifeſt Untruth, That both of them are called *Cimbri*, even * *Ludd* himſelf being Witneſs, who affirms, That all the Inhabitants, his Country-Men, of *Cambria*, were ſo called from their *King*, *Camber*, and he calls himſelf a *Cambrobritain*. I could alſo prove the Falſhood of this Opinion, by the Teſtimony of all his Country-Men, who do not call themſelves *Cimbri*, but *Cumri*. As That is falſe, ſo This is uncertain, whether other People dwelling by the *Baltick* Sea, did not uſe that Word, which you attribute to the *Cimbri* alone; eſpecially ſince it appears out of *Tacitus*, That many Nations, in that Tract of *Germany*, ſpake the *Gallick* Tongue, and I ſhewed before, that Word to be *Gallick*. But ſuppoſe, that both of your *Aſſumptions* were true, What then? Did you never read, That the Souldiers of *Cn. Pompeius*, when he waged War in *Aſia*, were ſaluted by the Name of *Brethren*, by the *Albans*, dwelling in the Mountain *Caucaſus*, by reaſon, that Both of them were called *Albans*? Neither do I doubt, but that if a Man had obſerved Both *Tongues*, he might have found one or two Words, ſignifying the ſame thing in Both: But they wanted ſuch a Man as *Ludd* there, who becauſe both People had certain Words common between them, would thereby prove, that both were of the ſame Nation; and yet the purblind Man ſeems to be ſenſible of the *Non ſequitur* of his Concluſion, when he adds that the *Cimbri* were called * *Æſtiones*, by the *Germans*; That he might make that out, he ſhould have ſhewed, at what Time, and upon what Grounds, the *Cimbri* were Tranſformed into *Æſtiones*; and the *Æſtiones* again, into *Cimbri*. He ſpeaks not a Jot of this, but only cites a *Britiſh* Hiſtory, collected out of the [a] *Mileſian* Fables, of the *Gauls*, and alſo quotes a certain *Fragment*, whence he, being now Degraded from an Antiquary, to be either a Botcher, or a Scraper together of old uſeleſs Relicks, or (if I may ſo ſpeak) a *Fragmentary*, doth piece up New Kingdoms and New Nations, for us; This he doth with great Labour, and yet with no Colour of probability, whereas, yet it was very obvious to him, (unleſs perhaps it was above the Poor Man's reach) to find out the Cauſes, why the Name *Cimber* was communicated to the *Cimbri*, and the *Valli* too: For *Plutarch* ſays, That it was not the Name of a Nation, but of an Occupation or Employment, and that Robbers

* *Ludd* cenſured.

* *Æſtiones*, inhabiting *Pruſſia* & *Livonia*.

[a] *Mileſian* Fables or Nonſenſical; For the Inhabitants of *Miletum* in *Ionia* were infamous for telling Tales, ſo far from being true, that they had not the leaſt ſhadow of Truth in them.

were so called by the *Germans*. *Suidas*, no ignoble Grammarian amongst the *Greeks*, understands the Word in the same sense; and *Festus Pompeius*, amongst the *Latins*, writes, that the *Cimbri* were called *Plunderers*, by the *Gauls*. If we follow these Men's Opinions, it will not be difficult to find out, why the *Cimbri*, whom *Ludd* places in *Britain*, came by that Name, especially since their Neighbours, the *Angli* or *English*, do affirm, That, even in this Age, their Manners did not much abhor from that Thieving Occupation. Sure I am, That *Livy* calls that Slave that was sent to kill *Marius* in the Prison of the [a] *Minturnæ*, a *Gaul*; *Lucan* calls him a *Cimber*, but no Noted Writer styles him a *Britain*. If *Ludd* had considered these things, or, if, after Consideration, he had chosen rather to remember them, than to frame new Monsters to himself; there was no Necessity for him, in one Moment of Time, or rather, with one Falshood, to have left all *Britain* almost destitute and forsaken, all its Military Young Men being exhausted, and Six Hundred Thousand of them drawn out from it at a Clap.

[a] When *Marius*, by *Sylla's* Faction, was driven out of *Rome*, he hid himself stark naked in the Mud & Weeds of the River *Liris*, (now *Garigliano*) in the Kingdom of *Naples*; where being found out, he was carried to prison at *Minturnæ*, a Town hard by, whither a *Gaul*, or *Cimber*, being sent to kill him, he saw such a Majesty in his Countenance, that he return'd without perpetrating the Homicide.

I will not here descend to a minute Inquiry, to what Children the *Valli* are wont to give the Names of the *Cimbrick* Kings; for this diligent Writer brings in This also as an Argument of their Stock. If I mistake not, besides *Latin*, *German*, and *Syriack* ones, he will find very few Names. But if a solid Argument may be fetched from the proper Names of Men, (which are often-times arbitrarily imposed by Parents, or vain-gloriously adopted out of some *History*) then *Ludd* might rather persuade us, That his Country-Men are *Jews*, *Romans*, or *Germans*, than *Cimbri*: Or, if he would have advised his Compatriots to give Baptismal Names, fetched out of *History*, to their Children, within a few Years, he might transform his Country-Men, into what Nation soever he pleased. But touching the Names of the *Cimbrick* Kings, which, he says, were accustomed to be given to Children; I would willingly have asked the Man, From what Oracle he received it? Unless I knew before-hand, that he never wants some *Fragment*, out of which he can prove what he list himself. But this I can't but admire, touching that *Cimbrick* Expedition, how all their Military Men being sent aboard, that within the space of Forty Years, (for it was about that Interval, between the *Cimbrick* War, and *Julius Cæsar's* arrival in *Britain*,) your Country of *Vallia*, should so soon recover to be so populous; especially, since, when *Maximus* drew forth a far lesser Number out of *Britain*, even, when it was in its most flourishing Estate, the *Britains* could, never after, hold up their Heads, but they were brought into bitter Servitude by the *Saxons*: Or why *Cæsar*, who, for his Age, might have made mention of the *Cimbrick* War, when he came into *Britain*, being also a Learned Man, and a great Favourer of the *Marian* Party, did find out nothing, by Inquiry, concerning this *Cimbrick* Expedition. Lastly, I desire to know, Whether *Ludd* spoke in Jest or in Earnest, when he added, that the Affinity of Both the *Cimbri* might be inferred from their equal contempt of Gold and Silver? Here I would willingly ask of him, Whether he spake in Earnest, when he calls those *Cimbrians*, who did not only vex and plunder *Gallia* or *Gaul*, and a part of *Spain* too, but in a manner wholly wasted

and

and destroyed them both? And yet afterward hastned to *Italy*, in quest of a Richer Booty? Whose Opulency, got by Robberies, the [b] *Helvetians* imitating, they also became Plunderers, as *Strabo* relates in his Seventh Book. Dare you call such Men *Frugal* and *Temperate?* And that it may appear, that the *Cimbricks* Name is truly assigned to your Nation, you make them *emulous* of those Employments, to which the *Cimbrians* were accustomed; yea, you make your self a *Pilferer* too, who aspirest to the [c] Glory of a *Plagiary*, with stealing from all Nations: For, not content to have vindicated the Deeds of the *Cimbri*, to your Country-Men, you add with as impudent and fictitious an Untruth, that the [d] *Sicambri* were also of your Stock: And because in the Name of Both Nations, there is a certain Similitude of *Letters*, from that Cognation of *Words*, you feign a Conjunction of Blood. At this rate, besides the *Sicambrians*, the *Franks*, and their Childrens Children, to all Generations, will be allyed to you; and so, after a packed Series of Lyes, you raise a Bridge to bring back the Fugitive *Brenni*; of which, one, who took *Rome*, lived about an Hundred Years before the other, who besieged *Delphos*; but you do jumble and compact them together into one Body, that so you might dress up a new Monster out of a Dead and Living Man, piec'd together; as if it were difficult to prove, by other Arguments, that Monsters are born in that very Country, which brought such a Person as you, forth. But, says *Ludd*, no Writer acknowledgeth, that there were two *Brennus's*, besides *Polydore Virgil.* Surely, *Ludd*, thy Reason hath forsaken thee, or else thou hast never read the Fourth Book of *Strabo*, where he writes, That the *Brennus*, who besieged *Delphos*, is, by some, thought to be *Prausus*. Yea, not *Strabo* alone, but every Man, who believes that *Rome* was taken by a [e] *Brennus*, and that above an Hundred Years after *Delphos* was besieged by a *Brennus*, doth acknowledge, That there were Two of That Name; seeing both those Enterprizes could not be performed by one and the same Man. But if we believe the Monk, the Compiler of the *British* History, *Brennus*, the Brother of *Belinus*, preceded these two *Brenni*, three hundred Years; who, if he had led his Army into *Italy* at that time, must have fought with *Numa Pompilius*, or with *Tullus Hostilius*, and not with the Free People of *Rome*. But to omit these things, whence doth this new Logician gather, that *Brennus* was a *Britain?* Forsooth, from one word only, *viz. Trimarchia*, which word yet is common to *Scots*, *Gauls*, and *Welsh*. But *Pausanias*, whom you quote maimedly, and by piece-meal, that so he may make for your purpose, calls *Brennus* and his Companions, *Gauls*, and acknowledgeth That Word to be *Gallick*; but you, Sir, you only, such is your shamelessness, against the Credit of all *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, yea, and in spight of the Muses themselves too, do strive to prove him a *Britain*. Perhaps I have prosecuted this Argument a little more prolixly, than either the obscurity of the Matters themselves, or the unskilfulness and unconstancy of *Ludd*, did deserve; I have done it, not out of a desire to carp at, or blame, others, (which I am far from,) but that I might abate the edge of the unsavory abusiveness of a Person so loquacious and reflective, thus reducing him from his wild and extravagant rage, (whereby

[b] *Switzers.*

[c] Iron.

[d] *Sicambri* or *Westphalians.*

Irony.

[e] *Brennus's* Two.

he ſpeaks evil of almoſt all Writers,) that ſo I might bring him, at laſt, to acknowledge his Errour. To omit others, at preſent, he falls, with great ſcurrility, upon *Hector Boetius*, a Man not only well-skilled in the Liberal Arts, but alſo endued with ſingular Humanity and Courteſie, and famous too, beyond the ordinary rate of the Times, he lived in; and he *ſo* falls upon him, as to blame nothing in him, of which he himſelf is not more foully culpable. [f] *Hector* places the *Brigantes* in *Galloway*, wherein he did amiſs; for I have no mind to defend his Miſtakes: But *Ludd* brings out great Forces of the *Cimbri*, from one Corner of *Britain*, how truly, let the Learned judge. *Hector* attributes Matters, acted by others againſt the *Romans* in *Britanny*, to his Country-Men, the *Scots*. And *Ludd* doth ſhameleſly and falſly affirm, That *Rome* was taken, *Macedonia* vexed, *Greece* afflicted, the Nobleſt Oracle of the World ſacrilegiouſly violated, by his Country-Men, the *Britains*; yea, that *Aſia* it ſelf was compelled to pay Tribute to a few Vagabonds. He blames *Hector*, but falſly, for making *Gildo*, who raiſed up great Commotions in *Africa*, a *Scot*; and yet, he makes the ſame *Gildo*, who was indeed a *Moor*, to be a *Goth*; but *Gildus* and *Gildo* (forſooth) are Names almoſt alike. Let me ask you, Are they more like, than *Luddus*, *Lydus*, and *Ludio*? This is certain, that *Gildus* is an old Name in *Scotland*, as the Ancient Clan of the *Macgilds*, or *Macgills*, doth ſhew; of whoſe Poſterity there are yet Families remaining of good account, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But, ſeeing *Ludd* hath ſuch an intemperate Tongue, that he cares not what he ſays, provided he may abuſe others, I ſhall leave him, and conclude this Book, only giving him this Caution, That

[f] *Hector Boetius* and *Lud* compared, and Both of them cenſured, for ſome Miſtakes.

Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

They that Faults in others blame,
Muſt not be guilty of the ſame.

THE

The Third BOOK.

THô I have ſufficiently demonſtrated in the Two former Books, how fabulous, yea, how portentous, the Memoirs are, which the Writers of the *Britiſh* Affairs have delivered, concerning their Anceſtors; and have alſo ſhewn, by plain and clear evidences, that the Ancient *Britains* had their Original from the *Gauls*: Yet, becauſe, I perceive, I have to do with Men, that pertinaciouſly adhere to a manifeſt Falſhood, rather than with ſuch as lapſe by Raſhneſs or Ignorance; I thought it worth my labour, if, out of Writers of great Authority amongſt all Learned Men, I took off the edge of ſuch Hair-brain'd Mens boldneſs; and, by that means, ſupply'd Good Men, and Lovers of Truth, with ſufficient Arms to reſtrain and curb their daring and affronting Impudence. In the rank of ſuch Claſſick Authors, I judge, *Julius Cæſar* deſerves the firſt Place, both for his Diligence in ſearching, his Certainty in knowing, and Sincerity in declaring things to others. He, in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries concerning the *Gallick* War, writing of *Britain*, ſays thus, 'The inner part of *Britain* is inhabit-'ed by ſuch, as they themſelves record to be born in the Iſland; and 'the Maritime Coaſts, by ſuch as came out of *Belgium*, either to 'make Incurſions, or Invaſions; and after the War was ended, they 'continued in the Poſſeſſions they had gained, and were called by 'the Names of the Cities, from whence they came. The Country is 'very populous, and well-ſtored with Houſes, much like thoſe of the '*Gauls*; They have great ſtore of Cattle; they uſe Braſs for Money, 'or Iron rings, weighed at a certain rate. In its *Mediterranean* parts, 'there is found great quantity of Tin, and, in the Mountainous parts, 'Iron; thô, but in a ſmall quantity; their Braſs is brought in by other 'Nations. They have all ſort of Trees, that they have in *Gallia*, 'excepting the Beech and the Firr. Their Religion will not ſuffer 'them to eat either Hare, Hen, or Gooſe, notwithſtanding they have 'of them all, as well for novelty as variety. The Country is more 'temperate, and not ſo cold, as *Gallia*: The Iſland lyeth Triangular, 'whereof one ſide fronteth *Gallia*; on which ſide, That Angle, where-'in *Kent* ſtands, points to the *Eaſt*, where almoſt all Ships arrive 'from *France*: And the lower Angle, to the South; This ſide con-'taineth above 500 miles. The other Angle lyeth toward *Spain*, and 'the Weſtern Coaſt, in that Circuit, where alſo *Ireland* lyeth, which 'is an Iſland half as big as *England*, (as ſome think) and as far di-'ſtant from it, as *Gallia*; In the Midway between *England* and *Ireland*, 'lyeth an Iſland called *Man*; beſides many other ſmall Iſlands, of 'which ſome write, That in Winter time, for 30 days together, 'they have a continual Night, whereof we learned nothing by inqui-'ry; only we found, by certain meaſures of Water, that the Nights 'in *England* were ſhorter than in the Continent. The length of 'this ſide, according to the opinion of the Inhabitants, containeth '700 miles. The Third ſide lyeth to the *North*, and open Sea, ſa-'ving that this Angle doth ſomewhat point toward *Germany*. This

Cæſar's deſcription of *Britain*, and its Inhabitants.

ſide

'side is thought to contain 800 miles. And so the whole Island con-
'taineth in circuit 2000 miles. Of all the Inhabitants, they of *Kent*
'are most courteous and civil, all their Country bordering upon the
'Sea, and little differing from the fashion of *Gallia*. Most of the
'Inland People sow no Corn, but live upon Milk and Flesh, they are
'clothed with Skins, and have their Faces painted with a blew co-
'lour, to the end, they may seem more terrible in Fight. They
'wear the Hair of their Heads, long; having all other parts of their
'Body shaven, except their Head, and upper Lip. Their Wives
'are common to Ten or Twelve, especially Brethren with Brethren,
'and Parents with Children; but the Children that are born, are ac-
'counted His, unto whom the Mother was first given in Marriage.

And awhile after, he says,

'By these He understood, that (*Verulam*,) *Cassivellanus*'s Town
'was not far off, fortified with Woods and Bogs, and well stored
'with Men and Cattle. The *Britains* call that a Town, when they
'fortifie Woody Fastnesses with a Ditch and a Rampire, and
'so make it a place of Retreat, when they stand in fear of incursi-
Verulam taken by *Cæsar*. 'ons from their Enemies. Thither *Cæsar* marched, with his Army,
'and found it well fortified both by Art and Nature; And, as he as-
'saulted it in Two several places, the Enemy stood to it awhile, but
'at last, were not able to bear the brunt and fury of the Assailants,
'but made their escape a back way out of the Town. Thus he took
'it, and found therein great store of Cattle, and, in the onset, slew
'and took prisoners many of the *Britains*.

Tacitus, *in the Life of* Julius Agricola.

The description of *Britain*, according to *Tacitus*. 'THE Site of *Britanny*, and the Inhabitants thereof, thó they
'have been already described by sundry Writers, I purpose
'here to declare, not to compare with them in careful Ingenuity,
'but because it was then first thorowly subdued, so that such things
'as our Ancestors, without perfect discovery, have polished with
'Pen, shall now be faithfully set down upon Knowledge. *Britanny*,
'of all the Islands known to the *Romans*, the Greatest, coasteth by
'*East* upon *Germany*; by *West*, towards *Spain*; and it hath *France*
'on the *South*: *Northward*, no Land lying against it, but only a vast
'and broad Sea beating about it. The Figure and fashion of all
'*Britanny* by *Livy*, of the Ancients, and *Fabius Rusticus* of the Mo-
'dern, the most eloquent Authors, is likened to [b] a long Dish, or
'two-edged Axe, and so is that Part shapen indeed, on this side *Ca-*
'*ledonia*: Whereupon, the Fame went of the whole, as it seemeth:
'But there is beside, a huge vast tract of Ground, which runneth
'beyond unto the furthermost Point, growing narrow and sharp
'like a Wedge. This point of the utmost Sea, the *Roman* Fleet,
'then first of all Doubling, discovered *Britanny* to be an Island;
'and withal, found out and subdued the Isles of *Orkney*, before that
'time never known. *Thyle* also was discovered at aloof, which
'Snow hither and Winter had covered. The Sea thereabout they
'affirm to be dull and heavy for the Oar, and not to be raised, as
'others are, with Winds; belike, because Land and Mountains are
'rare, which minister Cause and Matter of Tempests, and because a
'deep Mass of continual Sea is slower stirred to Rage.

[b] It doth not appear, how this resemblance holds, and therefore some think, those *Authors* to be better *Historians*, than *Resemblancers*: and, indeed, if the whole Island were not conquered by the *Romans*, (as confessedly it was not) I do not see, how they could give us the perfect Form and Shape thereof;

To

'To examine the Nature of the Ocean and Tides, pertaineth not to 'this Work, and many have done it before. One thing I will add, 'and may safely avouch, that the Sea, no where in the World, ra- 'geth and ruleth more freely, carrying by Violence so much River 'Water, hither and thither, and is not content to Flow and Ebb so 'far as the Banks, but inserteth and windeth it self into the Land, 'shooting into the Mountains and Cliffs, as to his own Channel. Now, 'what manner of Men the first Inhabitants of *Britanny* were, *Fo-* 'reign, brought in, or *Born* in the Land, as among a barbarous 'People, it is not certainly known. Their Complexions are diffe- 'rent, and thence may some Conjectures be taken: For the Red 'Hair of the dwellers in *Caledonia*, and mighty Limbs, import a 'German Descent: The coloured Countenance of the *Silures*, and 'Hair most commonly Curled, and Site against *Spain*, seem to in- 'duce a belief, that the old *Spaniards* passed the Sea, and possessed 'those places. The neareſt to *France* likewise resemble the *French*, 'either, because they retain something of the Race, from which 'they descended; or, that in Countries butting together, the same 'aspects of the Heavens do yeild the same Complexion of Bodies: 'But generally it is most likely, the *French*, being neareſt, did Peo- 'ple the *Land*. In their Ceremonies and Superstitious Persuasions, 'there is to be seen an apparent Conformity: The Language diffe- 'reth not much, like boldness to challenge and leap into Dangers: 'When Dangers are come, like fear in refusing them; saving, that the 'Britains make more shew of Courage, as being not mollifi'd yet 'by long Peace; for the *French* also were once, as we read, redoub- 'ted in War, till such time, as giving themselves over to Peace and 'Idleness, Cowardise crept in, and Shipwrack was made both of 'Manhood and Liberty, together: And so it is also befaln to those 'of the *Britains*, which were subdued of old; the rest remain such, 'as the *French* were before. Their strength in the Field consisteth 'in Footmen; some Countries make War in Wagons also: The 'greater Personage guideth the Wagon, his Waiters and Followers 'Fight out of the same. Heretofore they were govern'd by *Kings*, 'now they are drawn, by Petty *Princes*, into Parties and Factions: 'And that is the greateſt help we have, against those Puissant Na- 'tions, that they have no common Council together. Seldom it 'chanceth, that two or three States meet and concur to repulse the 'common danger: So, whilst one by one fighteth, all are subdued. 'The Sky is very Cloudy, and much given to Rain, without extre- 'mity of Cold. The length of Days much above the measure of our 'Climate; the Nights light, and, in the furthermost part of the 'Island, so short, that, between the going out and coming in of the 'Day, the space is hardly perceived, and when Clouds do not hin- 'der, they affirm, that the Sun-shine is seen in the Night, and that 'it neither Setteth nor Riseth, but passeth along, because, belike, 'the [a] extream and plain parts of the Earth project a low Shad- 'dow, and raise not the darkness to an heigth; so the Night fal- 'leth under the Sky and the Stars; the Soil, setting aside the Olive, 'the Vine and the rest, which are proper to warmer Countries, taketh 'all kind of Grain, and beareth it in abundance; it shooteth up 'quickly

[a] Later Authors can hardly reconcile this reason with the Principles of the *Mathematicks*: And besides, the matter of Fact is very questionable.

'quickly, and ripeneth slowly; the Cause of them both is the same, 'the overmuch moisture of the Soil and the Air. *Britany* beareth 'Gold and Silver, and other Metals, to inrich the Conqueror. The 'Ocean bringeth forth Pearl also, not Orient, but duskish and wan, 'which proceedeth, as some do suppose, for lack of skill in the Ga-'therers. For, in the Red Sea, they are pulled out panting, and alive 'from the Rocks; but in *Britany*, cast out by the Sea, and so taken 'up. For my part, I do rather beleive the Nature of the Country not to 'yeild it, than that our Covetousness could not find out the way to 'gather it aright.

'The *Britains* endure Levies of Men and Money, and all other 'Burdens imposed by the *Empire*, patiently and willingly, if Inso-'lencies be forborn: Indignities they cannot abide, being as yet 'subdued to be Subjects, not Slaves.

[b] The several *Roman* Generals, that had come over into *Britain*, or waged War therein, in or before *Tacitus* his time, viz.

'[b] The first of the *Romans*, which entred *Britanny* with an Army, 'was *Julius Cæsar*; who, although he terrified the Inhabitants with 'a Battel, which went on his side, and gained the Shoar, yet may 'seem rather to have shewed the place to Posterity, than to have de-'livered to them the possession thereof.

'The Civil Wars ensued, and Bandyings of Men of great quality, 'against the Republick of *Rome*; and long after that, lay *Britany* 'forgotten, even in Peaceable Times. *Augustus* termed it Policy, 'and chiefly *Tiberius*, so to do.

'That *Cajus* had a meaning to invade *Britanny*, it is certainly 'known; but his rash running Head, and hasty Repentance, and 'chiefly his great Attempts against *Germany*, turning to nothing, a-'verted that purpose.

* *Claudius* and *Vespasian*.

'* *Claudius* did first, with effect, prosecute the matter, transpor-'ting *Legions* and Aids; and assuming *Vespasian* into the action, 'which was the beginning of the Greatness, whereunto he after at-'tained. Some Countries were subdued, some Kings were taken, 'and *Vespasian* made known to the World.

* *Aulus Plautius*.
* *Ostorius Scapula*.

'The first Lieutenant General was * *Aulus Plautius*, then * *Osto-'rius Scapula*, both Excellent Warriers: And so, by little and little, 'was the neareſt part of the *Island* reduced to the Form of a *Pro-'vince*; and besides, a Colony of old Souldiers established there. 'Certain Cities were also bestowed, in pure Gift, upon King *Cogidu-'nus*, (who remained most Faithful even in our days) according to 'an old Custom, anciently received of the *Romans*, to use even Kings 'themselves, for Instruments of Bondage.

* *Didius Gallus*.

'* Then *Didius Gallus* succeeded; who kept That which his Pre-'decessors had gotten, and builded some few Castles further in the 'Land, to win by that means a Fame and Credit to his Office.

* *Verantius*.

'After *Didius*, succeeded * *Verantius*, who died within one 'year.

* *Suetonius Paulinus*.

'Then * *Suetonius Paulinus*, for two years space, behaved him-'self Fortunately, subduing the *Nations* and establishing *Garisons*. 'Upon Confidence whereof, going to assail the *Isle* of *Man*, which 'ministred supply to the Rebels, he disfurnished the Country be-'hind, and laid it open to all opportunities of the Enemy. For, 'through the absence of the Lieutenant, the *Britains*, free of fear,

'began

'began to discourse the Miseries of Bondage, to lay their Injuries 'together, and aggravate them by Constructions and Inferences, as, 'That their Patience had profited them nothing, save only to draw 'heavier Burdens upon themselves, as Men willing to bear them. 'That, whereas in former times, they had only one King, now were 'there Two thrust upon them, the *Lieutenant* to suck their Blood, 'the *Procurator*, their Substance, whose disagreeing was the torment 'of the Subjects; and their agreement, their undoing; the one vexing 'by Souldiers and Captains; the other, by Wrongs and Indignities. 'That now their Covetousness and Lust laid hold, without excep-'tion, on all. And, whereas in Field, he that spoileth is commonly 'stronger: Now, were they, by Cowards and Weaklings, for the 'most part dispossessed of their Houses, bereft of their Children, in-'joyned to yeild Soldiers for other Mens behoof, as though they were 'Men, that knew to do nothing else, save only to die for their own 'Country. For otherwise, what a small handful of Souldiers were 'come over, if the *Britains* would fall to reckon themselves: That '*Germany* had so shakt of the Yoke, having no *Ocean* Sea, but 'only a River, for their Defence. That their cause of taking Arms 'was Urgent and Just; their Wives and Children, their Parents and 'Country; that the *Romans* had nothing to move them to War, 'but their own Covetousness and wanton Lust: And that they would 'doubtless depart, as *Julius Cæsar* had done, if the *Britains* would 'imitate the Virtues of their *Progenitors*, and not be dismayed with 'the doubtful event of one Skirmish or two. That Men in Misery 'had more courage and vehemency to attempt, more constancy to 'continue: And now, even the Gods seem'd to pity the Poor *Britains* 'Estate, having sent the *Roman* Captain out of the way, and confi-'ned the Army, as it were, into another Island. That now being 'assembled to advise and deliberate together, they had attained the 'hardest point in an action of that Nature, wherein, without que-'stion, it were more danger to be taken consulting than doing. 'With these and the like Speeches, inciting one another, by common 'consent, they resolve to take Arms under the Conduct of **Voadicea*, 'a Lady of the Blood of their Kings: For, in matter of governing in 'Chief, they make no distinction of Sex. And first pursuing the 'Soldiers, which lay divided in Garisons, and winning the Forts, 'they invaded (anon) the Colony it self, as being the Seat of their 'Slavery: In Sacking whereof, no kind of Cruelty was omitted, 'which either Anger, or the Rage of Victory, might induce a bar-'barous People to practise. And unless, upon knowledge had of the 'Revolt, *Paulinus* had come to succour, with speed, *Britany* had 'then been lost, which, with one prosperous Battel, he restored to 'her former Obedience, and patient bearing the Yoke; some few 'keeping out, and remaining in Arms, whom the guilt of the Re-'bellion excluded from all hope of Pardon, and some fear also of the '*Lieutenants* private Displeasure. Who, though otherwise a singu-'lar Man, yet seemed to shew too much haughty and hard dealing 'toward those which yielded themselves, and to revenge, in a sort, 'his own Injury. Whereupon * *Petronius Turpilianus* was sent in 'his place, as a more intreateable Person, and a Stranger to their Faults,

*Or, Boadicea.

* *Petronius Turpilianus.*

'and therefore more ready to receive their repentance; who ha-
'ving compoſed former Troubles, and daring no further, deliver'd
* *Trebellius Maximus.* 'to * *Trebellius Maximus* the Charge,

'*Trebellius*, a Man unfit for Action, and altogether unexpert in
'Service by a kind of courteous and mild Regiment, kept the Country
'in quiet. For now the *Britains* alſo had learned the good Manners,
'not rudely to repulſe the ſugred aſſaults and flattr'ings of Vices;
'and the diſturbances of civil Diſſenſions miniſtred a lawful excuſe
'for his doing nothing. But the Soldier, accuſtomed to warfare,
'wax'd wanton with Eaſe, and grew to be mutinous. *Trebellius* by fly-
'ing away, and hiding himſelf, eſchewed their firſt indignation, and
'anon reſuming his place, without Majeſty, without Authority, he
'Ruled by way of Intreaty, and at his Soldiers diſcretion: And ſo
'coming, as it were to a Capitulation, the Army, for Licence to
'do what them liſted; the Captain, for ſafety of his own life, the
Mutiny ended without any Blood-ſhed.

* *Veſtius Bolanus.* '* *Veſtius Bolanus* ſucceeded him in Place, and in the ſame looſneſs
'of Diſcipline; the Civil Wars continuing ſtill, like default againſt
'the Enemy, like Licenſe in the Camp, ſaving, that *Bolanus* a good
'honeſt Man, not odious for any crime, inſtead of Obedience, had
'gotten Good-will.

'But when as *Veſpaſian*, with the reſt of the World, recovered
'*Britanny* alſo; Great Captains, Good Soldiers, were ſent, and the
'hope of the Enemy was greatly abated. For ſtraightways * *Pe-*
* *Petilius Cerealis.* 'tilius Cerealis ſtruck a terror into them, by invading, upon his firſt
'Entry, the *Brigantes*, the moſt populous State of the whole Pro-
'vince. Many Battels were fought, and ſome bloody, and the great-
'eſt part of the *Brigantes* were either conquered, or waſted.

'And whereas *Cerealis* would doubtleſs have eclipſed the Dili-
* *Julius Frontinus.* 'gence and Fame of another Succeſſor, * *Julius Frontinus*, a Great
'Man, as he might well be called after that Predeceſſor, ſuſtained
'the Charge with Reputation and Credit, ſubduing the puiſſant and
'warlike People of the *Silures*: Where he had, beſide the valour of
'the Enemy, to ſtruggle with the ſtraights and difficulties of the
'Places themſelves.

Cicero *in his Epiſtle to* Trebatius, *in the 7th Book of his* Familiar Epiſtles.

'I Hear, that, in *Britain*, there is neither Gold nor Silver; If that
'be ſo, yet I perſuade thee to catch what thou canſt, and return
'ſpeedily to us; But if we can attain our deſire, (without the help
'of *Britain*) do thou act ſo, that thou mayſt be reckoned amongſt
'my Familiar Friends.

* Paulus Oroſius, *ſpeaking of* Ireland, *hath theſe words.*

* Oroſius *concerning* Ireland and Britain. 'THis, (*Ireland*) being the neareſt Iſland to *Britain*, is narrow-
'er in circuit, or ſpace of ground than It, but more commo-
'dious for temper of Soil and Air; It is inhabited by the Nations
'of the *Scots*. The Iſle of * *Angleſey*, or rather *Man*, is alſo near

to

'to it, an Island not very large, but of a good Soil, which is also 'inhabited by the *Scots*.

The same Author says.

'THe Conqueror *Severus* was drawn into *Britain* by the re-'volt of almost all his Allies; after he had fought many great 'and notable Battels, he judged it best to separate and divide that part 'of the *Island*, which he had regained from the other unconquered 'Nations, by a *Wall*; And for this end, he made a great Trench and 'a strong Wall, fortified at the top with many Towers, for the 'space of 130 mile from Sea to Sea.

'*Ado*, the *Archbishop* of *Vienna*, speaks the same things, almost 'word for word. The mistake of both in the number of miles is to 'be corrected, by writing 32 for 132.

Out of the 35th Chapter of * Solinus.

* *Solinus*, his description of *Britain*, and its Inhabitants.

'IT (*i. e.*) *Britain*, is environed with many Isles, and those not 'unrenowned; whereof *Ireland* draweth neerest to it, in bigness; 'it is an uncivil Country, by reason of the savage Manners of the 'Inhabitants, but otherwise so full of Pasturage, and Cattle, that, 'if their Herds in Summer time be not now and then restrained from 'feeding, they would run a great danger of Over-eating themselves. 'There are no Snakes, there, and but few Birds; the People are in-'hospitable, and warlike. When they have overcome their Ene-'mies, they first besmear their Faces with the Blood of the slain, 'Right and Wrong, Good and Evil, all is one to them. If a Wo-'man be delivered of a Man-child, she lays his first Meat upon her 'Husbands Sword, and, putting it softly into his Mouth, giveth 'him the first handsel of his Food, upon the very point of the wea-'pon, praying, (according to the manner of the Country) that he 'may not otherwise come to his end, than in Battel, and amongst 'Arms. They that love to be fine, do trim the hilts of their Swords 'with the Teeth of Sea-calves, for they make them as white, and as 'clear, as *Ivory*. The Men do chiefly glory in the beauty of their Ar-'mour. There is not a *Bee* amongst them; and if a Man bring of 'the Dust, or the little Stones from thence, and strow them among 'Bee-hives, the Swarms forsake their Combs. The Sea, that is be-'tween *Ireland* and *Britain*, is stormy and rough most part of the 'year, so that it can hardly be sailed over, but a few days in Sum-'mer time. They Sail in Keels of Wicker, done over with Neats-'Leather. How long soever their passage continueth, the Passen-'gers abstain from Meat, all the while, such as have throughly ex-'amined it, have esteemed the bredth of that *narrow Sea*, to be 120 'Miles. A tempestuous Sea also divided the Islands of the *Silures*, 'from the Coast that the *Britains* inhabited; the Men of which '*Island* keep their old customs, even to this day. They utterly re-'fuse Buying and Selling for Money, but barter one Commodity for 'another, providing things necessary, rather by exchange than rea-'dy Money. They worship the Gods, very devoutly. As *well* the 'Women as the Men boast of their Knowledge of Fore-telling things,

'to come. The Isle of *Thanet* is beaten upon by the *French Sea*, and 'is divided from *Britain* with a very narrow Strait, it is happy in 'Corn Fields, and a fat Soil, and healthful, not only to its Inhabitants, 'but to others also. Forasmuch as there is no Snake bred there, the 'Earth thereof, to what place soever it is carried from thence, killeth 'that Vermin.

* Herodian, *concerning* Britain.

Out of the Third Book of * Herodian, *Translated into* Latin *by* Politian.

'BUt *Severus* made delays on purpose, that he might not make his 'entrance into *Rome*, Poorly; for, being desirous of Victory, and of 'the Sirname of *Britannicus*, he sends the Ambassadors home before he 'had done his Business, whilst he himself in the mean time, with 'great diligence, prepared all things necessary for War. His first 'and chief Care, was, to erect Bridges on the Marish Grounds, that 'so his Soldiers might stand safely, and fight as upon firm ground; 'for many places in *Britain* are Marishy, because of the frequent In-'washings of the *Ocean*. The Barbarians themselves do swim through 'these *Moors* or *Marishes*, and run up to the Groins in them, (not re-'garding the Mud,) with their naked Bodies. For they are igno-'rant of the use of Garments to cloath them, but do girt their Belly 'and their Neck with Iron, thinking that to be an ornament and 'sign of Riches; as other *Barbarians* do, Gold. And besides, they 'mark their Bodies with various Pictures, and with the shapes of all 'manner of Animals, and therefore they cloath not themselves, lest 'they should hide the painted outside of their Bodyes. But they are 'a very warlike Nation, and greedy of slaughter, being contented 'only with a narrow Shield, and a Lance. And moreover, they 'wear a Sword hanging down from their naked Bodies, and are whol-'ly ignorant of the use of Coats of Male, or Helmets, as judging 'them to be an hindrance and a luggage to them, in passing over 'the *Marishes*, whose Vapors, being exhaled by heat, make the Air 'there always dark and misty.

* *Ammianus Marcellinus*, concerning *Britain*.

Out of the 10*th Book of* Ammianus Marcellinus.

THis was the state of Affairs throughout *Illyricum*, and the *Eastern* Parts: But in the Consulship of *Constantius*, when matters were very often disturb'd in *Britanny*, by the inroads of those barbarous Nations, the *Scots* and *Picts*, and thereby Peace was broken, and, the places near to their Borders being wasted, which caused a fear to seize on the *Provinces*, already tired with their many past slaughters, *Cæsar*, then being in his Winter Quarters at *Paris*, was distracted with divers Cares, for he feared to assist those Transmarine People, as I related before, tho *Constantius* did, lest he should leave *Gaul* without a Governor, in the mean time. The *Almains*, or *Germans*, also then being very eager on Cruelty and War: And therefore he was pleased to send * *Lupicinus* thither, to compose matters, who was as a Commissary-General of the Army at that time, a stout Man, and very skilful in Military Affairs, and prided himself

* *Lupicinus*.

himself much therein, so that he was very supercilious and haughty, and to speak Proverbially, as proud as a Peacock. It was a great doubt, whether he was more Covetous or more Cruel; He, having caused the Vanguard to march, *viz.* The *Lombards*, The *Hollanders*, and many of the * *Mœsici*, came to *Bolongne*, in the depth of Winter. And embarking all his Soldiers in those Ships, which he had provided, taking advantage of a favourable Wind, he was wafted over to *Sandwich*, and so went to *London*, that, there he might advise, and be in readiness to act according to emergencies.

* *Mœsici*, inhabiting part of *Pomerania*, and part of *Mecklenburg*.

Out of his 26th Book.

'THe *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti* vex the *Britains* with perpetual Miseries.

Out of this 27th Book.

'IT's sufficient for me to say, That, at that time, the *Picts* being divided into *Two* Nations, the *Dicalidones*, and the *Vecturiones*, and also the *Attacotti*, a warlike People; and the *Scots* ranging several ways, spoiled many Shires, and Countries. The *Franks* and *Saxons*, as they had opportunity to make inroads by Land or Sea, plundered the *Gallican* Tracts, near to them, and carried from thence mighty Booties, firing all before them, and killing those which they took Captive. To hinder this, Fortune favouring him, our warlike Commander came into these extreme parts, from *Bolongne*, which is divided from the Land he was to make by the Streights of the Sea; which is wont to be raised by high Tides, and again levell'd, in a Calm, like a Plain, without any prejudice to the *Mariners*; from thence he gently passed over to *Richburrow*, a safe Harbor over against it, whence, being followed by the *Batavi*, * *Heruli*, and *Jovii* trusting to their conquering Numbers, he came to the old Town of * *London*, since called *Augusta*,—— where, dividing his Troops, he set upon the prædatory Bands of his Enemies, and they being loaden with spoils, he quickly overcame them and took away their prey, both of Prisoners and Plunder, to their great damage. He restored all to the losers, except a small part bestowed on his wearied Soldiers; thus he re-entred the City, in Triumph, before forelorn, but now relieved by him. Being lifted up by his prosperous success, he designed greater matters, and intended to follow safe Counsels, for he had learned both by Prisoners and Deserters, that such scattered Troops of sundry Nations, and those fierce ones too, could not be conquered, but by Treachery or suddain Assault. So that he made Edicts, and propos'd Impunity, and, by that means called in all Stragglers and Deserters. Hereupon, many returning, he being moved thereby, and anxiously careful, required * *Civilis* to be sent to him to Govern *Britain*, a Man of a sharp Wit, and very Just and Honest too, and also * *Dulcitius*, a Commander, very skilful in Warlike Affairs.

* Or *Lombards*.

* *London* Anciently called *Augusta*.

* *Civilis*.

* *Dulcitius*.

Out

Out of the 39th Book of * Dion.

Dion's Relation concerning *Cæsar's* coming into *Britain.*

'CÆsar, First of all the *Romans*, having passed the *Rhene*, after-
'ward was wafted over into *Britanny*, in the Consulship of
'*Pompeius* and *Crassus*. The Island itself is extended 45 *Stadia*, at
'least, beyond the *Morini*. And it is stretched out beyond the rest of
'*Gaul*, and almost all *Spain*, reaching out into the Sea. It was un-
'known to the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. And their Posterity did
'doubt, whether it were a *Continent* or an *Island*; and many Writers
'who were ignorant of the Truth, as having not seen it themselves,
'nor had any Information from the Inhabitants, (but spoke only by
'Conjectures) in their *Records*, as their Leisures and Humours were,
'some counted it One, some the Other. But, in process of time,
'when *Agricola* was Chief Commander, and afterwards in the time
'of *Severus* the *Emperor*, it was clearly found out, to be an *Island*.
'*Cæsar*, when he had setled things in *France*; and subdued the *Mo-*
'*rini*, desired to pass over thither, and accordingly he transported
'his Foot, where it was most convenient, but he Landed not where
'he ought to Land. For the Fame of his coming being noised a-
'broad, all the *Britains* had prepossessed the passages of the *Conti-*
'*nent*. But he, sailing beyond a Prominent Rock, made his descent
'elsewhere, and, repulsing those who first hindred his Landing, he
'put his Men on Shore before many of the *Britains* could unite
'to impede him; and afterwards he repelled their Aids too, which
'came in, conquered their Garisons, and mastered the Island. Yet
not many of the *Barbarians* were slain, for they, fighting on Horse-
'back, and out of Chariots, did easily avoid the *Romans*. (who had
'then no Horse Forces.) But being amazed at those things, which
'were related concerning them out of the Continent, and that they
'were so bold as to transport themselves, and make their descent
'into their Island, they sent some of the *Nation* of the *Morini*, their
'Friends and Allies, in Embassy to *Cæsar*. First of all, *Cæsar* demand-
'ded Hostages, and they promised it. But afterward perceiving,
'that the Naval Force of the *Romans*, both those near at hand, and
'farther off, were shattered by Tempest, they changed their Minds,
'yet they did not openly set upon them, (for their Camp was well
'guarded) but having surprized some of them, who were sent in
'a peaceable manner, to provide things necessary, they put them
'almost all to the Sword; excepting some, whom *Cæsar*, speedily
'sending forth other Forces, relieved; and presently, they make an
'onset on his Camp, but were shamefully repulsed, without effect-
'ing any thing, yet they came not to Terms with *Cæsar*, till they
'had been often worsted by him; and on the other side, *Cæsar*
'had no great mind to make a League with them. But the Win-
'ter being now at hand, and his Forces not then sufficient to carry
'on the War, many of those which he brought over, being dead, or
'slain; and besides, the *Gauls*, in his absence, were attempting alte-
'rations, he clapt up a Peace with them, in a manner against his Will,
'demanding many Hostages, but receiving a few only. Thus was
'he wafted back into the *Continent*, where he quelled the Mutineers,

and

'and settled Affairs, neither reaped he any publick or private ad-
'vantage from *Britain*, worth his Labour; but that he had assaulted
'it by Arms. For this very reason, he was much pleased in himself,
'and his Friends did mightily extol him at *Rome*. For when, they
'saw, that Places, before unknown, were now brought to light;
'and being before never heard of, were now discovered, they em-
'braced their Hopes, as if they had been Enjoyments, and anteda-
'ting their success, they rejoyced, as if they had already obtained
'their desired Conquest, and therefore they decreed Supplications to
'the *Gods* for Twenty days.

Out of the First Chapter of the first Book * *of* Bede.

* *Bede's* Relation, concerning the *Britains.*

'THe Islanders do profess one and the same Theology, and that
'in Five Tongues; *viz.* Of the *Angles*, *Brittons*, *Scots*, *Picts*,
'and *Latins*, which, by the Meditation of the Scriptures, is made
'common to all the rest. But, in the first place, the *Brittons* only
'inhabited the Island, from whom it took its *Name*, who coming
'over into *Britain*, as it is reported, from the * *Armorick* Tract,
'seized upon the Southern parts thereof. And they having possessed
'a great part of the Island, beginning from the South, it happened,
'that the Nation of the *Picts*, venturing to Sea, with a few *Gallies*,
'as is reported, from *Scythia*, made their Descent in *Ireland*, the
'Winds hurrying them beyond all the Coasts of *Britain*, and ha-
'ving *Landed* there, and peirced even to the Northern parts there-
'of; where, finding the Nation of the *Scots*, they desired part of
'their Allotment, for their Habitation, but could not obtain
'it.

* *Basse-Bretagne* in *France.*

Out of the Fifth Chapter of the first Book of the same Author.

'SEverus an *African*, born at *Lebeda*, near *Tripoli*; the Fourteenth
'from *Augustus Cæsar* obtained the *Empire*, which he held Seven-
'teen years. He, being of a fierce Disposition, as always vexed
'with continual Wars, governed the Common-Wealth with great
'Valour, indeed, but with equal Toil. And, being a Conqueror in
'the Civil Wars, which were very greivous in his Time, he was
'enforced to pass over into *Britain*, upon the Revolt of almost all his
'Allies; where, after many great and cruel Battels, he gained part
'of the Island, and divided it from the Un-conquered part, not
'with a Wall, (as some think,) but with a Trench only. For a
'Wall is made of Stones, but a Trench, wherewith Camps are For-
'tified, to repel the force of Enemies, is made of Turf, cut out
'of the Earth; yet, as a Wall, it is built high above the Ground,
'so that there is a Ditch before it, out of which the Turfs are digged
'and heaved up, above which, Pallisadoes, made of strong Wood,
'are prefixed and hung out. Wherefore, *Severus* drew a great Ditch,
'and a firm Graff or Work, fortified with many Towers above, from
'Sea to Sea, and then he died at *York*.

* Rather the 15th.
* *Severus* his expedition into *Britain*, according to *Bede.*

Out of his Twelfth Chapter of the same Book.

'AFterwards, *Britain* being despoiled of all her Armed Souldiery, 'and of her chief florid Youth, which were carried away 'Captive, by the severity of *Tyrants*, and never returned again, was 'laid open to be preyed upon, and plundred, as being wholly igno- 'rant of the Art of War. At last, it was suddenly harassed by Two 'Transmarine Nations, the *Scots* from the South, and the *Picts* from 'the North, under whose yoke she groaned, many years: I call them 'Transmarine Nations, not because they had their Habitations out of 'Britain, but because they were remote from the Allotment of the 'Britains, two Creeks of the Sea running betwixt them, one of them 'from the *East* Sea, and the other from the *West*, running far into 'Land, though they reach not one to the other. The Oriental one 'hath, in the midst of it, the City *Guidi*. The Occidental one above 'it, *i. e.* on the right Hand of it, hath the City *Alcluyth*, which, 'in their Tongue, signifieth a Rock, for *Cluyth* is situate by a River 'of the same Name. By reason of the Incursions of these Nations, 'the *Brittons* send Ambassadors to *Rome*, with complaining Missives, 'craving Aid of them with mournful Supplications, and promising 'perpetual Subjection to them, if they would drive away those 'Enemies, that were at their very Doors; hereupon an Armed *Legion* 'was designed for their Assistance, which being transported into the 'Island, and fighting with their Enemies, slew many of them, and 'drove the rest beyond the limits of their *Allies*. And thus, having 'delivered them from their cruel Bondage, they advised them to 'build a *Wall* within the Island, between the two Seas, which might 'be a Safeguard to them, to repel their Enemies; and then, in great 'Triumph, they returned home. They, hearkning to their advice, 'erect a *Wall*, as enjoined, not so much with *Stones*, as *Turfs*, 'but having no eminent *Artificers*, fit for such an undertaking, it 'was good for little. They made it between the two Seas, or *Bays* '(of which I lately spake) of the Sea, for many Miles; that so, 'where the Waters were not a Defence, there, by the advantage of 'the Wall, they might secure their Borders from the Inrodes of their 'Enemies. The evident Marks and Footsteps of this high Wall, and 'Work, do remain to this day. It begins at almost a Mile distant 'from the Monastery of *Kebercurnig*, toward the West, in a place 'called, in the *Picts* Language, *Panuachel*, but in the *English*, *Pe- 'nueltima*, and bending against the West, it is terminated by the 'City *Alcluyth*. But their former Enemies, as soon as they perceiv- 'ved, that the *Roman* Souldiers were departed, being carried in 'Ships, brake into their Borders, killing and spoiling all before 'them; and, as if they were Corn ready for the Sickle, they Mow, 'Trample upon, and Destroy them. Hereupon, the *Brittons* send a 'second Embassy to *Rome*, with redoubled Complaints and Lamen- 'tations, desiring Aid, lest their miserable Country should be wholly 'Razed, and the Name of a *Roman* Province, wherewith they had 'been honoured so long, should now grow cheap and precarious, by 'the Invasion of *Foreigners*. Hereupon, another Legion was sent,

'which,

* *Dumbarton.*
* *Clith*, or *Clyte.*

'which, according to Command, arriving in Autumn, made a great 'Slaughter of their Enemies, and drove all that made their escape, 'beyond the Seas, who, the year before, drove all their Preys beyond 'those Seas, without any Resistance. Then the *Romans* told the '*Britains*, That they could come no more, on such chargeable and 'toilsome Expeditions, for their Defence, but they advised them to 'take Arms themselves, and Fight with their Enemies; that, were 'it not for their Sluggishness, they might be as Valiant as They. 'Moreover, they thought it advantageous to their Allies, whom 'they must leave, that a Wall was drawn directly from Sea to Sea, 'between the Cities, which were there built for fear of Enemies, 'where also *Severus* made a Trench. This Wall they built accor-'dingly with firm Stone, both with the publick and private Purse, '(as is yet to be seen) taking to their Assistance a Company of the '*Britains*. It was Eight Foot broad, and Twelve high, in a direct 'line from East to West. Both are yet to be seen, after they had 'built it, they gave strict charge to the Inhabitants, for their self-'Defence, and afforded them Examples for the Training up in Arms; 'but in the South shore, where their Ships were lodged, because 'from thence they feared the Irruptions of the *Barbarians*, they ere-'cted Towers, at proper distances, for the prospect of the Sea, and 'so they took their leaves, as never intending to Return.

And a little after.

'In short, they fly, and are dispersed, leaving their Cities and 'Walls; their Enemies follow, and make more cruel Slaughters than 'ever before. For, as Lambs are devoured by Wolves, so were the 'poor Country-Men torn in pieces by their Enemies; so that, being 'ejected out of their Habitations, and in danger to be Starved, they 'exercised Robberies, and mutual Rapacities, to keep themselves 'alive. Thus they increased external Slaughters, by Domestick 'Broils, till all the Country was quite despoiled of Food, but what 'was got by Hunting.

Out of the Epistle of Gildas.

'WHom he commanded to build a Wall, between the Two 'Seas, on the further side of the *Island*, that it might be a 'Terrour to Enemies, and a Defence to the Inhabitants. And after: 'The remainders of them sent lamentable Letters to* *Ætius*, a Man of great *Authority* in *Rome*, beginning thus; To *Ætius*, thrice Consul, the Groans of the *Britains*; and, a little after, they complain, The *Barbarians* repel us to the Sea; The Sea beats us back to the *Barbarians*. Between these Two kinds of Death, we are either killed on Land, or drowned at Sea, neither have we any Fence or Relief against either of them.

* The *Britains* make a lamentable complaint to *Ætius* at *Rome*.

The Fourth BOOK.

HAving undertook to write the History of our Nation, that the Series thereof might appear more plain to the Reader; I have, in my former Books, premiſed a few ancient Memoirs, and eſpecially Thoſe, which are freeſt from Fabulous Vanities, and are alſo moſt Conſonant to Old Writers.

First of all, it is conſtantly reported, and there are many Evidences to confirm the ſame, That a great multitude of [a] *Spaniards*, being driven out of their own Country, by their powerful *Dons*; or elſe, voluntarily departing, by reaſon of their ſuperabounding populouſneſs, tranſported themſelves into *Ireland*, and ſeized upon thoſe Places of that Iſland, which were neareſt to them. Afterward, the healthineſs of the Air, and the fatneſs of the Paſturage, invited many others to follow them; eſpecially, ſeeing their Seditions at home, and the Injuries offered them by Foreigners, (to which *Spain* was always ſubject) drew many thither, in hopes of a quieter Life, (which Voyage they were more eaſily perſuaded to undertake) becauſe, they looked upon themſelves as going into an Iſland already poſſeſſed by their own People, and, by that means, as it were, their ſecond Country. This Stock of *Spaniards* did ſo flouriſh and increaſe, in a Country fit for Propagation, that now they were not contented within the bounds of *Ireland*, but frequently made Emigrations into the leſſer Iſlands, near adjacent.

[a] A Colony of *Spaniards* come into *Ireland.*

In the mean time, the *Scots* (for that was the general Name of the whole Nation,) propagating their bounds through the Iſlands of *Æbudæ*, and diſperſing themſelves by Tribes and Kindreds, without either King or fixed Government: A [b] *German*, or, as *Bede* writes, a *Scythian* Fleet, came to the Coaſts of *Ireland*, being driven thither, 'tis very probable, by ſtreſs of Weather; for they had not their Wives or Children aboard with them. They, being very Poor, having nothing left them, by reaſon of ſo long a Voyage, but only their Arms, ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Scots*, deſiring them, that they might inhabit amongſt them. Anſwer was ſent them, That they themſelves were compelled to ſeek their Habitations in thoſe ſmall Iſlands; which, by reaſon of the Barrenneſs of the Soil, were alſo Unfruitful; and, if it were otherwiſe, yet all of them, if they ſhould forſake them quite, would not be ſufficient to entertain ſo great a multitude. But in regard, they pitied the common Miſeries of Mankind, and were particularly affected with their Condition, whom Divine Providence had ſo grievouſly afflicted; and who did not ſeem to be wholly Strangers to their Lineage, (as by their Language and Cuſtoms appeared,) they would therefore give them their Advice, and, as far as they were able, would aſſiſt them to execute it. Their Advice to them, was, to Sail to their Neighbour Iſland, *Albium*, which was large and fruitful, and, in many places, then uninhabited; and alſo, by reaſon of the Condition of thoſe Inhabitants that were in it, who were under ſeveral Kings, at fewd one with

[b] A *German* Fleet is driven into the *Æbudæ.*

with another; and, consequently, very weak. That amidst those Discords, 'twere easy for them, by supporting the weaker side, to make themselves Masters of that large Country; and that in this matter, they would afford them their assistance.

The Narrowness of the [c] *Ebudæ*, and the Lowness of their own Condition, for so it then was, made them give ear to this Counsel. So that these *Germans* (which were afterwards, both by the *Romans*, and their Neighbor-Nations, called [d] *Picts*) Landing upon the Coasts of the Island, bordering on the *German* Sea, having expelled the Inhabitants, which were but few, and those at mutual Discord amongst themselves, they brought a great part of that District under their Subjection; and, soon after, in prosecution of the Friendship with the [e] *Scots*, so happily begun, they took Wives from amongst them, and so were, in a manner, compacted into one Nation with them. By this mutual Intercourse betwixt them, a great many *Scots*, being either detained by their Allies, who were yet but weak; or else, driven by Want and Penury; or, for loss of their Relations, fixed their Habitations amongst the *Picts*: The *Picts*, at first, were glad of their coming; but, when they grew numerous, by degrees, they began to fear, lest, if the *Scots* increased in strength, they would become their Masters; So that, First in their secret Assemblings, and afterward in their publick Councils, they muttered, That Care was to be taken, That no stranger should hereafter be intermixed amongst them: And some Way was to be found, that the number of those, who were already admitted, might be lessened. A Rumor also was spread abroad, that it was revealed from Heaven to the [f] *Picts*, *That their Nation should in time be extirpated by the* Scots. These Suspitions caused the Two Nations, which before were very amicable, to part companies. The *Scots* betook themselves to the Mountainous places, which were less fit for Culture, in regard they were more addicted to Pasturage, and Hunting: And the [g] *Picts* possessed the Low-lands, which were more fertile, and fit for Tillage, situate near the *German* Sea. Thus their Friendship, before contracted by so many mutual Kindnesses, did soon break forth into a terrible Civil War. For the Seeds of a deadly hatred were sown between those Two Nations, both of them being of fierce Dispositions, tho the occasion, at first, was but trivial, as some little Pets, Chidings, and some few Injuries sustained.

The [h] *Brittons*, being Enemies to both Nations, having gotten this opportunity, fomented the Dissensions; and did freely offer Aid to the *Picts*, even before they desired it, against the *Scots*. When the *Scots* perceived, That these things were in Agitation against them, they sent elsewhere for Aid, and procured a Foreign King to assist them against so imminent a Danger. The Commanders of the Islanders, being almost all of equal Authority, and scorning to stoop one to the other; [i] *Fergusius*, the Son of *Ferchard*, was sent for, with Forces, out of *Ireland*, being counted the most eminent Person among the *Scots*, both for Advice and Action, He, by the publick Consent of the People, was chosen King, and charged to prepare his Army to undergo the Shock of a Battle, if need required. Just about the same time, a Rumour was dispers'd a-

[c] From thence they sail to *Albium*.

[d] *Picts* were *Germans*, at first.

[e] *Scots* and *Germans* joyn in affinity.

[f] A *Pictish* Prophecy.

[g] *Scots* and *Picts* fall out, and divide their Habitations.

[h] The *Brittons* foment the Divisions between the *Scots* and *Picts*.

[i] *Fergus* sent for out of *Ireland* by the *Scots*, and made King.

broad, which came to the Ears both of the [k] *Scots* and *Picts*, That the *Brittons* were managing some ambiguous Counsels, equally perniciousto both Nations; and, That they would set upon the Conquered, and Conquerors together, with their Arms, and, destroying both, or else, driving them out of the Island, they Themselves would enjoy the Whole. This Report made both Armies doubtful, What course to take; and, for a time, kept them both within their Trenches. At length they came to a Treaty, and, perceiving the secret Fraud of the *Brittons*, they inclined to make Peace one with another; which being confirmed, the Three different Armies Returned home. The *Brittons*, having failed in their first Project, attempt another Wile. They privily sent in Robbers amongst the *Picts*, who drove away their Cattle; when the *Picts* demanded Restitution, they answered, That they should seek it from the *Scots*, who were accustomed to Thieving and Plundering, rather than from Them. Thus they eluded the Ambassy, and sent away their Ambassadors, without their Errands; so that the Matter did appear to be a plain Mockery. Their fraudulent Counsels being thus more and more discover'd, the late reproach did incense the Hearts of Both Nations against them, more than the Relicks of their Anger, for their former Injuries; and therefore, Levying as great an Army as they could, both Kings, Two several ways, invaded the Coasts of the *Brittons*, and, destroying the Country with Fire and Sword, returned home with a great Booty. To revenge this Loss, the *Brittons* enter *Scotland*, and came as far as the River *Don*, * and having ravaged the Country thereabouts, with greater Terror than Loss to the Inhabitants, they pitched their Tents upon the Bank of the River. *Fergus*, having sent their Wives and Children, and other portable things, into the Mountains, and Places inaccessible for Armies, secured all the Avenues, till the coming of the [m] *Picts*; with whom he at length joyned his Forces, and, communicating Counsels one with another, they resolved to make a Diversion, and lengthen the War, by making an Incursion, with vast Forces, into their Enemies Country; and so to weary them out. But [n] *Coilus* (that was the name of the King of the *Brittons*) understanding, by his Spies, the cause of their delay, sends Five Thousand Men before to lye in ambush, in the upper grounds, and he determined to lead forth the rest of his Army directly against the Enemy. When the *Picts* knew this, they again consulted with the *Scots*, and, by way of Prevention, they agreed to assault the Camp of the *Brittons* by night, and accordingly, drawing out their Forces, the *Scots* in the Front, the *Picts* in the Rear, attack their Enemies before day; and, by this means, they made a great slaughter of the *Brittons*, being as it were halfe asleep, whom the former delays of their Enemies had made secure and confident. In this Batrel, *Coilus* himself fell, with the greatest part of his Army, and made the Place, in which it was fought, Famous from his Name. [o] *Fergus* returning home a Conqueror, the *Scots* setled the Regal Government upon Him and his Posterity, by the Solemnity of an Oath. Afterwards, having quieted Matters in *Scotland*, he returned back into *Ireland*, to quell Seditions there; where, having composed

[k] The Army of the *Picts* and *Scots* at a stand.

[l] The *Scots* and *Picts* unite against the *Brittons*.

* Or *Down*, in Kyle.

[m] And actually joyn.

[n] *Coilus*, King of the *Brittons* overthrown in *Coil*, now called *Kyle*, by the *Picts* and *Scots*.

Viz. Coil.

[o] *Fergus*, the First King of *Scotland*, drowned at *Fenick-fergus*, a noted Town, with a large Bay adjoyning, in the Province of *Ulster* in *Ireland*.

compoſed all things, as he was returning home, a Tempeſt ariſing ſuddainly, he was drowned, not far from the Port, called, from him, *Fergus his Rock* (*i. e.*) *Knock-Fergus*, or *Carrick-Fergus*, in the Twenty fifth Year of his Reign. Hiſtorians ſay, That his coming into *Albium*, was, at the time when *Alexander* the Great took *Babylon*; about 330 Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*.

Feritharis, *Second King of* Scotland.

Fergus dying, left Two Sons behind him, *Ferlegus* and *Mainus*; neither of them yet able to manage the Government; ſo that the Chiefs of the *Clans* meeting together to declare the ſucceeding King, there was great Contention amongſt them; Some urging the late Oath, whereby they had bound themſelves to preſerve the Scepter for the *Ferguſian* Family; others alleging, What great hazards they might run under an Infant King. At laſt, after a long Diſpute, a *Medium* was found out; whereby, neither the Infant, not yet fit to manage the Government, ſhould actually Reign, nor yet their Oath be violated; which was, [p] That, whilſt the Children of their Kings were Infants, one of their Kindred, who was judged moſt accompliſhed for the Government, ſhould weild the Scepter in their behalfe; And if he dyed, then the Succeſſion of the Kingdom ſhould deſcend to the former Kings Sons. This Law did afterwards obtain for almoſt 1025 Years, even until the days of *Kenneth* the III. of whom I ſhall ſpeak in his place. By virtue of this Law, *Feritharis*, Brother to *Fergus*, obtained the Kingdom, and managed it 15 Years, with ſuch Equity and Moderation, that his Subjects found him a juſt King; and the Orphans or Pupils, a good Guardian; Having, by this Carriage, procured Peace abroad, and got the Love of his Subjects at home; yet he could not allay the Ambition of his Kindred. For [q] *Ferlegus*, being inflam'd with a deſire to Reign, having firſt communicated his Deſign to the moſt turbulent of the Soldiers, and ſuch as were moſt deſirous of Innovation and Change, comes to his Uncle and demands the Kingdom of him, which he held (as he alleg'd) not as his Own, but in Truſt only for him. [r] *Feritharis* was ſo far from being diſturbed at this raſh undertaking of the young Man, That, calling an Aſſembly of the States together, he Declared to them, That he was ready to lay down and reſign the Regal Scepter; adding alſo many words in Commendation of the young Man; As for himſelf, he had rather freely reſign up the Kingdom, with which he was but intruſted, willingly, which his death, now near at hand, would deprive him of, that ſo, his Fidelity towards his Nephews might appear to be rather of Good Will, than of Neceſſity. But ſuch was the Reſpect and Love, all did bear to [s] *Feritharis*, that they utterly diſliked this overhaſty Deſire of the Kingdom, in *Ferlegus*, which they manifeſted, not only by their Countenances and Frowns, but by the loud Acclamations of the whole Convention and Aſſembly. And having diſcovered, by Spies, the Conſpiracy againſt the Uncle, thô they judged the Author of ſo deteſtable a Deſign, to be worthy of Death;

[p] An old Law in *Scotland*, concerning Succeſſion to the Crown.

[q] *Ferlegus* conſpires againſt his Uncle *Feritharis*.

[r] *Feritharis* willing to reſign the Crown.

[s] But the People oppoſe it.

yet the Memory of this Father *Fergus*, and the present Favour and Desires of his Uncle, did so far prevail, that they did not inflict it on him for his designed Wickedness; only they set [t] Keepers about him, which should watch over, and pry into, all his Words and Actions. But he, being impatient, not presently to obtain what he hoped for in his Mind, thô the delay would have proved but short, deceiving his Keepers, with a few others privy to his design, fled away, First, to the *Picts*, and finding there no encouragement for his desired Innovation; afterwards, to the *Brittons*, where he lived an obscure, and consequently, an ignoble, Life. But *Feritharis*, a few Months after, was taken off; 'tis doubtful, whether by Disease, or Treachery. The former Ambition of *Ferlegus*, the Detection of his Conspiracy, and his late Flight, raised such Suspitions, that he was guilty of his Death, that he was unanimously condemned, in his absence, about the Fifteenth Year after his Fathers Death.

[t] *Ferlegus* imprisoned,

But makes his escape.

And, in his absence, is condemned, for the presumptive murder of his Uncle.

Mainus, *the Third King.*

Ferlegus being condemned, *Mainus*, his Brother, was created Third King of the *Scots*, a Man more like to his Father and Uncle, than his Brother, *Ferlegus*: He confirmed and setled Peace with his Neighbours abroad, punished the Wicked and Profligate at home, and constantly performed Religious Exercises; whereby he procured to himself such an Opinion of Justice and Piety, That, as well Foreigners, as his own Subjects, thought it a Nefarious thing to hurt such a Person. He was better guarded by this Opinion of his * Sanctity, than by his Military Forces; after he had Reigned 29 Years, he departed this Life, being much lamented by all Good Men.

* The best Guard for a Prince.

Dornadilla, *the Fourth King.*

HE left a Son behind him, called *Dornadilla*, the Successor of his Kingdom; in point of Equity, like his Father, but very unlike him in the other parts of his Life. For he spent much of his time in Hunting, as judging that Exercise to be proper enough in a time of Peace, and healthful; [u] as also very beneficial to harden the Body for War. And besides, the Mind did suck in the purest pleasures therefrom, and was greatly strengthened thereby, against Covetousness, Luxury, and other Vices, which spring from Idleness. Report says, That the [u] Venatory Laws, which the Ancient *Scots* observe to this day, were made by him. He deceased in the 28th Year of his Reign.

[u] Laws about Hunting made by King *Dornadilla.*

Nothatus, *the Fifth King.*

AFter his Death, the People placed *Nothatus*, his Brother, on the Throne, his own Son *Reutherus* being yet Immature, in point of Age, for the Government. This [a] *Nothatus* changed the Government, which, till then, had been moderate, and bounded with Laws, into an Arbitrary Domination; and, as if his Subjects had been

[a] *Nothatus*, the First of the *Scottish* Kings, that set up Arbitrary Government.

been given him to Prey upon, not to Defend, he puniſhed High and Low, promiſcuouſly, with Forfeiture of Goods, Baniſhment, Death; and all ſort of Miſeries, ſo that ſcarce any addition could be made to his Cruelty. By theſe Severities, moſt of the People were cow'd out, only one *Dovalus* of *Galway*, an Ambitious Man, thinking it a ſeaſonable opportunity for him to advance himſelf, by reaſon of the Peoples Hatred againſt their King; and knowing alſo, that his own Life was inſidiouſly aim'd at by the King, he reſolves to prevent him. And accordingly, all things being in a readineſs, and being accompanied with a great number of his Vaſſals and Friends, away goes he to the King, and openly upbraids him with the Slaughter of the Nobility, with the ſeizure of their Goods and Eſtates, and with his Enſlaving the Commonalty; and demands of him, to reſtore the Kingdom, which he was not able to manage, to the Right Heir. *Nothatus*, being thus Bearded and Affronted, contrary to his Expectation, yet remitted nothing of his former Stoutneſs, but anſwered peremptorily, That he would maintain what he had done, by his Kingly Prerogative; and, if he had carried it ſomewhat Deſpotically, it was to be imputed not to his own Diſpoſition, but to the Contumacy of the Subject, who had enforced him thereto. Theſe Taunts increaſed the Animoſities between them, ſo that at laſt it came to Blows, and [b] *Nothatus* was Slain by *Dovalus* and his Partiſans, after he had Reigned, Cruelly and Avariciouſly, Twenty Years.

[b] He is Slain by *Dovalus*.

Reutherus, *the ſixth King.*

WHereupon, *Reutherus* was made King by the *Dovalian* Faction, without the Suffrages of the People: The Nobles, hearing of it, though they judged *Nothatus* worthy of the worſt of Puniſhments, yet did not approve ſo bad an Example; and they took it in greater diſdain, becauſe a Publick Convention was not conſulted, but the choice of the chief Magiſtrate devolved on the Pleaſure and Arbitrement of one Man: Beſides, that it was not to be thought an Obliging Act in him, thus to advance the young Man to the chief Power, who was, as yet, unfit to Rule. For ſuch as look'd narrowly into the matter, would find, That only the Name of King would be given to *Reutherus*, but the whole Power would reſide in *Dovalus*. However, it did not much concern the Publick, whether *Nothatus*, or *Dovalus* were King, unleſs, perhaps, they did hope for a more Tolerable Life under Him, who, being a private Man, durſt adventure to Murder his King; and ſo to deliver over the Scepter to another private Man, than under one, who was not ſo extream or Cruel in his Government, until, by the Permiſſion of the People, he was back'd with Power and with the Terrour of an Army. The Kindred of *Nothatus*, hearing ſuch things to be bruited abroad, inſinuating themſelves into the Societies of thoſe who did Regret ſuch Evil Carriages, at laſt gain'd this Point, That War ſhould be denounced againſt *Dovalus*; and that *Ferchard*, *Nothatus* his Son in Law, ſhould be General of their Army. Neither did *Dovalus* refuſe to give Battel: They fought twice in one and the ſame Day; the *Dovalians*, though

though Superior in number, yet were beaten and put to flight, more of them being Slain in the purſuit, than in the Battel. For, beſides [c] *Dovalus* himſelf, and the chief of his Faction, there fell alſo *Getus*, the King of the *Picts*, with many of his Men. *Reutherus*, the new King, was taken Priſoner, and pardoned, out of reſpect to his tender Age, to the Memory of his Father, and to the Royal Blood which ran in his Veins. Neither was the Victory Un-bloody, even to the Conquerors themſelves, almoſt all the chief of the Clans being Slain, with many common Souldiers alſo. This Conflict of the *Scots* and *Picts*, brought matters to that low ebb in *Britain*, that they who ſurvived fled into Deſert and Mountainous Places, and even into the Neighbour Iſlands, leſt they ſhould become a prey to the [d] *Brittons*; who, having now gotten that opportunity, which they long thirſted after, peirced into the Country, as far as *Bodotria*, (now called *Forth*) without any reſiſtance. Afterwards, having made a little Settlement of Things there, they went forward againſt the *Caledonians*, and, having ſcattered thoſe who were there gathered together to oppoſe them, they ſeized upon the Champion Countries of the *Picts*, and, placing Gariſons there, thinking the War to be at an end, they return'd home with their Army. In the mean time, the remainders of the *Scots* and *Picts*, which had retired to the Mountains, Woods, and other inacceſſible Places, did vex the Governors of Caſtles and Gariſons, by Robbing them of their Cattle; upon which, they themſelves alſo did Live; and, being increaſed by the acceſſion of greater Forces from the Iſlands, they ſometimes burnt Villages, and fetcht in Preys further off, ſo that the Ground was left without Tillage in many places. The *Brittons*, either being detained by home-bred Diſſenſions, or, not thinking it adviſeable or ſafe, to lead their Army into ſuch difficult and almoſt inacceſſible Places, where they could meet their Enemies with no Forces more numerous than they had to oppoſe them, did by their ſlow Actings, increaſe the boldneſs of their Contrariants. The *Scots* and *Picts* being thus miſerably afflicted for Twelve years, at length, a new Fry of Luſty Warlike Youths grew up, (who, in ſo great ſtreights that they had undergone, were enured to Hardſhip,) thoſe ſent Meſſengers all about, and, mutually exhorting one another, they reſolved to try their Fortunes. Whereupon, *Reutherus* ſails out of *Ireland* into the *Æbuæ*, and from thence into *Albium*, and Landing his Forces at the Bay, now called *Lough Brien*, and there joyning with young *Gethus*, the Son of old *Gethus* who was ſlain, who was alſo his Wifes Brother, they Conſulted together, concerning the Manage of the War. The Iſſue of their Conſult, was, That it was beſt to draw towards the Enemy unawares, whilſt he was unprepared; aſſoon as they met, the Service was ſo hot, and the Fight ſo ſharp, that neither Army had reaſon to boaſt; ſo that Both of them, being wearied with Slaughter, made [e] Peace for ſome years: *Reuther*, or (as *Bede* calls him) *Reuda*, returned to his ancient Seat of *Argyle*, and the *Scots* were, a long time after, from him, called * *Dalreudini*; for *Daal*, in old *Scotiſh*, ſignifieth a * Part, as ſome; or a *Meadow* or *Plain*, as others. From whence, he made a further Progreſs, and, in a ſhort time, enlarged his Dominions even to their Ancient Bounds. After he

[c] *Dovalus* and *Getus*, King of the *Picts*, ſlain in Battel.

[d] The *Brittons* enter *Scotland*.

[e] But make Peace, at laſt, with the *Scots* and *Picts*.

* *Scots* called *Dalreudini*, and Why?

* 'Tis *Partem* (a part) in the Copy, which, ſome think, is miſtaken for *Pratum*.

he had Reigned Twenty Six Years, he died, leaving a Son behind him, named *Thereus*, begot upon the Daughter of *Gethus*.

Reutha, *the Seventh King.*

BEcause *Thereus* was yet scarce Ten Years old, and so too young to undertake the Kingdom, according to the Law, long before made and observed, concerning the Succession of Kings; therefore his Uncle [f] *Reutha* was declared King; who, being free from External Wars, endeavoured to reduce the People, who were grown almost wild by their former Sufferings, and also insolent upon their late Victory, (though a bloody one,) into a milder Carriage and Deportment; and, accordingly, he enacted many publick and profitable Laws, of which, not a few yet remain amongst the *Ancient Scots*. Having Reigned Seventeen Years, with so good a *Decorum*, being reverenced and beloved of all; either for want of Health, (to which he himself imputed it) or else, fearing the Ambitious Nature of his Kinsman *Thereus*, he resigned up the Government, the People being hardly brought to consent thereunto; and at his Resignation, there was a large *Panegyrick* made in his Praise.

[f] *Reutha's* just Reign.

Thereus, *the Eighth King.*

[g] *Thereus* was substituted in his stead; in the first Six Years of his Reign, he so managed the Government, that *Reutha's* Predictions concerning him, seemed to be true. But after That time was expired, he ran headlong into all manner of Vice, not by degrees, but all at once; insomuch, that putting the Nobles to Death by False Indictments, some lewd Fellows thereupon did, without fear, range over all the Kingdom, using Rapines and Robberies at their pleasure. The *Phylarchæ*, (*i. e.* chief of the *Clans*,) bewailing the deplorable State of the Publick, determined to proceed judicially against him; which he having notice of, fled to the *Brittons*; where, despairing of his return, he ended his Days in great Contempt and Ignominy. In the mean time, *Conanus*, a prudent and regular Person, was elected Vice-Roy; he restored and strengthened what the other had impaired and weakened; he restrained Robberies, and having composed Matters as well as he could, he received News of the Death of *Thereus*, whereupon, in a Publick Assembly, or Convention, of the *Estates*, he abdicated the Magistracy, about the Twelfth Year after *Thereus* began his Reign.

[g] *Thereus* his cruel Reign, he flies his Country, and dies an Exile.

Josina, *the Ninth King.*

Josina, Brother of the late King, was raised to the Helm of Government; He did nothing memorable one way or other, only he had [h] Physicians in very high esteem; because, when he was banished, with his Father, into *Ireland*, they had been his great Intimates. Whereupon, the rest of the Nobility complying with the Humour of the King, it came to pass, that for many Ages, there was scarce a Nobleman or Gentleman in *Scotland*, which had not the Skill

[h] *Josina*, with his Nobles, great Lovers of Physick and Chirurgery.

to cure Wounds: For there was then little use of other parts of Physick amongst such Men, who were educated parsimoniously, and enured to much Labour and Toil. He died in a good old Age, having Reigned Four and Twenty Years.

Finnanus, *The Tenth King.*

HIS Son *Finnanus* succeeded him, who, walking in his Fathers Steps, endeavoured nothing more than to accustom his Subjects to a just and moderate Government; labouring to maintain his Kingly Authority more by Good Will, than Arms: And that he might cut up the Root of Tyranny, he made a Decree, [i] *That Kings should determine, or command, nothing of great Concernment, without the Authority of their* Great Council. He was beloved both by his Subjects, and by Foreigners. He deceased, having Reigned Thirty Years.

[i] *Finnanus* his just Decree.

Durstus, *The Eleventh King.*

NOthing did so much aggravate the Loss of *Finnanus*, as the profligate and deboist Life of his Son [k] *Durstus*, who succeeded him. For, First of all, he banished from his presence his Fathers Friends, as troublesom Abridgers of his Pleasures: Then, he made the Corrupteſt Youngsters, his Familiar and Bosom Friends, giving up himself wholly to Wine and Women. He drove away his Wife, the Daughter of the King of the *Britains*, who was prostituted to his Nobles. At length, when he perceived, that the Nobility were conspiring against him, as if he had been just then awakened out of a deep sleep; foreseeing, that he was not safe at home, and knew not where to find a secure place abroad, if he were banished; in regard he was so hated both of his Subjects and Strangers, too; he therefore thought it his best course to dissemble a [l] Repentance for his former Evil Life; by that means thinking, he might retain the Regal Government, and, in time, be reveng'd of his Enemies too. And thereupon, in the first place, he recalled his Wife, and, by that means, endeavour'd to make fair Weather with the *Britains*. He assembles the Heads of his Subjects, and, under a solemn Oath to do so no more, he Enacts an Amnesty for what was past. He commits Notorious Criminals to Prison, as if he had reserved them for further Punishment: And religiously promised, That for the future he would Act nothing without the Counsel of his Nobles. When, by these Arts, he had made others believe, That he was a true Convert, he celebrates this Reconciliation and Concord with Plays, Feastings, and other Divertisements, proper for Publick Rejoycings. Thus all Mens Minds being filled with Jollity, he invites the [m] Nobility to Supper; and then, shutting them up in one place, being unarmed, and fearing nothing, he sent in Ruffians amongst them, who destroy'd them, every Man. That Calamity did not so much abate and quell the Minds of the rest with fear, as it raised, and blew up, their Languishing Anger into New Flames. Wherefore gathering a great Army together, they all conspired to rid the Earth of so foul a Monster. *Durstus*, perceiving that all other hope failed him, resolved

[k] *Durstus* his profligate Life.

[l] His feigned Repentance.

[m] His cruel Murder of his Nobles.

to

to try his fortune in a Battel, with a few others, whom the like fear of Puniſhment for the Wickedneſs of their former Lives had drawn in to joyn with him; in which Fight he was [n] ſlain, after he had Reigned Nine Years. Though all Orders and Eſtates were juſtly incens'd againſt him; yet they gave ſo great Deference to the Name of *King*, and to the Memory of his Anceſtors, that he was buried amongſt his Royal Predeceſſors.

[n] He is ſlain.

Evenus, the Twelfth King.

AFter his Death, in a Publick Aſſembly of the Nobles, there was a very great Conteſt; ſome alledging, that, according to their Oath made to King *Fergus*, the ancient Cuſtom was to be obſerved; others, fearing, that if they made any one of the Kindred of *Durſtus* King, that either the Similitude of Manners would incline him to the ſame Wickedneſs; or elſe, the Propinquity of Blood would make him ſtudy Revenge. At laſt, *Evenus*, Brothers-Child to *Durſtus*, being commended for his former Life, and for his extream Hatred againſt the Tyrant, whilſt he was alive, was ſent for from amongſt the *Picts*, (whither he had voluntarily baniſhed himſelf, out of hatred to *Durſtus*,) and unanimouſly created King. He is reported to be the [o] firſt, who made his Subjects to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, which Cuſtom is yet retained by the Heads of the *Clans*. *Evenus*, that he might rectifie the Manners of his Subjects, which were depraved by the former King, did firſt reduce Youth to the Ancient Parſimony in Diet, Apparel, and in their daily Converſation. For, by that means, he judged, they would be more Valiant in War, and leſs Seditious in Peace. He diligently viewed all the Parts of his Kingdom, adminiſtring Juſtice with great Moderation, and puniſhing Offenders according to their Demerits. He aſſiſted the King of the *Picts* with Aid againſt the *Brittons*, betwixt whom there was fought a long and cruel Battel till Night parted them, the Victory being ſo uncertain, that both Armies departed with equal Slaughter, and as equal Fear. The *Brittons* went home; The *Scots* and *Picts* retired into the next adjacent Mountains: But, the Day after, from the High Grounds, perceiving the departure or flight of their Enemies, they came and gathered up the Spoils, as if they had been Conquerors, and ſo return'd home with their Army. *Evenus* having repelled his Enemies, again betook himſelf to the Arts of Peace. And that it might not be troubleſom to Kings to Travel over the Countries ſo oft for the Adminiſtring Juſtice, (which was *then* their Cuſtom to do) he divided the Kingdom into [p] Circuits, and ſetled Ordinary Judges to do that Work. He alſo appointed [q] Informers to bring in Accuſations againſt the Guilty. Which Office, being found inconvenient, was either abrogated by a Law, or elſe grew obſolete by Cuſtom. He died in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, leaving a Baſe-born Son, called *Gillus*, behind him, a Crafty Man, and deſirous of the Kingdom.

[o] King *Evenus* the firſt *Scotiſh* King that required an Oath of Allegiance of his Subjects.

[p] He firſt ſetled Itinerary Circuits for Judges in *Scotland*.

[q] Informers then allowed, ſince diſuſed, as being found inconvenient by experience.

Gillus, *The Thirteenth King.*

THere were yet living of the Blood-Royal, as Heirs to the Crown, Two Twins, *Dochamus* and *Dorgallus*, the Sons of *Durstus*. Though their Age was not the Cause of the Difference, yet there arose a deadly Fewd between them concerning the Kingdom; which was also further increased by the Fraud of [r] *Gillus*. The Matter being referred to the Arbitration of their Kindred, such was the Obstinacy of the Factions, that nothing could be determined. *Gillus*, who advis'd each of them to kill one another, when his Secret Counsel took no effect, gathered together the chief of the Nobles, and his Kindred, (on pretence to end the Controversie,) into one place, where he suborned Men, fit for his purpose, to raise a Tumult, and to destroy them Both. And then, as if he himself had been assaulted by Treachery, he implored the Aid of all that were present, and fled to * *Evonium*, a place fortified by King *Evenus*. Having Garison'd that Fort with part of the Nobility and other Flagitious Persons; out of an high place in the Castle, he made a long Oration to the People; who, in great Multitudes, were gathered about him, concerning the Rashness and Obstinacy of the Two Brothers; he declaimed also against those Assassins, who killed them; but, at last, he told them, That he was left by *Evenus*, the Guardian or Superior of the Kingdom, as well as of his Domestick Affairs, till a New King was chosen. When the People heard this, though they believed it to be false, yet when they saw him fortified in a strong Garison, for fear of a greater Mischief, they instantly swore Fealty to him, and declared him King. He, though he had strengthened himself in the Kingdom by the Consent of the People, (though unwillingly obtain'd,) yet, not thinking himself safe from the Posterity of *Durstus*, as long as any of them were alive, resolved to destroy his Nephews.

[r] *Gillus* his cruel Reign.

* Some think it to be *Dunstaffnage*, a Castle standing on an high Rock in *Lorn*, in the West-Sea.

There remained alive of them *Lismorus*, *Gormachus* and *Ederus*, the Sons of *Dochamus*, Son of *Durstus*; they were educated in the *Isle of Man*. Thither *Gillus* went, on pretence to bring them home; and to the Two Elder he behaved himself with great Reverence and Respect, and carried them with him into *Albium*, cunningly pretending, That they be being of a Royal Stock, should be educated in his Court, suitable to their Princely Quality. As for *Ederus*, the younger, he left Souldiers, on pretence of a Guard, to attend his Person, to whom he gave Command on a certain appointed Day, to kill him. But the Disposition of *Gillus* being well known to all, The Nurse, suspecting Treachery to be hatching against the Child, conveyed him secretly by Night into the Country of *Argyle*, and so she eluded *Gillus*, who sought, in vain, to find him out to destroy him; for she bred him up for some years privately in a Cave under Ground; whereupon he, in fury, put the Two elder Brothers of *Ederus*, and also their Guard, to Death. But it being publickly reported, That *Ederus* himself was conveyed into *Ireland*, he made no further enquiry after him. And yet his Cruelty rested not here, though he had slain the Nephews of *Durstus*; for not judging himself sufficiently

ently ſecure, as long as any one of the Royal Progeny was left alive, he cauſed all thoſe of Kin or Alliance thereto, to be alſo put to Death. The Nobles, who were grieved at the preſent ſtate of Affairs, which was bad at preſent, and fearing, that it would be worſe, entred into a Combination againſt him, and carried the Matter with ſo much ſecreſie, that a War was begun againſt [f] *Gillus*, before he had Notice, that any Preparations were making towards It. But, in Levying an Army againſt his Contrariants, he ſoon perceived, how inconſtant the Fealty of Man is towards Wicked and Flagitious Princes. For there were very few, that came in to him at his Summons; and thoſe that did, were Debauchees, ſuch as were afraid of Peace, in regard of the Wickedneſs of their former Lives. And therefore diſtruſting his Forces, he left his Army, and in a Fiſher-Boat was watted over into *Ireland*. In the mean time, the *Scots*, that they might not be without a Legal Government, made [g] *Cadvallus*, chief of thoſe who conbined againſt *Gillus*, their *Vice-Roy*, to whom, upon a Treaty, the Forces of his Enemies did ſubmit, and were thereupon received into his Protection. When *Cadvallus* underſtood, that *Gillus* was about to renew the War, and in order thereto, was raiſing as many deboiſt Perſons as he could, he reſolved to prevent him before he could gather together a juſt Army, and ſo to purſue him whitherſoever he fled. Firſt, he Sailed into the *Æbudæ*, or *Hebrides*; there he cauſed *Ederus*, the only branch of the Family of *Durſtus* yet alive, to be brought to him, and gave Order for his Liberal and Royal Education. When *Gillus* heard of his March, he retired again into *Ireland*; there he engaged the Clans of that Nation, with great promiſes of Reward, to endeavour his Reſtitution to his Kingdom; which, if they could effect, then he would give them the *Æbudæ* Iſlands for their Reward. By theſe Promiſes, he gathered together a great Army; *Cadvallus* having prepared all things for his Tranſportation, was ſuddainly called back, to clear himſelf from a falſe ſuſpicion of affecting, or aſpiring to, the Kingly Government.

[f] He is worſted in Battel, and flies into *Ireland*.

[g] *Cadvallus*, made Viceroy.

Evenus II. *The Fourteenth King.*

IN which Caſe, the firſt thing he did, was, to take care, That *Evenus*, an eminent Perſon, the Son of *Dovallus*, Brother to King *Finnanus*, might by the Suffrages of the People be created King; who, having accepted the Government, cauſed all Places which were commodious for his Enemies, and eſpecially the Maritime ones, to be filled with ſtrong Gariſons, that ſo his Enemies might not make a ſuddain deſcent into his Kingdom, without oppoſition; *Gillus*, hearing of this, did alſo alter his Reſolution, and ſailed to the Iſle *Ila*; And there, having waſted the Country far and near, with Fire and Sword, he returned back into *Ireland*. *Evenus* ſends a great Army thither, under the Command of *Cadvallus*, that ſo he might exhauſt the Spring-head of the War. Neither did *Gillus* refuſe to fight him, but being forſaken of his Men, who followed him for Booty, rather than for Love, he changed his Apparel, and, with a ſmall Company, fled into a neighbor Wood: The reſt of his Army being thus deſerted by their General, and their Fellow Soldiers

diers too, yielded to *Cadvallus*. After the Battel was ended, they sought a long time for *Gillus*, and at last found him in a blind Cave, where he was slain, the Third Year after he began his Reign, and his Head was brought to *Cadvallus*. Matters being thus happily setled in *Ireland* by [u] *Cadvallus*, as he was returning home, he met not with the same Felicity; for being toss'd up and down with a grievous Tempest, he lost the greatest part of his Army, and all the Prey they had gotten, which strook him into such a damp, that, not long after, he died [u] of Grief. The King indeed, comforted him, (but all in vain,) and, praising his Valour and Success in the War, he cast all his Miseries upon the crosness of Fortune. The new King being lifted up with this Success, renewed a Peace with the *Picts*; and, in Confirmation thereof, he took to Wife the Daughter of *Getus*, the Third King of the *Picts*. But the suddain Arrival and Landing of the [x] *Orkny-Men* in *Albium*, quickly disturbed this publick Joy. But the King falling suddainly upon them, drove them out of the Field to the Mountains, and from thence to the Sea, and there being in a fright and hurry, whilst they crowded and hindred one another in endeavouring to Ship themselves, they were all slain, to a Man. *Belus* their King, despairing to obtain Quarter, slew himself. *Evenus*, having finished the War, returns to the work of Peace, and constitutes two Mart-Towns for Trade in convenient Places, *i. e. Ennerlochy* and *Ennerness*, each of them receiving their Name from Rivers, gliding by them. For *Enner*, amongst the Ancient *Scots*, signifies a Place, whither Ships do usually resort. He subdued the Inhabitants of the *Æbudæ*, who, by reason of their long Wars, were grown very Licentious and Quarrelsome. He reconciled their Animosities, and appeased their Disturbances, and soon after died, having Reigned Seventeen years.

[u] *Gillus* Slain by *Cadvallus*, in *Ireland*.

[u] *Cadvallus*, dies of Grief.

[x] The *Orkney*-Men come with an Army into *Albium*, but were beaten, and their King, *Belus* slew himself, thereupon.

Ederus, *the Fifteenth King.*

EDERUS, the Son of *Dochamus*, was made King in his place, who whilst he was reaping the sweet Fruits of Peace establish'd both at home and abroad, and giving himself to the sport of Hunting, (according to the ancient Custom of the Nation,) had News suddenly brought him, That one [y] *Bredius* an * Islander, of Kin to the Tyrant *Gillus*, was Landed with a great Navy of Souldiers, and plundered the Country: He presently gathered together a Tumultuary Army against him, and marching as silently as he could in the Night, he passed by the Camp of his Enemies, and set upon their Ships in the Road, which by this suddain surprize, he easily mastered, and, killing the Guard, he burnt the Navy. In the Morning he led his Army against the Camp, which he easily took, finding the Souldiers negligent, and in no order at all, many were slain on the spot, whilst they delay'd either to Fight or Fly. The rest having their flight by Sea prevented, by the burning of their Ships, were there taken and Hanged. The Prey was restored to the Owners, that claimed them. A few years after, another of the kindred of *Gillus*, and out of the same Island too, raised the like Commotion, which had the same Event and Success; for his Army was overthrown, his

* Or *Red-shank*.

[y] *Bredius* one of *Gillus*'s Faction, overthrown.

† Fleet

Fleet burnt, the Prey recovered back, and reſtored to the Right Owners. Thus having ſettled a firm Peace, being very old, he fell Sick and died in the Forty Eight year of his Reign.

Evenus III. *the Sixteenth King.*

EVENUS the Third Succeeded him, a Son unworthy of ſo Good a Father; for, not being contented with an Hunderd Concubines of the Nobleſt Families, he publiſhed his Filthineſs and Shame to the World by Eſtabliſhed Laws. For [z] he enacted, That every Man might Marry as many Wives as he was able to maintain. And alſo, That before the Marriage of Noble Virgins, the King ſhould have one Nights lodging with them; and the Nobles the like, before the Marriage of *Plebeians:* That the Wives of *Plebeians* ſhould be common to the Nobility. Luxury, Cruelty and Covetouſneſs did, (as they ordinarily do) attend and follow this his flagitious Wickedneſs. For his Incomes and Revenues not anſwering his Expence, upon pretended Cauſes, the Wealthier ſort were put to Death, and the King going ſnips with the Robbers, by that means Theives were never puniſhed. And thus, the Favour which he had obtain'd from corrupt youth, by reaſon of his permiſſion of Promiſcuous Luſt, he loſt by his Cruelty and Rapaciouſneſs. For, a Conſpiracy of the Nobles being made againſt him, he ſoon perceived, that the Friendſhip, and ſeeming Union of Wicked Men, is not to be relied upon. For, aſſoon as they came to Fight, he was Deſerted by his Souldiers, and fell alive into his Enemies Hands, by whom he was caſt into the common Jail. *Cadallanus*, who Succeeded him, demanding what Puniſhment he ſhould have, he was Condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. But there, one or other of his Enemies, either out of ſome old Grudge for Injuries received from him; or elſe, hoping for Favour, or at leaſt Impunity, for the Murder of the King, Strangled him by Night in the Priſon, when he had Reigned Seven years. The Murderer was Hanged for his Labour.

[z] *Even* enacts Polygamy, by a Law, and allows many other Luſtful Venereal Orders and Cuſtoms, but being afterwards worſted in Battel is committed to Priſon, and there Slain.

* Metellanus, *the Seventeenth King.*

* *Maitland.*

METELLANUS, Kinſman to *Evenus*, Succeeded him in the Throne, a Prince no leſs dear to all for his excellent Virtues, than *Evenus* was hated by them for his flagitious Vices. He was mightily Priz'd and Eſteem'd for This, That during his Reign, there was Peace both at home and abroad. But it was ſome allay to his Happineſs, that he could not abrogate the Filthy Laws of *Evenus*, being hindred by his Nobility, who were too much addicted to Luxury. He deceaſed in the Thirtieth year of his Reign.

Caratacus, *the Eighteenth King.*

METELLANUS dying without Iſſue, the Kingdom was conferred on *Caratacus*, Son of *Cadallanus*, a young Man of the Royal Blood. Aſſoon as he entred upon the Kingdom, he quieted the People of the *Ebude* Iſlands, (who had raiſed Commotions upon

on the Death of their last King,) but not without great Trouble. Yet here I [a] cannot easily beleive what our Writers, following *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, and *Bede*, do say, *viz.* That the *Orcades* were subdued by *Claudius Cæsar* in his Reign. Not, that I think it a very hard thing for him to attempt, one by one, a few Islands scatter'd up and down in the Stormy Sea, and having but a few, and those too unarmed, Inhabitants to defend them, and seeing they could not mutually help another, to take them all in; nor, that I think it incredible, That a Navy might be sent by *Claudius* on that Expedition, he being a Man that sought for War and Victory all the World over. But because *Tacitus* affirms, that, before the coming of *Julius Agricola* into *Britain*, that part thereof was utterly unknown to the *Romans*. *Caratacus* Reigned Twenty years.

[a] The *Orcades* subdued in *Claudius Cæsars* days, as some affirm, but mistakenly.

Corbredus, *the Nineteenth King.*

CORBREDUS, his Brother, Succeeded him. He also subdued the *Islanders* in many Expeditions, a People, that almost in every *Inter-Regnum*, did affect Innovation, and raise up new Tumults. He also quite suppress'd the *Banditti*, which most infested the Commonalty. Having settled Peace, he return'd to *Albium*, and making his Progress over all *Scotland*, he repaired the Places injured by War, and departed this Life in the Eighteenth year of his Reign.

Dardanus, *the Twentieth King.*

THE Convention of Estates set up *Dardannus*, the Nephew of *Metellanus*, in his stead, passing by the Son of *Corbredus*, because of his young and tender years. No Man, before him, entred upon the Government, of whom greater Expectations were conceived, and no Man did more egregiously deceive the Peoples Hopes. Before he undertook the chief Magistracy, he gave great Proof of his Liberality, Temperance and Fortitude. So that in the beginning of his Reign, he was an indifferent Good and Tolerable King, but he had scarce sat Three years on the Throne, before he ran head-long into all sorts of Wickedness. The Sober and Prudent Counsellors of his Father, he banish'd from his Court, because they were against his lewd Practices. Only Flatterers, and such as could invent new Pleasures, were his Bosom Friends. He caused [b] *Cardorus*, his own Kinsman, to be put to Death, because he reproved him for his Extravagance in Lawless Pleasures; and, yet he had been Lord Chief Justice and Chancellor too, under the former King. And a while after, many other Persons, as they did excel in Virtue, or in Wealth, were circumvented by him, by one wile or other, and so unjustly brought to their Ends. At last, to free himself from the Fears of a Successor, he took up a Resolution to destroy *Corbredus Galdus*, his Kinsman, with his Brothers, who were Royally Educated, in hopes of the Kingdom. The Charge of this Assassination was committed to *Cormoracus*, one of his Privado's. He being laden with many Gifts, but more Promises, was sent away to perpetrate the Villany; but

[b] *Dardanus*, his bloody Reign.

but attempting it with leſs Caution than ſuch a Butchery required, he was taken in the very Fact, by ſome of *Galdus* his Train, with a naked Fauchion in his Hand; being Arraigned and put to the Torture, he confeſſed the Author, and the deſigned order of the whole Conſpiracy, and ſo was executed immediately. When this wicked Plot was divulged abroad, there was a general Combination of almoſt all ſorts of People againſt the King, inſomuch, that having ſlain many of thoſe who were Panders to his Luſt, as they could be found; at laſt they endeavoured to make their way to the King himſelf, the Source and Fountain of their Miſchief. In the mean time, *Conanus*, one of the Kings Paraſites, a Man meanly deſcended, but highly Reſpected and Truſted by his Maſter, levied ſome Troops, and had the Confidence to ſend them forth againſt the Nobles, but being forſaken of his Men, he was taken and Hang'd. The Commons, having now got *Galdus* for their General, found out [c] *Dardanus*, who was privately lurking to ſecure himſelf; while they were apprehending of him he endeavour'd to lay violent Hands on himſelf, but being prevented, he was brought to *Galdus*, and immediately put to Death, his Head was carried up and down in Mockery, and his Body thrown into a Jakes, after he had Reigned Four years.

[c] And ignominious Death.

Corbred II, *The Twenty Firſt King.*

Corbred, the Second, Sirnamed *Galdus*, ſucceeded him; a Prince equally dear to Lords and Commons, both upon the account, and early proof, of his own perſonal Virtue, and promiſing Ingenuity, as for the Memory of his worthy Father. Some imagin, that he was That *Galgacus*, who is mentioned by *Tacitus*, and that he was Sirnamed *Galdus* by the *Scots*, becauſe he had been educated amongſt the *Britains*. For the *Scots* according to their Ancient Cuſtom, call all Strangers *Galds*, or *Galls*; as the *Germans* call them *Wals*, as I ſhewed largely before. After he had undertook the Government, he increaſed the great Hopes which had been pre-conceived of him. For, making an Expedition into the Iſlands of *Sky* and *Lewis*, he quelled the Seditions, lately raiſed there, and ſuffered to come to an head, by the negligence of *Dardanus*, and that with a due and prudent mixture of Mercy and Severity. He ſlew the Captains of thoſe *Banditti*; and enforced the reſt, for fear of puniſhment, either voluntarily to baniſh themſelves, or elſe, to return to their former rural Employments: He, as I believe, was the [d] Firſt of the *Scotiſh* Kings, that ever advanced his Enſigns, againſt the *Romans*, who had, by little and little, propagated their Empire, even to the very Borders. For *Petitius Cerealis* firſt broke the Forces of the *Brigantes*, and his Succeſſor *Julius Frontinus* conquered the * *Silures*. 'Tis very probable, that the *Scots* and *Picts* ſent Aid to thoſe Nations, who were ſituate not far from their Borders. *Julius* * *Agricola* ſucceeded the former Generals, who having overcome the (*) *Ordovices*, and reduced the Iſland *Man*, when he was come to the narroweſt part of *Britain*, thinking, that it was not far to the end of the Iſland, he was encouraged to the Conqueſt of it all. And therefore in the Third Year of his Generalſhip, he overcame and

[d] *Corbredus* II. The Firſt of the *Scotiſh* Kings, that ever appearred in Arms againſt the *Romans*.

* Inhabitants of *South-Wales*.

* *Agricola*, a *Roman* General in *Britain*, who makes further Conqueſts there.

* Inhabitants of *North-Wales*.

and plundered the neighboring Countries of the *Scots* and *Picts*, until he came to the River *Tay*; And thô his Army was much distressed by Tempest, yet he had time to build Forts in all places convenient for Defence, by which means he defeated the Designs of his Enemies, and withal, brake their Force. For before, the Adverse party, being Men inured to hardship, what they lost in the Summer, would many times recover in Winter, when the *Roman* Legions were dispersed into Winter Quarters: And somtimes, they would assault, and take, their Enemies Castles and Garisons, being not sufficiently fortified. But at that time, by the cunningness of *Agrippa* in Building his Forts, and by his skill in making them defensible; and withal, by relieving them with his Forces, every Year; Their Arts were deluded. In the Fourth Year of his Government, perceiving, that the *Firths* of *Forth*, and of *Clyd*, were severed but by a small Tract of Land, having fortified that Place with Garisons, he spoiled the Countries bending to the *Irish* Sea. In his Fifth Year, he sent a Fleet to Sea, and made descents in many places, and plundred the Maritime Coasts, fortifying those that looked towards *Ireland* with Garisons, not only for that present occasion, but also, that he might from thence more easily transport an Army to that Country. By this prudence of *Agricola*, the *Scots*, and *Picts*, being shut up in a narrow Angle, and secluded from any commerce with the *Britains*, prepared themselves for the last shock and rancounter; Neither was * *Agricola* less careful, but commanding his Navy to fetch a compass about, to discover the utmost parts of the Island; he led his Army beyond the *Forth*, and drew towards the *Caledonians*: There, their Enemies, being ready (as in a desperate Case) to run their last hazard, assaulted some of the *Roman* Garisons, which struck such a Terror into them, that some of the *Romans*, as fearing, either the Number of their Enemies, or their Obstinacy, by reason of their desperation, gave their advice to retreat with their Army, into a place of greater safety: But their General, being resolved to Fight, when he was informed, that the Enemy approached him in three distinct Brigades; he also drew towards them, having divided his Army into Three Squadrons also, which Project was almost his total Ruin. For his Enemies understanding his Design, did with their whole Army assault one of his Legions by night, and having killed the Sentinels, had almost taken his whole Camp: But being prevented by the coming in of other Legions, after they had fought desperately till Day light, at length, being put to flight, they returned into the Mountains and Woods. Those things were acted about the Eighth Year of his Expeditions. Both Parties prepare themselves, as for their last Encounter, against the next Spring: The *Romans*, as judging that the Victory would put an end to the War. And their Enemies looking upon their *All* to be at stake; and, that they were about to fight for their Liberty, Lives, and for whatsover is to be accounted Dear and Sacred amongst Men: Hereupon, judging, that, in former Battels, they were overcome by Stratagem, rather than by Valour, they betook themselves to the higher Grounds, and, at the foot of Mount *Grampius*, waited for the coming of the *Romans*. There a bloody Fight

* *Agricola* overcomes the *Caledonians* in Two Battels.

Fight was begun betwixt them. The Victory was a great while hovering, and uncertain; at last, all the valiant Men of the *Caledonians* being slain, the rest having their Courage cooled, were forced to retreat to their Fastnesses. After this Battel, there was no doubt at all, but that *Agrippa* would have subdued all *Britain*, by the force of his conquering Arms, if he had not been called home by * *Domitian*, not for the Honour of his Victories, as was pretended, but for his Destruction and Death. After his departure, Sedition arose in the *Roman* Camp, and the *Scots* and *Picts* being glad of the occasion, and somewhat encouraged thereby, began to creep out of their lurking Places; and perceiving, that the *Romans* had not a General, nor the same Camp-Discipline, as before; they sent Envoys up and down, to try the Inclination, not only of their own Countrymen, but of the *Brittons* also. Thus, in the first place, being imboldned by some small successful Skirmishes, they began to take heart, and to assault Garisons; and at last, with a formed Army they resolved to venture the hazard of a pitched Field. By this means, The *Romans* were expelled out of their Territories, and were forced, with doubtful success, to contend with the *Britains* for their ancient Province. *Galdus* having obtained respite from War, made his Progress all over the several Countries of the Land, and restetled the old Owners in their Habitations, which had been almost destroyed by the War; As for the Places which were wholly void, he sent his Soldiers to inhabit them. And having restrained the frequent Robberies which were wont to be committed, he composed the differences, which began to arise betwixt Him and the *Picts*. At length, in great Glory and Endearment, both with Friends and Foes, he deceased, in the 35th Year of his Reign.

* But being recalled by *Domitian*, the *Caledonians*, beat the *Romans* out of their Country.

Luctacus, *the Twenty Second King.*

SO good a Father was succeeded by * *Luctacus*, as bad a Son, who despising the Counsel of his Nobles, gave up himself wholly to Drinking and Whoring. No nearness of Alliance, no Reverence of the Laws, no respect of Nobility, or of Conjugal Relation, did restrain him from his vile lewdness with those Women which he had a Mind to. Moreover, He was inhumanly Cruel, and also unsatiably Covetous. The Soldiers and youthful Fry, which is still more inclinable to the worse, did easily degenerate into the Manners of their King. So that, at last, when he had defiled all, with Whoredom, Rapines and Slaughters, and no one Man durst oppose his exorbitant Power: An Assembly of the States being called together, and speaking freely concerning the State of the Kingdom, he Commanded the Nobles, as Seditious Persons, to be led out to Execution; but by the concourse of the intervening Multitude, both He, and also the loathed Ministers of his Lust and Lewdness were * slain, when he had scarce finished the Third Year of his Reign. For the Honour had to his Father, his Body was allowed to be Buried amongst the Sepulchres of his Ancestors; but the Bodies of his Associats were cast out, as unworthy of any Burial at all.

* *Luctacus* his vitious Reign.

* And miserable End.

Mogaldus, *the Twenty Third King.*

[a] *Mogaldus* Reigning virtuously at first, afterwards degenerates.

After him, [a] *Mogaldus* was elected King, the Nephew of *Galdus*, by his Daughter: In the beginning of his Reign, he equalled the best of Kings; but, growing older, he was tainted with Vices, and easily degenerated into the Manners of his Uncle. When he first entred on the Government, that he might, with greater Facility, cure the vitious Practices committed by the former King, which did even contaminate the Publick Manners, he made Peace with his Neighbors, he restored the Ancient Ceremonies in Religion, which had been carelesly neglected: He banished all Pimps of Lust, and Debauchery, from Court, and acted all things by the Advice of the Estates, according to the Ancient Custom; by which Deportment he procured to himself Love at home, and Reverence abroad. Having setled Matters at home, he turned his Mind to Warlike Affairs, and drove out the *Romans* from the Borders of his Kingdom; and, by his Auxiliaries, assisted the *Picts* against the Injuries of the *Romans*: Yea, in some prosperous Battels, he so weakned the *Roman* Power amongst the *Britains*, that They also were erected to some hopes of recovering their Liberty, and thereupon took up Arms in many places. And their hopes were encreased, because the Emperor *Adrian* had called back *Severus*, a fierce and skilful Warrior, out of *Britanny* into *Syria*, to quell the Seditions of the *Jews*; so that [b] *Adrian* himself, the Tumults more and more increasing, was inforced to pass over from *Gallia* into *Britain*: But he, being a greater Lover of Peace than War, desired rather to maintain the Bounds of his Empire, than to enlarge them. Whereupon, when he came to *York*, and found the Country beyond it to be harassed by the War, he resolved to take a particular View of the Devastation, and so marched his Army to the River *Tine*; where being informed by the old Soldiers who had followed *Agricola*, almost to the utmost Bounds of *Britanny*, That there would be more Pains than Profit in Conquering the rest of the Iland, he built a Wall and Trench for the space of Eighty Miles, between the *Firths* of the Rivers *Tine* and *Esk*; and so excluded the *Scots* and *Picts* from their Provincials; and having setled the State of the Province, he returned back from whence he came. Here I cannot but take notice, that, seeing there yet remain divers Marks of this Wall, in many places, it is a wonder to me, that *Bede* did wholly omit to mention it; especially, since *Ælius Spartianus* hath taken notice of it, in the Life of *Adrian*; and also *Herodian*, in the Life of *Severus*. I cannot perswade my self, That *Bede* could be so mistaken, to think, as many yet do, That that Wall was not made by *Adrian*, but by *Severus*. This by the by.

[b] *Adrian* the Emperor comes into *Britain*, and built the Wall called by his Name.

Hereupon the *Roman* Province was quieted, the Excursions of their Neighbors were prevented, and Peace was observed between them, for a great while. The *Britains* did easily embrace it, and the *Scots* and *Picts* had thereby opportunity to divide the Neighboring Lands as a Prey, amongst themselves. But that Peace, besides the prejudice it did to the Body, by weakening its Vigor, through Sloth and Idle-

Idleneſs, did alſo enervate the Mind, by the Baits of Pleaſure, which then began to tickle it: For hereby *Mogaldus*, till then Unconquered in War, forgetting the Glory of his Anceſtors, ran headlong into all kind of Vice; and, beſides other pernicious and foul Miſcarriages, prejudicial to the Publick, he made a moſt unjuſt Law, [c] *That the States of ſuch as were condemned ſhould be forfeited to his Exchequer, no part thereof being allotted to their Wives or Children.* This Law is yet obſerved and pleaded for, by the Officers of the King's Revenue, who are willing to gratifie his Luſt, though they then did, and yet do, know, that it is an unjuſt and inhuman Inſtitution. *Mogaldus* having thus made himſelf obnoxious and hateful to the Nobles and Commons too, being unable to reſiſt their Combinations, with one or two of his Companions, ſought to run from their Fury; but before he could execute his Project, he was taken, and [d] ſlain, after he had Reigned 36 Years. This was done, about the Sixth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius.*

[c] The Law to forfeit ones whole Eſtate for Treaſon, without allowance to innocent Wife or Children, made in *Mogaldus*'s time, eſteemed unjuſt.

[d] *Mogaldus* ſlain.

Conarus, *the Twenty Fourth King.*

CONarus, his Son, ſucceeded him, who, from an ill Beginning, ended his wicked Reign with as unhappy a Concluſion: For, he was not only conſcious and privy to, but alſo a partner in, the Conſpiracy againſt his Father. But, to cover his Faults, in the beginning of his Reign, a War did fall out very opportunely for him. For the *Britains*, having paſſed *Adrian*'s Wall, took away great ſtore of Men and Cattle. Whereupon, [e] *Conarus*, by the Advice of his Council, joyning his Army with the *Picts*, they paſſed over *Adrian*'s Wall in many places, and made great havock in the *Britains* Country; and at laſt, encountring their Enemy, a great and bloody Battel was fought betwixt Them, the *Romans* and *Britains*. The Slaughter was almoſt equal on both ſides, which occaſioned Peace between Them till the next Year: Yet, the *Romans*, becauſe they were not Conquerors, looked upon themſelves as, in a manner, Conquered. Whereupon, their own Forces being much leſſened, and *Adrian* putting no great Confidence in the *Britains*, whom, he ſaw, to conceive ſome hopes of Liberty upon his Misfortunes, he ſent for Aid from *Antoninus Pius*, laying the blame of the Violation of the Peace upon the *Scots* and *Picts*, and of the loſs and ſlaughter of his Men, upon the *Britains*. [f] *Lollius Urbicus* was ſent over Lieutenant-General by the Emperor, who overcame his Enemy in a bloody Battel, and drove them beyond the Wall of *Adrian*, which he again repaired. Afterwards, there was a Ceſſation of Arms for many Years, as if a ſilent Truce had been made. For the *Romans* had Work enough to keep the Enemy from ravaging and plundering, and, for that end, their Camp was pitched on the Borders. And *Conarus*, who loved nothing in War, but the Licentiouſneſs obtained thereby, made haſte to return home, That he might imploy that Vacancy wholly to immerge himſelf in Pleaſures: Whereupon, thoſe Vices, which he had before concealed, on deſign to gain the Love of others, began now to appear bare-faced. And when, by this Diſſimulating Art, he judged the Kingdom ſure to him, what his Ance-

[e] A Battel between *Conarus* and the *Picts*, againſt the *Romans* and *Brittons*.

[f] *Lollius Urbicus* ſent to Aid the *Romans* in *Britain*.

ſtors

stors had gotten by great Pains and Labour, he did as profusely spend, on his own Lusts and Pleasures; insomuch, that, in a very short time, he was reduced to great want. So that, convening an Assembly of the Estates, he made a long and plausible Oration of the Grandeur and Magnificence which was necessary for Kings; and complained of the Lowness of his [g] Exchequer. Thus covering his Vices under the cleanly Names of Gallantry and Magnificence; and he was also an earnest Suitor, That a Valuation of every Mans Estate should be made, and a proportionable Tax imposed on each Individual. This Speech was unacceptable to all that heard it, whose Answer was, That the Matter was of more Moment than to be determined on a sudden: Whereupon, the Estates, having obtained a short time for Consultation, upon asking every particular Mans Opinion, they soon found, That this new Device of demanding such a vast Sum of Money, did not proceed from the Nobles, [h] but from some Court-Parasites; whereupon, they Voted, That the King should be kept Prisoner, as unfit to Reign; until, upon his Abjuration of the Government, they did substitute another. When they met the next Day, he, who was first demanded to give his Vote, made a sharp Speech and Invective against the Life of the former King, saying, That Bawds, Parasites, Minstrels, and Troops of Harlots, were not fit Instruments for Kings and Kingdoms, as being useless in War, and troublesom in Peace; besides, they were costly and full of Infamy and Disgrace. He added, The Complaint was false, That the King's Revenue and Incom were not sufficient for his Expence; for a great many of their former Kings, who were famous Warriors, and formidable to their Enemies, had lived Nobly and Splendidly upon it, in time of Peace. But if any Prince be of Opinion, That the Publick Revenue was too short, then, said he, let a Supplement be made, not out of the Subjects Purse, but out of his own Domestick Parsimony. He further added, That the Measure of Expence was not to be taken from the Lust and Exorbitant Desires of Men, which were infinite, but from the Ability of the People, and the Real Necessities of Nature. And therefore it was his Opinion, That those Villains, upon whom the Publick Patrimony was conferred, and for whose sake the King had undone so many Worthy Persons of good Rank and Quality, by despoiling them of their Estates, and putting them to Death, should be compelled to refund That to the Lawful Owners, which, by their Flatteries, they had unjustly robbed them of; and that also they should be further punished, to boot. In the mean time, he advised, that the King should be kept a Prisoner, till they could substitute another, that would not only inure himself to Thrift, but also teach others, by his Example, to live hardly and parsimoniously, as his Forefathers had done, that so the strict Discipline, received from our Ancestors, might be transmitted to Posterity.

[g] *Conarus* his Prodigality enforces him to demand large Subsidies of his Subjects;

[h] Which are denied by the Commons, and their Reasons why?

This Speech, as it was sharp enough of it self, so it seemed more cutting to those, who had Velvet Ears, and were unaccustomed to hear such free and bold Discourses, before. Neither did the King endeavour to allay the Heats of his People, by fair and gentle Words,

 But

but rather, by fierce and minatory Expreſſions, which did more vehemently inflame and provoke them; ſo that, amidſt theſe Quarrellings and Altercations, a Tumult ariſing, ſome that were next the King, [i] laid Hands on him, and thruſt him, with ſome few others, into a Cave, under-ground. Thoſe Courtiers, who had been the Authors of ſuch wicked Counſels, were preſently put to Death; and, leſt any Tumult of the *Mobile* ſhould ariſe upon this Diſſolution of the Bonds of Government, One [k] *Argadus*, a Nobleman, was made Vice-Roy, till the People could conveniently meet, to ſet up a New King. He, though, in the beginning of his Adminiſtration, he ſetled all things with great Equity, and thereby had procured much Commendation by his moderate Deportment; yet, his Mind being corrupted by Proſperity, he ſoon loſt all the Credit of his former praiſe-worthy Life. For he cheriſhed Home-bred Seditions, and ſtrengthened his Authority by External Aid, having ſuch great Familiarity with the chief of the *Picts*, that he took a Wife from amongſt them, and gave his Daughters to them, in Marriage; by which practice, it ſoon appeared, that he aſpired to the Crown. Theſe things being laid to his Charge in a Publick Aſſembly, wherein he was much blamed for his ſo ſudden Degeneration and Apoſtacy, he was altogether aſhamed, and knowing them to be True, he brake forth into Tears; and as ſoon as his Weeping gave him liberty to ſpeak, being unable to purge himſelf from the Objected Crimes, he craved Mercy, and humbly deprecated the puniſhment of his Offences; *Which*, ſaid he, *if I can obtain, I will recompenſe and make amends for my Errors in Government, by my future Care, Induſtry and Valour.* Theſe things he humbly ſupplicated upon his Knees, ſo that the Anger of the Nobles being now turned into Pity, they lifted him up from the Ground, and ordered him to continue in the Government, remitting his own Puniſhment to himſelf. As for Them, they were well enough ſatisfied, if he did now truly and heartily repent of what he had done amiſs heretofore. From that Day forward, *Argadus* aſſembled the Wiſeſt Men of the whole Kingdom about him, and acted nothing but by their Advice; yea, during the [l] Remainder of his Magiſtracy, he Enacted many Laws for the Good of the Publick; of which This was the chief; That he reſtrained the Arbitrarineſs of Provincial Judges, and forbad them to give Sentence againſt all Offenders, *alike*; but to have reſpect to alleviating Circumſtances, where any ſuch were. He either reſtrained, or put to Death, Flagitious Perſons, and amended the Publick Manners, which had been corrupted by a long courſe of Licentiouſneſs, not only by inflicting Legal Puniſhments on Tranſgreſſors of the Laws, but by affording them the Leading Example of his own Regular Life. Whilſt theſe things were acting, *Conarus*, partly afflicted with Grief, and partly worn out by Diſeaſes, ended his filthy and ignominious Life in Priſon, in the Fourteenth Year of his Reign.

[i] *Conarus* impriſoned, and his Evil Counſellors ſlain.

[k] *Argadus* ſet up in his room, who firſt Rules juſtly;

afterwards degenerating, he is accuſed;

but, upon his Repentance, is continued in the Government,

[l] Which he managed equitably, for the remainder of his Magiſtracy.

Ethodius,

Ethodius, *the Twenty Fifth King.*

Ethodius was set up in his stead, *Mogaldus*'s Sisters Son; He immediately convened the Estates, and thereupon highly extolled *Argadus*, and after he had bestowed on him great Honours, and large Rewards, he made him Plenipotentiary, under him, for the Administration of the Government; when he had made his Progress to view all the Counties and Parts of his Dominions, according to Custom, he Sailed over to the *Ebudæ Islands*; *Argadus* was sent by him to quell the Disturbers of the Publick Peace; who soon suppressed them, and brought them Prisoners to the King. These Combustions thus appeased, he returned into *Albium*; but the Illanders being freed by his absence, from their present Fear; and further, being persuaded by false Reports, spread abroad, That he was engaged in a Foreign War; and besides, being provoked, rather than suppressed, by the punishment of their Associats, began to raise new Tumults. [m] *Argadus* was again sent to suppress them, but they, being assisted both by the *Picts* and *Irish*, gave him Battel, without any delay, in which Fight, *Argadus* himself, being circumvented by Treachery, was slain: That Blow made the King lay aside all other Business, and to march thither himself; where he so wasted them, with some light occasional Skirmishes, and by his frequent Alarms and Inroads upon them, that, being inferior to him in Force, they retired into a Valley, encompassed on all sides with craggy Rocks, having only one Passage leading into it, that so, the Conveniencie of the Place, as they thought, might somewhat contribute to their Safety. [n] *Ethodius*, perceiving the disadvantage of the Place for his Enemy, disposed of his Guards in fit Avenues; and also made a Wall and a Graft at the mouth of the Passage; by which means they were brought to that extreme Penury of all things, that they were forced to yield up themselves to the King, at discretion. They were willing to accept of any Conditions; but the King gave them only These; *That Two hundred of them, such as the King should cull out, with their General, should be surrendred up to him; The rest should every Man return to his own home.* The Punishment of those, who were thus given up, being presently inflicted on them, had almost raised up a new Sedition; For the common Soldiers were so enraged at so terrible a Spectacle, that, for want of Arms, they threw Stones at the King's Officers. Neither was their tumultuous Fury allayed, without much Bloodshed. Thus *Ethodius*, having setled Peace every where, in order to the Administration of Justice, made his Progress over all his Kingdom, much delighting himself in Hunting by the way, so that he made many [o] Venary Laws, of which, a great part are observed to this very day. He had an *Irish* Musician or [p] Harper, lying all night in his Bed-chamber, (according to the Custom of the *Scotish* Nobility) by whom he was slain in the night, in revenge of a Kinsman of his, whom, he said, the King had put to Death. When he was led forth to Execution, he was so unconcerned at his Torture, that he seemed to be very glad, as if he had done but his Duty, and acted his Part with applause.

[m] *Argadus* sent General against the *Illanders*, is slain in a Battel by them.

[n] *Ethodius*, having got his Enemy in a Pound, forces him to what Conditions he pleases himself.

[o] *Ethodius*, his Venenary Laws.

[p] He is slain by his Harper.

Satrael,

Satrael, *The Twenty Sixth King.*

ETHODIUS being thus slain, when he had Reigned Three and Thirty years, and his Son being not of Age, fit to Govern, his Brother *Satrael* was elected King; this Man being of a naughty, yet cunning, Disposition, endeavoured to establish the Kingdom in his own Family, and so to destroy the Sons of *Ethodius*: In order whereunto, those Nobles, who were most dear to *Ethodius*, were, by Calumnies purposely devised, suppressed and slain by him. Afterwards, because the Commons did much regret the slaughter of their Nobles, he began to oppress them also; which matter, in a little time, did so increase the Hatred conceived against him, and so diminish his Authority, that Tumults and Seditions did thereupon arise. He durst not go forth to suppress them, because, he knew, he lay under a publick *Odium*, so that he was sculkingly [q] slain at home by his own Men, in the Night, when he had Reigned Four years.

[q] *Satrael* slain.

Donaldus I. *The Twenty Seventh King.*

[r] DONALDUS, another Brother of *Ethodius*, was set up in his Room, who equalled, yea, exceeded, the Vices of *Satrael*, by as great, and as many contrary Virtues, his Clemency joyned with his Love of Equity, did much enhaunce the price of his other Excellencies. He, by the terrour and weight of his Authority, and also, by present Punishments inflicted, quelled all intestine Commotions; and rightly conceiving, that the Souldiery, who were before wanton and idle, and spoiled by Luxury, might be made more ready to resist an Enemy, he caused a Muster to be made of them, and so accustomed them to Training and Exercising their Arms, and Military Discipline, that, in a short time, the new-listed Tyroe's did equal the Valour of the Veterans, and old Souldiers. The Peace which he had abroad, did much forward this his design. For, the *Roman* Legions, some few years before, made a Mutiny in *Britanny*, as desiring any other General, rather than *Commodus*, and especially [s] *Ælius Pertinax*, who was sent to suppress them; so, that leaving the *Scots* and *Picts*, they turned the whole stress of the War upon themselves. It was also a further advantage to him, in order to a Peace, that [t] *Donaldus* had, first of all the *Scotish* Kings, embraced the *Christian* Religion; yet, neither he, nor some other of the succeeding Kings, though a great part of the Nobility did favour the design, could wholly extirpate the old Heathenish Rites and Ceremonies. But the Expedition of [u] *Severus* the Emperor, falling out in his time, did mightily disturb all his Measures, both Publick and Private. For *Severus*, being very skilful in Military Affairs, brought so many Forces into *Britain*, in hopes to conquer the whole Island, as never any *Roman* General had done before him. There were also other Causes for this Expedition of his, as, the corrupt Life of his Sons, by reason of the Vices reigning in *Rome*; and the Effeminacy of his Army, occasioned by sloath and lying still: To remedy these mischiefs, he thought it best to put them upon Action. Upon his Arrival, the private Tumults, which were about to break forth, were suppressed, and the *Scots* and *Picts*, leaving the Counties near the

[r] *Donaldus*, his virtuous Reign.

[s] *Ælius Pertinax*, after *Commodus*, comes into *Britain*.

[t] *Donald*, the first of the *Scotish* Kings, that imbraced the Christian Religion.

[u] *Severus* comes over into *Britain*, in his time; enlarges the *Roman* Conquests, and

Enemy, retreated to Places of greater ſafety, and more difficult Acceſs. *Severus*, that he might, once for all, put an end to the *Britiſh* Wars, led his Army through all the waſte places, deſerted by their Inhabitants, againſt the *Caledonians*. Though his Enemy did not dare to give him Battel in the Field, he was much incommoded by the Coldneſs of the Country, and underwent a great deal of Trouble, to cut down Woods, to level Hills, and to throw vaſt heaps of Earth into the Mariſh Grounds, and alſo to erect Bridges over Rivers, to make a paſſage for his Army. In the mean time, the Enemy deſpairing of ſucceſs, if they ſhould Fight ſo great a Multitude in a pitch'd Battel, did here and there leave Herds of their Cattle, on purpoſe, as a Prey to them, that ſo they might ſtop the *Romans*, who, in hopes of ſuch Booties, were inticed to ſtray far from their Camp: And, indeed, the *Romans*, beſides thoſe, that being thus diſperſed, were taken in the Ambuſhes laid for them, were alſo much prejudiced by continual Rains; and, being wearied with long Marches, and ſo not able to follow, were in many places ſlain by their own Fellows, that ſo they might not fall alive into the Hands of their Enemies. Yet, notwithſtanding, though they had loſt 50000 of their Souldiers, (as *Dion* writes) they did not deſiſt from their Enterprize, till they had pierced even to the End and extream Bounds of the Iſland. As for *Severus* himſelf, though he was Sick, during this whole Expedition, and thereupon was fain to be carried in a covered Horſe-Litter; yet, by his incredible Obſtinacy and Perſeverance, he made his Enemies to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to yield up to him no ſmall part of their Country. He [x] built a Wall, as a Mound to the *Roman* Empire, between the Firths of *Forth* and *Clyd*; where *Agricola*, before him, had alſo determined to bound their Province. That Wall, where it toucheth the River *Carron*, had a Gariſon thereon, ſo ſituate, and the Ways and Paſſages ſo laid out, that it was like a ſmall City; which, ſome of our Country-Men, though miſtakingly, do think to be *Maldon*. But it is more probable, that This was the City which *Bede* calls *Guidi*. A few years before the Writing hereof, ſome footſteps of Trenches, Walls, and Streets did appear; neither yet are all the Walls ſo demoliſhed, but that they diſcover themſelves viſibly in many places; and when the Earth is a little digg'd up, ſquare Stones are quarried out, which the owners of the Neighbouring Countries uſe in Building their Houſes. Yea, ſometimes, Stones with Inſcriptions on them are found, which ſhew, that it was a *Roman* Pile of Building. Thoſe Words of *Ælius Spartianus* do ſhew the Grandeur of this Structure. *He ſtrengthened* Britain (ſays he) *with a Wall, drawn Croſs-ways, or, Thwart the Iſland, from Sea to Sea, which is the greateſt Ornament of his Empire.* By which Words, he ſeems to intimate, That it was not a Trench, as *Bede* would have it, but a Wall; eſpecially, ſince he gives ſuch a Commendation to a Work, which is ſhorter by half than *Adrian*'s Wall. Yea, this Fortification, where it is leaſt diſtant, yet is Eighty Miles off from the Wall of *Adrian*. There are alſo other Indications of that Peace, if I miſtake not. For, a little below that Gariſon, of which I have ſpoken, there is a round Edifice on the oppoſite ſide of the River *Carron*, made of ſquare Stones, heap-

[x] Built a Wall, from *Forth* to *Clyd*, Eighty Mile beyond *Adrians*.

ed on one another, without Lime or Mortar. 'Tis no bigger than a ſmall Pidgeon-Houſe; the Top of it is open, but the other Parts are whole, ſave, that the upper Lintel of the Door, wherein the Name of the Builder, and Work, is thought to have been inſcribed, was taken away by *Edward* the *Firſt*, King of *England*; who did alſo invidiouſly deface all the reſt of the old *Scotiſh* Monuments, as much as ever he could; ſome think, and have Written accordingly, that That Structure was the Temple of *Claudius Caſar*. But my Conjecture is rather, That it was the Temple of the Heathen God [y] *Terminus*. There were alſo, on the left Bank of the ſame River, two Hillocks, or, Barrows of Earth, raiſed (as it ſufficiently appears,) by the Hands of Men. A great part of the leſſer one, which inclines more to the Weſt, is ſwept away by the Waſhing and Over-Flowings of the River; the Neighbouring Inhabitants call them yet [z] *Duni Pacis*. So that Peace being again procured by this Diviſion of the Iſland, and all Matters being in a ſort accommodated, *Donaldus* departed this Life, having Reigned One and Twenty years.

[y] Temple of *Terminus*.

[z] *Duni Pacis*.

Ethodius II. *The Twenty Eighth King.*

ETHODIUS the Second, Son of the former *Ethodius*, was ſubſtituted in his Room, a Man almoſt ſtupid. This is certain, he was of a more languid and ſoft Diſpoſition, than was fit to have the Government of ſuch a Feirce and Warlike People conferred upon him; which being taken notice of, the Nobles, in a Convention, bore that Reverence to the Progeny of King *Fergus*, that they left the Name of King to *Ethodius*, as ſloathful as he was; but yet, not guilty of any Notorious Wickedneſs; but ſet Deputies over all the Provinces, to adminiſter Juſtice therein, whoſe Moderation and Equity did ſo regulate Matters, that *Scotland* was never in a quieter State. For, they did not only puniſh Offenders, but alſo made the immoderate Covetouſneſs of the King to be no burden to the People. This King in the Twenty firſt year of his Reign, was [a] ſlain in a Tumult of his own Officers.

[a] *Ethodius* ſlain.

Athirco, *The Twenty Ninth King.*

ATHIRCO, his Son, manifeſting greater Ingenuity than is uſually found in ſuch an Youthful Age, was therefore made King: For, by his Manly Exerciſes in Riding, throwing the Dart, and vying with his young Courtiers in Feats of Arms; as alſo, by his Bounty and Courteous Demeanor, he won to himſelf the Love of all. But his Vices increaſing with his Age, by his profound Avarice, Peeviſhneſs, Luxury and Sloath, he ſo alienated the Minds of Good Men from him, that the more the *Sons* were delighted with his Nefarious Practices, the more their *Fathers* were offended thereat. At laſt, a Conſpiracy of the Nobles was formed againſt him, occaſioned by one *Nathalocus*, a Nobleman, whoſe Daughters, being firſt deflowred by him, and then ignominiouſly beaten with Rods, he proſtituted to the Luſt of thoſe Ruffians, that were about him. He endeavoured to defend himſelf againſt them, but perceiving he had not

Force enough so to do, being also forsaken by his Domesticks, who detested his lewd Practices, he laid [b] violent Hands on himself, in the Twelfth year of his Reign. After his Death [c] *Dorus*, either because he was his Brother, or, else had been a Pander to his Lust, fearing lest the Nobles, in the heat of their Provocation, should exercise their Rage upon all the Kings Lineage, saved himself by flight, with his Brothers Three small Children, *Findocus*, *Carantius* and *Donaldus*. Neither was he mistaken in his Opinion; for *Nathalocus*, who had receiued so signal an Injury, not contented with *Dorus* his Exile, suborned Emissaries to kill him, and his Brothers Children too; who, coming to the *Picts*, (for the Royal Youths had chosen the Place of their Banishment amongst them) and lighting upon one very like *Dorus*, in Stature and Physiognomy, they slew him, instead of *Dorus* himself.

[b] *Athirco*, being disgusted for vitiating Noble Virgins, kills himself.

[c] *Dorus* flies, and carries his Brothers Children with him.

Nathalocus, *The Thirtieth King.*

Nathalocus, thinking, that he had slain Him, who stood most in his way, was, the *First* of all the *Scots* that ambitiously sought for the Kingdom. 'Tis true, a great part of the Nobility were against Him; yet, by means of those whom he had corrupted by Promises and Bribes, he carried the Point, and was made King. Neither did he manage the Kingdom any better than he got it. For suspecting the Nobility, which, in the Parliaments of the Kingdom, he had found to be adverse to him, he Governed all by the Ministry of *Plebejans*, whom Audaciousness and Penury (he knew) would easily incline to any wickedness. Besides those Suspicions I have mentioned, he was encountred with a far more grievous one; for, intercepting Letters directed to some of the Chief Nobles, he understood by them, That *Dorus*, and the Children of *Athirco*, were yet alive, and were brought up amongst the *Picts*, in hopes of the Kingdom. To avoid this Danger, he sent for those Nobles, whom he most suspected, to come to him, pretending he had need of their Advice, in the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom. When [d] they were assembled, he shut them all up in Prison, and, the very next night, caused them all to be strangled. But, that which he hoped would be a Remedy to his Fears, was, but as a Firebrand to raise up another Conspiracy. For the Friends of those who were slain, being afraid of themselves, as well as grieving for the loss of their Relations and Kindred, unanimously take up Arms against him. Whilst he was raising an Army to oppose them, he was slain by one of his own Domesticks, about the Twelfth Year of his Reign. Some of our Country-men do add a Tale in the Case, which is more handsomly Contrived, than likely to be True. That the very Man, who slew the King, had been before sent by him to Southsayers, to enquire concerning the King, his Victories, his Life, and Kingdom; And that an old Wizard should answer him, *That the King should not live long, but his Danger would arise, not from his Enemies, but from his Domesticks*; And when he pressed the Woman, *From which of them?* She replyed, *Even, from thy Self, Man.* Whereupon, he cursed the Woman; yet returning home in a great Quandary, he thought

[d] *Nathalocus* Murders the Nobility treacherously.

thought with himself, That the Womans Answer could not be concealed; and yet it was not safe for him to declare it, lest he should render himself suspected to the King, who was a depraved Person and guided wholly by his own Fears. And therefore it seemed to him, the safest Course to kill the Tyrant with the Favour of many, than to preserve him alive, with the extreme hazard of his own Life. Presently after he returned home, having obtained Liberty of private Access, to declare the secret Answer of the Oracle, or Conjurer, [e] he slew the King, now entring upon the Twelfth Year of his Reign; and so freed his Country from Bondage, and himself from Danger.

[e] He himself is slain by one of his Domesticks.

Findochus, *The Thirtieth First King.*

WHen the last King's Death was publickly known, the Sons of *Athirco* were recalled home. *Findochus*, besides his being of the Royal Family, was also endued with many blandishments of Nature, being very beautiful, tall of Stature, in the flower of his Age; and besides, being rendred yet more acceptable, for the afflictions he had suffered, he was chosen King. Neither did he deceive Mens expectations; For in his ordinary deportment, he was very Courteous; in administring of Justice, Equal, and Impartial; and a Conscientious Performer of all his Promises. But *Donaldus*, the Islander, being weary of Peace, Sailed over with a numerous Army into *Albium*; and making havock of the Villages where he came, returned home with a great Booty. His Pretension for the War, was, the revenge of the Death of King *Nathalocus*; [f] *Findochus* speedily listed an Army against him, and transporting them into the Island, he overthrew *Donaldus* in Battel, and forced him to fly for Refuge to his Ships; many were slain in the Fight, and many were drowned, whilst they endeavoured, in an hurry, to get a Shipboard. *Donaldus* himself being taken into the Boat, endeavouring to escape, the Boat sunk, by reason of the Multitude of those, who overladed it, and so he was drowned. Notwithstanding, the Islanders, not disheartned with this overthrow, after the departure of the King, sent for Forces out of *Ireland*, and renewed the War, making *Donaldus* his Son, their General, in the room of his Father; under whom they again made a Descent into the Continent, and drove away much Booty. Whereupon *Findochus* again wafted over his Forces into the *Æbudæ* Isles, and marching over all the Islands, executed severe Punishment on the Plunderers; and overthrowing the Forts, into which they were wont to fly, he made such a slaughter of the Men, and carried away so much Prey, That he left many of the Islands almost desolate: Upon *Findochus* his return, *Donaldus*, who had fled for safety into *Ireland*, returned from thence, and endeavouring to recruit his Armies, he found his Forces so weakened, that he left off the Thoughts of managing an open War, and resolved to betake himself to Guile and Stratagem. And in prosecution of that Design, not daring to trust the King, thô he had given him the Publick Faith for his Security; he sent Two of his Friends, Persons both bold and crafty, as with a secret Message, to Him. They, coming

[f] *Findochus* overcomes *Donaldus* and his Redshanks.

coming to *Findochus*, and boasting of their Lineage, and Descent, and withal, grievously complaining of the wrongs they had received from *Donaldus*; yet could not induce the King to believe them: Whereupon, they applyed themselves to [g] *Carantius* his Brother, a shallow-pated and ambitious Person: Being admitted into an intimate Familiarity with him, and, by his means, being made acquainted with the secret Affairs of the State and Commonwealth; having found out his Disposition, they were at last so bold, as to tell him, They were sent over to kill the King. He hearing this, looked upon the Kingdom as gotten by other Mens wickedness and danger, now sure to himself, did therefore shew them all the Countenance and Favour imaginable. Whereupon, all things were prepared for the Perpetration of the designed Murder; whilst the King was hearing one of them, relating the various Adventures of his Life; and the rest were busy in running to see a wild Beast of an extraordinary bigness, the other thrust him through the Breast with an Hunting Spear, and so slew him. Upon the committing of which horrible Fact, there was a great Hubbub and Concourse of People; some take up their dying King; others persue the Murderers, who were taken, and deservedly executed; yet they were not put to Death before they had been Rackt, and by that means they confest the Design of *Donaldus*, and the wickedness of *Carantius*, who had withdrawn himself to dissemble the Matter. This *Carantius* first fled to the *Brittons*; but they hearing of the cause of his Banishment, did detest so execrable a Guest; whereupon he went to the *Roman* Camp.

[g] He is slain by the conspiracy of his Brother *Carantius*.

Donaldus II, *The Thirty Second King.*

THE best of Men, as well as of Kings, being thus slain, by the detestable Treachery of his Brother, in the Eleventh Year of his Reign; [h] *Donaldus*, the youngest of his Three Brothers, was set up King in his stead. He, whilst he was preparing to Revenge his Brothers Death, Word was brought him, that *Donaldus* the Islander had entred *Murray*, not now carrying himself as a Robber, but as a King. Whereupon, He, with a few of his Soldiers, which were near at hand (having left a Command for the rest to follow) marches directly towards the Enemy. *Donaldus* being informed by his Spies, That the King had but a small Force with him, continued his March Day and Night, and by that means prevented the news of his approach. The King being thus surprized, seeing he could not avoid Fighting, performed more than could have been expected from so small a Number, but, at length, was overcome by the multitude of his Enemies; and being grievously wounded, with Thirty more of the prime of his Nobility, was taken Prisoner; about 3000 Men were slain in the Fight, and 2000 taken. The King dyed within Three days; either of his Wounds, or for Grief of his overthrow, having scarce Reigned One full Year.

[h] *Donaldus* overthrown, and taken prisoner by the Islanders.

Donaldus,

Donaldus III. *The Thirty Third King.*

AFter his Death, [i] *Donald* the Iſlander, who before, without any Authority, had aſſumed the Name of King, did now manage all things as a Legitimate Prince; being advantaged much by the fear of the Nobles, who (leſt their Kinſmen, who were priſoners with him, ſhould be ſlain, which *Donaldus* did daily threaten to do) durſt not make any Inſurrections againſt him. He was a very Tyrant in his Government, and Cruel to all his Subjects; for he was not content, by an Edict, to forbid any others to bear Arms, but his own Servants and Officers too; and alſo he hurried the Nobility to violent Deaths, whoſe Deſtruction he eſteemed to be the eſtabliſhment of his Government: Yea, He proceeded to ſow Seeds of Diſcord amongſt thoſe who ſurvived his Cruelty; neither did he think any Sight more lovely, than the mutual ſlaughter of his Subjects. For he counted their Ruin was his Gain, and judged himſelf to be freed of ſo many Enemies as were ſlain, out of both Armies. Neither was he afraid of any thing more, than the union of his Subjects againſt him. Hereupon, he kept himſelf commonly within the Verge of his own Palace, and being conſcious of the wrong he had done to all, as Fearful of them, and Formidable to them, he ſeldom went abroad. Theſe Miſeries continuing Twelve Years, at length, *Crathilinthus*, the Son of King *Findochus*, with much ado, was found out, to revenge the publick Wrongs and Calamities: He had been bred up privately with his Foſter-Father, and was thought to have been dead. But having few about him, equal to him in ſtrength or cunning, diſſembling his Name and his Lineage; he firſt applyed himſelf to Court, and being received into near Familiarity by the King, by the dexterity of his Wit, he became his moſt intimate and greateſt Favourite. At laſt, when all things ſucceeded according to his Deſire; he diſcover'd to a few of his Confidents, Who he was, and What he deſigned; and gathering a ſmall Party about him, having got a convenient opportunity, he ſlew [k] *Donaldus*, and departed privately with his Aſſociates.

[i] *Donaldus* the Iſlander uſurps the Kingdom.

[k] He is ſlain by *Crathilinthus.*

Crathilinthus, *The Thirty Fourth King.*

WHen the Death of the Tyrant was divulged, both the Fact itſelf, and the Authors thereof too, were entertained with a general Acclamation; ſo that *Crathilinthus*, upon the diſcovery and legal proof of his Stock, was made King, with more Unanimity and Applauſe, than ever any King had been before him; in regard he had been the Author, not only of their Liberty, but of their Safety too. At the beginning of his Reign, by Publick Conſent, he cauſed the Children and Kindred of the Tyrant to be put to death, as if he would extirpate Tyranny from the very Root. Afterwards, he made a [l] Progreſs over all his Kingdom, to Adminiſter Juſtice, as accuſtomed; he repaired, as carefully as he could, what was damaged by *Donaldus*. Thus having eſtabliſhed Peace at home and abroad, after the Cuſtom of the Nation, he ſpent his time

[l] The *Scottiſh* Kings did formerly Travel all over the whole Kingdom, in their own Perſons, to Adminiſter Juſtice.

time in Hunting. In order to which Exercise, being on Mount *Grampius*, near the Borders of the *Picts*, he Nobly entertained the young Gallants of the *Picts* that came to visit him; yea, he was not content with that Friendship, that had been anciently betwixt them, grounded on old Acquaintance, and strengthened by a mutual Peace, but he took them also into a nearer Courtship and Familiarity. But that Familiarity had almost proved his ruin. For the *Picts*, having stoln a Dog of the *Scotish* Kings, wherein he much delighted, the Keeper, having discovered the Place where he was concealed, in going thereto, and endeavouring to bring him back, was slain: Hereupon a great Outcry was presently made, and a Multitude of both Parties were gathered together, between whom there was a sharp Combat, wherein many were slain, on both sides; amongst whom, there were not a few of the young Nobility of both Nations; by which means, there were sown the Seeds of a most Cruel War [m] betwixt them. For, from that Day forward, each Nation did vex the other with Hostile Incursions, and never gave over till they met together with full Armies: Neither could Peace be made up between them upon any Terms, though both Kings desired it. For although they were not ignorant, that it was to their Disadvantage to be at odds one another, the *Romans* and *Brittons* being their perpetual Enemies and Assailants; yet they were so madded by, and so set upon, the Desire of Revenge, that, whilst they were eager on that account, they neglected the Publick Calamity, impending on them both; and unless [n] *Carantius*, a *Roman* Exile, one of mean Descent, but a good Soldier, had interposed, they had fought it out to the last Man, even till both Nations had been destroyed. This *Carantius*, being sent to the Sea-Coasts of *Bologne* by *Diocleſian*, to defend *Belgick Armorica* from the Incursions of the *Francs* and *Saxons*, after he had taken many of the Barbarians, yet would neither restore the Prey to the Provincials, the Right Owners, nor yet send them to the Emperor; hereupon a suspicion arose, that he purposely allowed the Barbarians to plunder, that so he might rob them at their return, and thereby enrich himself with the Spoil. For this Reason *Maximianus* commanded him to be slain; but he, taking Authority upon him, seized upon *Britany*; and to strengthen his Party against [o] *Bassianus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant-General, he reconciled the Discords betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*, and entred into a firm League and Alliance with them Both. The *Romans* made many Attempts against him, but, by his Skill in Military Affairs, he defeated all their Designs: After he had restored the *Scots* and *Picts* into the possession of those Lands, which they formerly held, he was slain by his Companion *Allectus*, after he had Reigned seven Years. *Allectus*, having Reigned three Years, was slain by [o] *Asclepiodotus*; and thus *Britanny* was restored to the *Romans*, in the Twelfth Year after its Revolt. But neither *Asclepiodotus*, nor, he who succeeded him, [o] *Constantinus Chlorus*, did any memorable thing in *Britain*; but that this later begat *Constantin*, afterwards Emperor, on *Helena* his Concubne. Amidst these Transactions, *Crathilinthus* died, after he had Reiigned 24 years.

[m] A War like to evene between the *Scots* and the *Picts*,

[n] But composed by the Prudence of *Carantius*, a *Roman*.

[o] *Bassianus*, *Asclepiodotus*, and *Constantinus Chlorus*, three *Roman* Lieutenant-Generals in *Britain* successively.

†

Fintor-

Fincormachus, *The Thirty Fifth King.*

Fincormachus, his Couſin-German ſucceeded him, who perform'd many excellent Exploits againſt the *Romans*, by the aid of the *Britains* and *Picts*; Yea, ſome Battels he fought them without any Auxiliaries at all. At length, when the *Romans* were weakned by their Civil Wars at home, and perpetual moleſtations abroad, Matters being a little quieted, the *Scots* were alſo glad to embrace Peace: Who, being thus freed from external cares, did principally endeavour to promote the *Chriſtian* Religion; they took this occaſion to do it, becauſe many of the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, being afraid of the cruelty of *Diocleſian*, had fled to them: Amongſt which ſundry, eminent for Learning and Integrity of Life, made their aboad in *Scotland*, where they led a ſolitary Life, with ſuch an univerſal Opinion of their Sanctity, that, when they died, their Cells were changed into *Temples* or *Kirks*. From hence, the Cuſtom aroſe afterwards, amongſt the Ancient *Scots*, to call Temples, *Cells*. This ſort of Monks were called [q] *Culdees*, whoſe Name and Order continued, till a later ſort of Monks, divided into many Sects, did expel them: Yet, theſe laſt were as far inferiour to the former, in Learning and Piety; as they did exceed them in Wealth, in Ceremonies, and in Pomp of outward Worſhip, whereby they pleaſe the Eye but infatuate the Mind.

[q] *Culdees*, a ſort of Religious Monks, in thoſe days.

Fincormachus, having ſettled affairs in *Scotland*, with great equity, and reduced his Subjects to a more civil kind of Life, departed this Life, in the 47th Year of his Reign.

Romachus, *The Thirty Sixth King.*

After his Death, there was a great conteſt about the Kingdom, between Three Couſin-Germans, begot by the Three Brothers of *Crathilinthus*, their Names were [r] *Romachus*, *Fethelmachus*, and *Auguſianus*, or rather *Æneanus*. *Romachus*'s Plea, was, that his Father was the Eldeſt of the Three Brothers of *Crathilinthus*, and that his Mother was deſcended from the Blood-Royal of the *Picts*; as alſo, that he himſelf was of a ſtirring Diſpoſition; and likely to procure Friends and Allys.

[r] Diſſenſion about Succeſſion to the Crown.

That which made for *Auguſianus*, was, his Age and Experience in the World, as alſo his admirable Deportment; to which was added the Favour of the People; and that which was the principal of all, *Fethelmachus*, who was, before, his Competitor, now voted for him. By reaſon of this Sedition, the matter being like to be decided by Arms, nothing could be concluded in the Firſt Convention of the Eſtates, but That being diſſolved, the whole Kingdom was divided into Two Factions; and *Romachus*, who was leaſt in the favour of the People, called in the *Picts* Militia, for his aſſiſtance, that ſo he might ſtrengthen himſelf by Foreign Aid.

Auguſianus, being informed, that Ambuſhes were laid for him, judged it better, once for all, to try the ſhock of a Battel, than to live in perpetual ſolicitude and fear: Whereupon, gathering his

Party into a body, he fought with *Romachus*, but, being overcome by Him, He and *Fethelmachus* fled together into the *Ebudæ* Islands.

But perceiving, he could not be safe there, because, on the account of his Victory, he was formidable to the Heads of the Factions, and that he was also amongst a people, naturally venal, and corrupted by the promises of *Romachus*, he fled into *Ireland* with his Friends. [f] *Romachus*, having thus removed his Rival, and obtained the Kingdom rather by force than the good will of the People, did exercise his Power very cruelly over his Enemies; and, to put a pretence of Law on the matter, when he went about the Country to keep Assizes, he took no Counsel of others, as was accustomed, but assumed all Capital causes to his own Arbitrement, so that he made great Execution amongst the People, and strook a general Terror into the hearts of all good Men. At length, when all were wearied with the present state of Affairs, the Nobility made a sudden combination against him; and, before he could gather his Forces together, he was taken, in his flight to the *Picts*, and [t] put to death in the Third year of his Reign. His Head was carried up and down, fasten'd to the Top of a Pole, and afforded a joyful Spectacle to the People.

[f] *Romachus* Reigns Tyrannically,

[t] And is therefore slain.

Angusianus, *The Thirty Seventh King.*

HEreupon, *Angusianus* was recalled, by general consent, to undertake the Kingly Government. In the beginning of his Reign, They, which were the Ministers of Cruelty and Covetousness under *Romachus*, being afraid to live under so good a King, stirred up *Nectamus*, King of the *Picts*, to make War upon Him, in revenge of his Kinsman. [u] *Angusianus*, being a lover of Peace, sent Embassadors to them, very often, to advise them, That both Nations would be much prejudiced by those Divisions, in regard the *Brittons* did but watch an Opportunity to destroy them both. But they hearkned not unto them, either out of confidence of their strength; or, out of anger and vexation of Spirit. So that, perceiving them to be averse from Peace, he led forth his Army against them; and, after a sharp conflict, obtained the Victory. The King of the *Picts* made his escape, with a few in his company; and, after he had a little master'd his fear, being inflam'd with Rage and Fury, he obtained, but with great difficulty, of his Subjects to raise him a new Army: And when it was levied, he marched into *Caledonia*. *Angusianus*, having again propounded Terms of Peace, which not being hearkned unto, he drew his forces towards the Enemy. The Fight was maintain'd with equal obstinacy on both sides, one striving to retain their acquired Glory; and th'other endeavouring to wipe away their received Ignominy and Disgrace. At length, the *Scots*, [w] *Angusianus* being slain, brake their Ranks and ran away. Neither was the Battel unbloody to the *Picts*; Their King and all his Valiant Warriors being slain therein: The Loss being in a manner equal on both sides occasioned a Peace between them, for some short time. *Angusianus* reigned little above an Year.

[u] Wars between *Angusianus* and the *Picts*;

[w] Wherein *Angusianus* was slain.

Fethel-

Fethelmachus, *The Thirty Eighth King.*

x *Fethelmachus* was made King, in the room of *Angustinus*; when he had ſcarce Reigned 2 years he levied an Army, and made foul havock of the *Picts* Country: As ſoon as the Enemy could meet him, they fought, with a great ſlaughter on either ſide. For the main Battel of the *Picts*, they having loſt both their wings, was almoſt all encompaſſed round and taken, yet they died not unrevenged. The King of the *Picts*, three days after, died of his wounds. The *Scots*, making uſe of their Victory, having no Army at all to withſtand them, made a great ſpoil all over the *Picts* Country; For the *Picts*, having received ſo great a blow, never durſt oppoſe them with their whole force; only they appointed ſome ſmall Partys of their Men, in fit time and place, to withſtand the ſtraggling Troops of their Enemy; that ſo they might not plunder far from home. In the mean time, one *Hergustus*, a crafty man, having undertaken the Command of the *Picts*, inaſmuch as he was inferior in *Force* he applied himſelf to *Fraud*, for he ſent two *Picts*, who, pretending themſelves to be *Scots*, were to kill the King. They, according to their Inſtructions, treated with a certain Muſician, about the Murder of the King: For thoſe ſort of Creatures are wont to lodge in the Chambers of Princes and Noblemen, to relieve them whilſt awake, and alſo to procure ſleep: Which cuſtom ſtill continues in all the *Britiſh* Iſles, amongſt the old *Scots*; ſo that on a Night agreed upon between them, the *Picts* were introduced by this Minſtrel, and ſo ſlew the King as privately as they could; yet they could not carry it ſo ſecretly, but that the Kings Attendants were awaken'd at the hearing of his Death-groans; and ſo purſued the Authors of the Villany, and when they could fly no further, the Kings Officers took them, (tho' they threw Stones at them to defend themſelves, from a ſteep Rock) and brought them back to Execution.

x *Fethelmachus* overcome by the *Picts*.

y But is Murder'd, afterwards, by two *Picts*, ſuborn'd by *Hergustus*.

Eugenius, *or* Evenus I. *The Thirty Ninth King.*

F*Ethelmachus* being thus ſlain, in the third year of his Reign, *Eugenius*, or rather *Evenus*, the Son of *Fincormachus* ſucceeded him. About that time, * *Maximus*, the *Roman* General, being in hopes to conquer the whole Iſland, if he could deſtroy the *Scots* and *Picts* both, firſt of all, he pretends many favourable reſpects to the *Picts*, who were then the weaker Party; and therefore, by conſequence, more ready to treat with him. Them he filled with vain promiſes, That, if they would perſevere in their Alliance with the *Romans*, beſides many other innumerable advantages, they ſhould have the *Scots* Land, to be divided amongſt them. The z *Picts* were catched with this bait, being blinded by Anger, deſirous of Revenge, allured by Promiſes, and regardleſs of future Events; Hereupon, they joyned their Forces with the *Romans*, and ſpoiled the *Scots* Country. Their firſt fight with them was at *Cree*, a River of *Galway*, the *Scots*, being few in number, were eaſily overcome by a more

* Maximus, *a Roman General in* Britain.

z *Romans* and *Picts* joyn againſt the *Scots*

numerous Army, and being thus put to flight, the *Romans* pursued them every way without any order, as being sure of the Victory. In the mean time, the *Argyle* Men, and some other Forces of the remote Parts, who were coming up to joyn with their vanquished Friends, fell in good order upon the scatter'd Troops of the *Romans*, and made a great Slaughter amongst their Enemies. *Eugenius* gather'd up those whom he could recal from flight, and, calling a Council of War, was advised, That seeing his forces were not sufficient to carry on the War, he should return back to *Carrick*. But, as *Maximus* was prosecuting his victory, word was brought him, That all was in a flame in the inner parts of *Britain*. The *Scots* were glad of his departure, as being eased of a great part of their Enemies: and, though they were scarce able to defend their own, yet, between Anger and Hope, they resolved, before the Summer was past, to perform some great Exploit against their adjacent Enemies; and thereupon they poured in the remainders of their Force upon the *Picts*. As they marched, they slew all they met, without distinction, and made all desolate with Fire and Sword. *Maximus*, tho' he threatned and spake contumeliously of the *Scots*, yet being equally joyful at the destruction of both Nations, as soon as he found an opportunity, marched against the *Scots*, upon pretence to revenge the Wrongs, done by them to the *Picts*. The *Scots*, on the other side, being now to fight, not for Glory, Empire, or Booty, but for their Country, Fortune, Lives, and whatsoever else is wont to be dear to Men, drew forth all that were able to bear Arms; not the Men only, but Women also, (according to the Custom of the Nation) prepare themselves for their last encounter, and pitched their Tents not far from the River *Down*, and near their Enemies Camp. Both Armies, being set in order of Battel, first of all, the Auxiliaries set upon the *Scots*, where, some fighting in hope, others incited by despair, there was a very sharp, tho' short, encounter; The *Picts* and *Britains* were repulsed with great loss, and had been certainly wholly routed and put to flight, if seasonable relief had not come to them from the *Romans*. But, *Maximus* bringing on his Legions, the *Scots* being inferior in Number, in the Nature of their Arms, and in their Military Discipline, were driven back and almost quite ruined. King [a] *Eugenius* himself fell in this Fight, as not being willing to survive his Soldiers; and the greatest part of his Nobles fell with him, as loath to forsake their King. [b] *Maximus*, having obtained this great Victory sooner than he hoped, and scarce finding any on whom he might wreck his hatred, mercifully returned to his former Clemency; for marching over many Provinces of the *Scots*, he took those that yielded themselves, to Mercy; and caused them to till the Land, withal adding his Commands, That they should be contented with their Own, and not be offensive to their Neighbours. The *Picts*, taking this his Clemency in evil part, did allege, That the *Romans* and their Allys would never obtain a firm, solid, peace, as long as the Nation of the *Scots*, which were always unquiet, and took all opportunities to plunder, did remain alive; adding further, That *Britanny* would never be secure, whilst any of the *Scotish* Blood remain'd

[a] The Scots overthrown by *Maximus*, and *Eugenius* slain.

[b] *Maximus* at first using his Victory moderately, yet afterwards, at the instigation of the *Picts*,

in it: That they were like wild Beasts, who would be sweetned by no Offices of Love, nor would they be quiet, though they received never so many Losses; so that there would be no end of War, till the whole Nation was extinct. *Maximus* replied many things, in bar to such severities, as, That 'twas the ancient Custom of the *Romans*, if they overcame any Nation, to be so far from extirpating them, that they made many of them Denizons of their City: That though they had almost Conquered the whole World, yet never any People or Nation were wholly eradicated by Them. That he himself, having slain their King, with the flower of his Army, had so quelled them, that now they were no longer to be feared, but rather pitied by their Enemies; he further urged, That his hatred of the *Picts* was as great as Theirs; but, if they considered the matter well, it would be a joyfuller Spectacle, to behold the Miseries of them being alive, than the Graves of them being Slain; yea, that it was a more grievous Punishment to live a dying Life, than, by once Dying, to put an end to all Miseries. This was the Sum of the Discourse which he made, not so much out of any Affection to the *Scots*, as out of Hatred of the *Picts* Cruelty. Moreover, he had an Eye to the future, as judging it extreamly hazardous to the *Roman* Province, if the Force of the *Picts*, upon the Extirpation of the *Scots*, should be doubled. But the *Picts* did so ply him with Complaints, Supplications and Guifts, that at length they obtained an Edict from him, That all the [c] *Scots* should depart out of *Britain* by a certain day, and he that was found there after the time limited, should be put to Death. Their Country was divided betwixt the *Picts* and *Britains*. Thus the surviving *Scots*, as every Mans Fortune led him, were scattered over *Ireland*, the *Ædudæ* Islands, through *Scandia*, and the *Cimbrick Chersonesus*, and were in all places kindly received by the Inhabitants. But the *Picts*, though they made publick Profession of the *Christian* Religion; yet, did not forbear to commit Injuries against Priests and Monks; which, in that Age, were had in great esteem. So that those poor Ecclesiasticks were dispersed into all the Countries round about, and many of them came into *Icolumbkill*, one of the *Ædudæ* Isles, where, being gathered together in a Monastery, they transmitted an high Opinion of their Piety, and Holiness, to Posterity. The rest of the *Scots* being thus afflicted by Wars, exiled from their Countries, and in despair of returning thither again; The Inhabitants of the *Hebrides*, being of a fierce and unquiet Nature, idle, poor, abounding in Men, yet wanting Necessaries, thought, That they ought to attempt something of themselves, and so gathering a Navy of *Birlins*, and small Ships together, under [a] *Gillo* their Commander, they landed in the County of *Argyle*. Having made their Descent there, and dispersing themselves scatteredly, amongst a Country almost wholly destitute of Inhabitants, to fetch in Booty, they were circumvented by the *Picts*, who were sent to assist the Inhabitants, and placed in Garison there; and being kept from their Ships were slain every Man. Their Navy was taken, and reserved for Service against the *Islanders*. And not long after, they which fled to *Ireland*, partly out of Remembrance of their Ancient Alliance, and partly out of Commiseration of their Fortune, did easily incite a Nation,

[c] He banisht the *Scots* out of all *Britain*, upon pain of Death, and gave away their Lands.

[a] The Exiled *Scots*, endeavouring to recover their Country, are worsted by their Enemies.

Nation, naturally inclined to War and Plunder, to afford them Aid to recover their Country and Antient Patrimony. Ten Thousand Auxiliaries were allowed them, who, landing in that part of *Scotland*, which is opposite to *Ireland*, struck a great terrour to the People over all the Country. Being encouraged by their first happy Success, when they were consulting how to carry on the War, the *Albian Scots*, well knowing the strength of the *Romans*, and how much they exceeded other Nations, in their skill about Military Affairs, persuaded them to be contented with their present Victory, and to return home with their Booty, not staying till the whole force of *Britain* was gathered together, to assault them. And seeing, that the Forces of all *Ireland*, if they had been there, could not withstand the *Roman* Army, which, by its Conduct and Valour, had almost subdued the whole World; therefore, they were to deal with them, not by open Force, but by Subtilty. That they were to watch opportunities, and seeing they could not match their Enemies in Number, Force, or Warlike Skill, that therefore they should weary them out with Toil and Labour. And that This was the only Method for the managing the War with them. The *Irish-Scots* on the other side, did blame those of *Albium*, whose former Valour was now so Languid, That though they were the Off-Spring of those, who had almost overthrown whole Armies of the *Romans*, yet, that they could not *now* look them in the Face; Yea, there were some of the *Albine-Scots* themselves of the same Opinion, alleging, That this Method of War, propounded by their Country-Men, was very vain and frivolous, serving only to vex the Enemy, but not to recover their own Country; and that therefore they ought to follow their good Fortune, and not to think of returning, till she made way for them. And, if they would act thus, then, no doubt, but God (who had blessed them with such prosperous beginnings) would, by their Arms, lessen the power of the Enemie, either by raising up new Tumults amongst the *Britains*, or, by calling off the *Roman* Legions to a War nearer home. That the Occasion, now offered, was not to be neglected, lest hereafter it might be sought for in Vain: This Opinion prevailed, and so they joyfully returned to their Prey. Thus, whilst in hopes, to recover what they had lost, they indulged their own Will, rather rashly than prudently, being immediately overpowred by greater Forces, they lost the best part of their Men. This Slaughter being made known in *Ireland*, cut off all hopes of return from the *Scots*, and made the *Irish* fear, lest they also should not retain their Liberty, long; so that, after many Consultations, they could find no way more adviseable, than, that the *Irish Scots* should send Ambassadors into *Britain*, to make [b] Peace with the [b] *Romans*, upon the best Conditions they could procure. Upon their arrival, *Maximus*, first of all did severely rebuke them, in that, without any Provocation, they had causelessly excited the *Roman* Arms against them. The Ambassadors, in excuse, laid the blame on the rude Rabble, and so they obtained Pardon. The Peace was made on these [c] Conditions, That the *Hibernians*, after that day, should never entertain, or shelter, any Enemies of the *Romans*; That they should forbear to offer any Injury to their Allies; and That they should manage

[b] And forced to make Peace with the *Romans*;

[c] Which they obtain from *Maximus*, on moderate Conditions.

nage their Government, with a friendly Reſpect to the *Romans*. The *Hibernians*, having thus obtained better Terms than they expected, returned joyfully home. That which inclined *Maximus* to make this eaſie Pacification, was, not his fear of the *Hibernians*, (for he did not much value all the diſturbance, they could give him) but becauſe, his Mind, being intent upon hopes of greater matters, he was willing to leave all *Britain*, not only quiet and free from War, but alſo affectionate and under an obligation to him. For, when he perceived, after the Defeat and Slaughter of ſo many of their Armies, that the Forces of the *Roman* Empire were ſhattered and weakned by their Civil Wars; and that the Emperors were not made by the Senate and People, but by Military Election and Favour; conſidering alſo, That he had conquered *Britain*, (which none ever did, before him) and thereby had got great Fame by his Military Exploits, and had an Army (for the number of it) ſtrong enough; in this poſture of Affairs, he determined, if Fortune offred him an Opportunity to ſeize on the Empire, not to be wanting thereunto. Being prompted by this hope, he treated his Souldiers with great Affability, and beſtowed on them many Largeſſes; he took advice in all his important Affairs, of the Nobleſt of the *Britains*, he recruited his Army with *Picts* Soldiers, and committed ſeveral Gariſons, in divers places, to be kept by them. The Lands of the *Scots* he divided betwixt Them, and the *Britains*. To the *Picts* he left their ancient Poſſeſſions, free; only he exacted a ſmall Tribute from the utmoſt Angle of the *Scotiſh* Kingdom, which he had given to them as a Teſtimony, (for ſo he gave it out himſelf,) that all *Britain* was partly overcome, and partly ſetled on Conditions of Peace, by him. And by theſe Artifices, he ſtrangely won the Affections of the common Soldiers: So that all things being in readineſs, according to his conceived hope, he aſſumed the *Diadem*, as if he had been compelled ſo to do, by his Soldiers. After him, *Conſtantine* was choſen General by the *Britains*, being recommended only upon the accompt of his Name, for otherwiſe, he was but a common Soldier at firſt; he being alſo ſlain, *Gratian* a Perſon deſcended of *Britiſh* Blood, ruled over the Iſland. But *Maximus* being ſlain in *Italy*, and *Gratian* in *Britain*, *Victorinus* was [d] ſent from *Rome* to rule *Brittain*, as a Governor. He pretending to inlarge the Empire, during his Adminiſtration, commanded the [e] *Picts*, who were reduced into the form of a Province, to uſe the *Roman* Laws, denouncing a great Penalty on thoſe, who ſhould dare to do otherwiſe: And whereas, *Herguſtus* their King died whilſt theſe things were in Agitation; he forbad them to chooſe another King, or ſet up any other Magiſtrate, but what was ſent them from *Rome*. Thus the *Picts* looked upon as a mere Slavery. Whereupon, they begun, tho' too late, and to no purpoſe, to reſent him, and complain they had been baſely and unworthily betrayed by a Nation, allied to them, and in amity with them; and though ſometimes they were Tumultuous, yet they were partakers with them of all Hazards, againſt a Foreign Enemy: So that now they ſuffered according to their Demerits, who had deprived themſelves not only of all Aid, but of all Mercy and Pity alſo. [f] For now who would be ſorry for their Calamity, who called to Mind, into what Miſeries

[d] *Victorinus* ſent from *Rome*, to Govern *Britain*.

[e] Who incenſed the *Picts*, by his Tyrannick Government over them.

[f] The *Picts* repent of their Conjunction with the *Romans*, to Root out the *Scots*; and alſo of the Perſecution of the Monks, being of the ſame Religion with themſelves.

ries and Neceſſities, they had reduced their ancient Friends. And that the Oracle was applicable here, which foretold, *That the* Picts *in time ſhould be extirpated by the* Scots. So that now, they were puniſhed for betraying the *Scots*: Yea, their own Puniſhment was the greater of the Two, in regard Baniſhment is more tolerable than Servitude. For Baniſhed Men are free, let their Fortune be what it will; but they Themſelves were encountred with the bittereſt of all Evils, which were ſo much the more intolerable, becauſe they fell into them by their own demerit. Whereupon, That they might have One, to whom to reſort in order to a publick Conſultation, for the remedying of theſe Calamities, they create *Durſtus*, the Son of *Herguſtus*, King. The Nobles being Aſſembled about him, to provide Remedy for their Miſeries; their Complaints did expreſs the Severity of their Bondage. They alleged, That they were now not in an imaginary, but real, Slavery: That they were ſhut up within the Walls of *Severus*, as wild Beaſts, ſevered from all human Commerce; and that all their Soldiery, under the ſplendid Name of War, were indeed drawn out for the Shambles. That, beſides the hatred of their Neighbour Nations, they were bitterly reproached by the *Monks* too, who cryed out, That God did juſtly deſpiſe and reject their Prayers, who had ſo cruelly perſecuted his Miniſters, though they were their Brethren, and of the ſame Religion with themſelves, in that they would not ſuffer them, by whom God might been appeaſed or exorated, to live in the ſame Country with them: Theſe Things did grievouſly pinch their Conſciences; ſo that, Adverſity infuſing ſome ſparks of Religion into their Minds, and alſo ſome eaſe from their Miſeries being obtained, they, at laſt, pitched upon This, as the only Way to recover their Liberty. That after they had reconciled themſelves to the *Scots*, they would alſo endeavour to appeaſe the Wrath of God, who was an Enemy to them for their Perfidiouſneſs. Whereupon, underſtanding that young g *Ferguſius*, of the Blood Royal, was an Exile in *Scandia*; they thought, if he were recalled, that the reſt alſo might be induced, by his Authority, to return. To effect which, they ſent an Embaſſy to him, but ſecretly, for fear of the *Romans*, to ſound his Inclination, as to the Return into his own Country.

g They ſend to recal *Fergus*, a *Scottiſh* Exile, from *Scandia*, to take the Regal Government upon him.

THE

The Fifth BOOK.

AFter *Eugenius* was ſlain by the *Romans*, as hath been related before, and all the *Scots* baniſhed from their Country, the King's Brother named *Echadius*, or *Ethodius*, for fear of the Treachery of the *Picts*, and alſo diffident of his own Affairs, hired Shipping, and committed himſelf to the Winds, and to Fortune; and ſo Sailed into *Scandia*, together with his Son *Erthus*, and his Nephew *Ferguſius*. As ſoon as he arrived there, and came to Court, the King of the Country, being informed Who he was, from whence he came, and what adverſe Fortune he had met withal; his Language, and alſo his Habit and Beauty ſoon procuring Credit to his Allegation, he was admitted into near Familiarity with him. *Ferguſius* lived there till he grew up to be a Man, (his Father and Grandfather being dead) he addicted himſelf wholly to Military Studies; at which time many Expeditions were made by the United Forces of the North, againſt the *Roman* Empire. Some of the Forces fell upon *Hungary*, ſome upon *Gallia*; and *Ferguſius*, both out of his love to Arms, and his hatred to the *Romans*, followed the *Francs*, in their War againſt the *Gauls*: But that Expedition proved not very proſperous, ſo that he returned into *Scandia* with greater Glory, than Succeſs: And when his Name began to be famous, not only *there*, but alſo amongſt the Neighbor-Nations, his Fame alſo reaching to the *Scots* and *Picts*, both gave the former hope to recover their own Country again, and alſo the later to obtain their ancient Liberty; if, laying aſide their old Grudges, they ſhould chuſe him General, and try their Fortune againſt the *Romans*. And indeed, at that time, the Affairs of the *Romans* were brought to ſo low an Ebb, by reaſon of the Succeſſes of the Neighboring-Nations againſt them, that the Opportunity it ſelf was Bait enough to excite old Enemies, to revenge the former Injuries, they had received from them. For, their Emperors, beſides their being weakned by Civil Wars, were ſo vexed on every ſide by the *Gauls*, *Vandals*, *Franks* and *Africans*, who did ſeverally make In-rodes upon them, each from his own Coaſt, that, omitting the care of Foreign Affairs, they called back their Armies into *Italy*, to defend *Rome* it ſelf, the Seat of their Empire. In the midſt of theſe Commotions, they, who commanded the *Britiſh* Legions, eſteeming the *Roman* Affairs as deſperate, did each ſtudy their own Advantages, and ſeverally to eſtabliſh their diſtinct Tyrannies. Neither were they content to vex the Iſlanders with all kind of Cruelty and Avarice, but they alſo haraſſed one another by Mutual Incurſions. So, the Number of the Legionary Soldiers did daily decreaſe, and the hatred of the Provincials againſt them did increaſe. So that, all *Britanny* would have rebelled againſt them, if they had had Forces, anſwerable to their Deſires: But above all their Miſeries, That was moſt prejudicial to the *Britains*, which the Emperor *Conſtantine*, the laſt General of the *Roman* Army,

caused them to endure; For, when he was made Emperor, he withdrew, not only the *Roman* Army, but even the *British* Soldiers too; and so left the whole Island disarmed, and exposed to all Violence, if they had had any Foreign Enemy to invade them. This was the chief occasion, which did mightily hasten the combination of the *Scots*. When Affairs stood in this posture, secret Messengers were sent betwixt the [h] *Scots* and the *Picts*; and a Peace struck up between them. Whereupon, they Both sent Ambassadors to call home *Fergusius*, to undertake the Kingly Government, as, descending to him from his Ancestors. *Fergusius*, being a Military Man, desirous of Honour, and, besides, not so well pleased with his present Estate, but encouraged with hopes of a better, easily accepted the Terms. When his return was noised abroad, many of the Exiled *Scots*, yea, several of the *Danes* also, his acquaintance, and fellow-Soldiers, being encouraged by the same hopes, accompanied him also home: They all landed in *Argyle*. Thither all those Exiles, which were in *Ireland*, and the Circumjacent Islands, having notice given them before of his coming, resorted speedily to him; and they also drew along with them, a considerable number of their *Clans* and Relations, and also several young Soldiers, who were desirous of Innovation.

[h] The *Scots* and *Picts* unite against the *Romans*, then brought low by their own Civil Dissensions.

Fergusius II. *The Fortieth King.*

Fergusius, having got these Forces together, was *Created* the 40*th* King of *Scotland*, being Inaugurated according to the manner of the Country. The * Black Book of *Pasley* casts his return on the 6th Year of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, Emperours; Others, upon the 8th of their Reign, that is, according to the account of *Marianus Scotus*, 403, according to *Funccius*, 404 Years, after the Incarnation of *Christ*; and about 27 Years after the death of his Grand-Father *Eugenius*. They who contend, out of *Bede*, That this was the *First* coming of the *Scots* into *Britain*, may be convinced of a manifest untruth, by his very *History*. When the Assembly of the Estates was Dissolved, *Fergusius* being born and bred to Feats of War and Arms, judging it convenient to make use of the Favourableness of Fortune, and the Forwardness of his Men; and withal, designing to prevent the Report of his coming, demolished all the Neighbor-Garisons; having not Soldiers enough to keep them; and having recovered his own Kingdom, as soon as the season of the Year would permit, he prepared for an * Expedition against his Enemy. In the mean time, the *Brittons* were divided into *Two* Factions, some of them desirous of Liberty, and weary of a Foreign Yoke, were glad of their Arrival; others preferred their present Ease, thô attended with so many and great Inconveniencies, before an uncertain Liberty, and a certain War. And therefore, out of fear of the Danger hanging over their heads, and withal, being Conscious of their own Weakness, they agreed upon a double Embassy, one to the *Picts*, another to the *Romans*: That to the *Picts*, was, to advise them, not to desert their old Allies the *Romans* and *Brittons*, nor to take part with their ancient Enemies, who were a company of poor, hopeless, and despicable Creatures. They farther gave them

* A Parchment Chronicle of *Scotish* Affairs, written by the Monks of the Abby of *Pasley*, a Town and Abby, situate not far from *Glascow*, in the Barony of *Renfrew*, called from its Cover, The *Black Book*.

* *Fergus* prepares for War.

grave

grave Admonitions, and made them many promiſes, and added many Threats from the *Romans*, whom (ſaid they) they could never equal in Number, or overcome, though the whole ſtrength of both Nations did jointly make Head againſt them, much leſs could they now Cope with them, ſeeing *one* of them was exhauſted by Draughts and Detachements of Souldiers; and the *other* worn out with all manner of Miſeries.

* The Minutes of their Inſtructions to their Ambaſſadors, ſent to the *Romans*, were theſe, That they ſhould ſend Aid to them in time, whilſt there was any thing left to defend, againſt the rage of a Cruel Enemy; which, if they would do, then *Britain* would ſtill remain firm under their Obedience; if not, it were better for them to leave their Country, than to endure a Servitude, worſe than Death, under Savage Nations. Hereupon the *Romans*, though preſſed upon by War on every ſide, yet ſent *one* Legion out of *Gaul*, to defend their Province, giving them Command to return, aſſoon as they had ſettled matters in *Britanny*. The *Britons* having received ſuch Aid, did ſuddainly * aſſault the plundring Troops of their Enemies, who were carelelſly ſtraggling up and down, and repelled them with great Slaughter.

* The *Brittons* ſend for Aid to the *Romans*, and receive one Legion;

* Who repulſed their Enemies and return.

The Confederate Kings, having an Army well-appointed, came to the Wall of *Severus*, and meeting their Enemies by the River *Carron*, a bloody Battel was fought between them. Great Slaughter was made on both ſides, but the Victory fell to the *Romans*, who, being in a little time to return into *Gallia*, were content only to have driven back their Enemies, and to repair the Wall of *Severus*, which in many places was demoliſhed; which, when they had done, and had Gariſoned it with *Britons*, they departed. The Confederate Kings, though they were Superior to their Enemies, in ſwift Marchings, and enduring of Hardſhips; yet, being inferiour in Number and Force, reſolved not to Fight pitched Battels any more, but rather to weary their Enemies, by frequent Inrodes, and not to put all at a venture in one Fight, ſeeing they were not, as yet, of Force ſufficient ſo to do. But when they heard, That the *Romans* were returned out of *Britain*, they altered their Reſolutions, and gathering all their Forces together, they demoliſhed the Wall of *Severus*, which was ſlightly repaired, only by the Hands of Souldiers, and but negligently guarded neither, by the *Brittons*. So that by this means, having a larger Scope to Forage in, they made the Country beyond the Wall, (which they were not able to keep, for want of Men) uſeleſs to the *Brittons*, for many Miles: It is reported, that one *Graham* was the principal Man in demoliſhing that Fortification; who, tranſporting his Soldiers in Ships, landed beyond the *Wall*, and ſlew the Guards unawares, and unprovided; and ſo made a paſſage for his Men. 'Tis not certain amongſt Writers, Whether this *Graham* were a *Scot*, or a *Britton*; but moſt think, That he was a *Britton*, deſcended of the *Fulgentian* Sept, a Prime and Noble Family in that Nation; as alſo, That he was the Father in Law of King *Fergus*: I am moſt inclined to be of this laſt Opinion. The Wall then being thus Razed, the *Scots* and *Picts* did Rage, with moſt inhuman Cruelties, over the *Brittons*, without diſtinction of Age or

Sex: For (as Matters then ſtood) the *Brittons* were weak and unaccuſtomed to War, ſo that they ſent a lamentable Embaſſy to *Rome*, complaining of the unſpeakable Calamities they endured, and with great humility and earneſtneſs, ſupplicating for Aid, farther alleging, That if they were not moved at the Deſtruction of the *Brittons*, and the loſs of a Province, (lately, ſo ſplendid an one,) yet, it became the *Romans* to maintain their own Dignity, leſt their Names ſhould grow contemptible amongſt thoſe Barbarous Nations. Hereupon, * another Legion was again ſent for their Relief, who coming (as *Bede* ſays) in *Autumn*, an unexpected Seaſon of the Year, made great Slaughter of their Enemies. The Confederate *Kings* gathered what Force they could together, to beat them back; and, being encouraged by their Succeſs in former Times, and alſo by the Friendſhip and Alliance of * *Dionethus*, a *Britton*, they drew forth towards the Enemy. This *Dionethus* was well deſcended in his own Country, but always an Adviſer of his Countrymen to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke; and then eſpecially, when ſo fair an Opportunity was offered, and the whole Strength of the Empire was engaged in other Wars, whereupon he was ſuſpected by his own Men as an Affector of Novelty, and was hated of the *Romans*, but was a Friend to the *Scots*, and *Picts*; who, underſtanding, That the Deſign of the *Romans*, was, firſt to deſtroy *Dionethus*, as an Enemy near at hand, and in their very Bowels, to obviate their purpoſe, made great Marches towards them; and joyning their Forces with Thoſe of *Dionethus*'s, began a a ſharp Encounter with the *Romans*, who, over-powered by Numbers, both in Front and Reer, were put to Flight. When the Ranks of the Legionary Soldiers were thus broken, and gave Ground, the Confederate King being too eager in purſuit, fell amongſt the Reſerves of the *Romans*, and the reſt of their Army, who ſtood in good Order, and were repulſed by them with * great Slaughter: So that if the *Romans*, being conſcious of the ſmalneſs of their Number, had not forbore any farther purſuit, they had doubtleſs received a mighty Overthrow that Day; but becauſe the loſs of ſome Soldiers in but a ſmall Army was moſt ſenſible, therefore they were leſs joyous at the Victory.

Maximianus (ſo our Writers call him, who commanded the *Roman* Legion) being diſmayed at this Check, retired into the midſt of his Province; And the Oppoſite Kings returned each to his own Dominion. Hereupon, *Dionethus* took the Supreme Authority upon him, and, being clothed in Purple after the manner of the *Romans*, carries himſelf as *King* of the *Brittons*. When the *Romans* underſtood, that their Enemies were diſperſed, they gathered what Force they could together, and encreaſed them with *Britiſh* Auxiliaries, and ſo marched againſt *Dionethus*, who infeſted the Provinces adjoyning to him; for they thought to ſubdue him, from whom their Danger was neareſt, before his Allies could come to his relief: But the Three Kings united their Forces ſooner than he imagined, and joyning all their Forces together, they encouraged their Soldiers as well as they could, and, without delay, drew forth their Armies to the Onſet. The *Roman* General placed the *Brittons* in the Front, and the *Romans* in the Reſerves: The Fight was fierce, and the Front giving

* The *Brittons* receive another Auxiliary Legion of the *Romans* under *Maximianus*.

* *Dionethus* a *Britton*.

* *Maximianus* overcomes *Fergus* King of *Scots*, *Durſtus* King of *Picts*, and *Dionethus*.

ving Ground, *Maximianus* brought on his Legion, and ſtopt the *Brittons* in their flight; and then, ſending about ſome Troops to fall on the Rear, ſome Brigades of *Scots*, being incompaſſed by them, drew themſelves into a Ring; where they bravely defended themſelves, till the greateſt part of their Enemies Army falling upon them, they were every Man ſlain: Yet their loſs gave Opportunity to the reſt to eſcape. There fell in that Fight *Fergus* King of the *Scots*, and *Durſtus* King of the *Picts*, *Dionethus*, being wounded, was, with great difficulty, carried off to the Sea, and in a Skiff returned home. This Victory ſtruck ſuch a Terrour to all, that it recalled the memory of Ancient Times, in ſo much that many conſulted, whither to betake themſelves for their Place of Exile. *Ferguſius* died, when he had Reigned Sixteen Years, a Man of an Heroick Spirit, and who may deſervedly be called, The Second Founder of the *Scotiſh* Kingdom; yea, (perhaps) he may be ſaid to exceed the former **Ferguſius*, in this, That he came into a void Country, and that by the Conceſſion of the *Picts*, neither had he the unconquered Forces of the *Romans* to deal with, but with the *Brittons*, who, though ſomewhat (yet not much) Superiour to them in Accoutrements and Proviſions for War, were yet their Inferiours in enduring the Hardſhips of the Field. But this later *Ferguſius*, when almoſt all were ſlain, who were able to bear Arms, being alſo brought up in a Foreign Country; and after the 27th Year of his Baniſhment from his Own, being ſent for as an unknown King, by thoſe Subjects who were as unknown to him, marched with a mixed Army, packed up of ſeveral Nations, againſt the *Brittons*, who were ſometimes alſo aſſiſted by the Forces of the *Romans*; ſo that, if God had not manifeſtly favoured his Deſigns, he might ſeem to have undertaken a very Temerarious Attempt, and bordering upon Madneſs it ſelf. When he was ſlain, he left three Sons behind him, very young, *Eugenius*, *Dongardus*, and *Conſtantius*; *Graham*, their Uncle by the Mother's ſide, was by Univerſal Conſent, appointed *Guardian* over them, and in the mean time, till they came to be of Age, he was to manage the Government, as Regent. He was a Perſon of that Virtuous Temper, that, even in the moſt Turbulent Times, and amidſt a moſt fierce Nation, who were not always obedient, no not to Kings of their own Nation, yet, there hapned no Home-bred Sedition in his time, though he himſelf were a Foreigner.

* The Two *Fergus*'s compared.

† Eugenius,

Eugenius, *or* Evenus II, *The Forty First King.*

Vgenius, or *Evenus* the Eldeſt Son of *Fergusius*, had the Name of King, but the Power was in the Hands of *Graham*; he cauſed a Muſter to be made of the Soldiers, all over the Land, and when he found that his Militia was weakned by former Fights, beyond what he thought, he ſaw that nothing then was to be done, and ſo ceaſed from making any Levies. But the *Roman* Legion having releived their Allies, and, as they were Commanded, being about to return into the Continent, ſpoiled all their Enemies Country, within the Wall of *Severus*, and ſlew the Inhabitants; 'tis true, they reſtored the Lands to the *Brittons*, but they kept the Prey for themſelves. So that the Remainders of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who ſurvived their late loſs, were again ſhut up between the two Firths of the Sea. Matters being reduced to this paſs, the * *Romans* declared to the *Brittons*, with how great and ſtrong Armies they were beſet, who had conſpired to deſtroy the *Roman* Name and Empire; ſo that they were not able to take ſo much pains, nor to be at ſo great expence to maintain places ſo far off; and therefore, they adviſed the *Brittons*, not to expect any more Aid from them, for the future. But they adviſed rather, that they themſelves ſhould take Arms, and inure themſelves to undergo Military Pains and Hazards; and, if they had offended before, through Slothfulneſs, that now by Induſtry and Hardineſs, they would make an amends, and not permit themſelves to grow ſo contemptible to their Enemies, (to whom they were Superior in Number and Forces) as to ſuffer them to drive away yearly Booties from their Country, as if they had gone forth only as Hunters for their Prey. And the *Romans* themſelves, that they might do them good for future times, did undertake a great and memorable * Work for them. For they gathered together an huge Company of Workmen out of their whole Province, (the *Romans* and *Brittons*, both vying, who ſhould be forwardeſt) and where the Trench or Graft was drawn by *Severus*, Thirty Mile long, there they built a Wall of Stone, Eight Foot broad, and Twelve high, they diſtinguiſhed it by Caſtles, ſome of which repreſented ſmall Towns. It was finiſhed and bounded on the Weſt, by a place now called *Kirk Patrick*, and on the Eaſt, it began from the Monaſtery of *Aberkernick*, as *Bede* affirms; in which Country, about One Hundred and Twenty years ſince, there was a ſtrong Caſtle of the *Douglaſſes* called *Abercorn*, but no ſign of any Monaſtery at all. Moreover, leſt their Enemies ſhould make a deſcent by Ships into Places beyond the Wall, (as, in their Memory, they had formerly done) they ſet up many Beacons or Watch Towers on the higher Grounds along the ſhore, from whence there was a large proſpect into the Sea: And, where it was convenient, they appointed *Gariſons*, but conſiſting of ſuch Cowardly and Effeminate Fellows, that they could not endure ſo much as to ſee the Face of an Armed Enemy. The *Roman* Legion did this Beneficial and Obliging Work for their Provincials, before their departure. Withal, vehemently exhorting them to defend their own Country, with their own Arms; for they

* The *Roman* Legion leaves *Britanny*, to maintain their Empire at home.

* *Graham's Dike.*

they must never more hope for Assistance from the *Romans*, whose Affairs were now brought to that Exigence, that they could help their Allies, especially so far remote, no more. When the [a] *Scots* and *Picts* understood for certain, by their Spies, that the *Romans* were departed, and would return no more; they assaulted the Wall, with all their might, and much more eagerly than before, and did not only cast down their Opposers, by hurling Darts at them, but also drew them off the Wall with Cramp-Irons, as *Bede* calls them; which were, as I understand, Crooked Iron Instruments, or Hooks, fastened on the tops of long Poles; so that the upper Fortification being thus made destitute of its Defenders, they applied their Engines, and overthrew the Foundation also; and thus an entrance and passage being made, they enforced their affrightned Enemies to leave their Habitations and Dwellings, and to fly away for safety, wherever they could find it. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were so eagerly bent on Revenge, that all their former Calamities seemed tolerable to their Enemies, in respect of Those they were now forced to endure. Afterwards, the Assailants, rather wearied than satisfied with the Miseries of their Enemies, returned home, and began, at last, to bethink themselves, That they had not so much taken away the Goods of their Enemies, as withal, they had despoiled themselves of the Rewards of their Victory. And therefore convening an Assembly of the Estates; it was disputed amongst them, How so great a Victory might be improved; and their first Result was, to repleniſh those Lands, which they had taken from the Enemy, with new Colonies, for the Procreation of a new Progeny. This Counsel seemed the more wholesome and adviseable, because of the abundance of Valiant, but Indigent, Officers and Soldiers, who had not room enough to live in their ancient Habitations. This turn of Prosperity, being signified to the Neighbouring Nations, encouraged not only the *Scotish* Exiles, but a great company of Strangers too, who lived but poorly at home, to flock in, as to a Prey; for they supposed, that a Man of that Spirit and Conduct, as *Graham* was, would never lay down Arms, till he had brought the whole Island of *Britain* under his Subjection; but herein they were mistaken; for he, having run so many hazards, was more inclineable to Peace, with Honour and Glory, than to hazard his present certain Felicity, by casting himself into an uncertain Danger. And therefore he made [b] Peace with the *Brittons*, who were not only willing to, but also very earnestly desirous of, the same. The Terms were, That each People should be contented with their own Bounds, and abstain from Wrong and Violence, towards one another; the Mound to both was *Adrian*'s Wall. After this Peace was made, *Graham* divided the Lands, not only to the *Scots*, but to those outlandish Men also, who had followed his Ensigns. By this means, almost all the Provinces were called by new Names, because many of them were Peopled with strange and new Inhabitants, and the rest, for the most part, were born in exile. *Galway*, a County next to *Ireland*, falling by Lot to the *Hibernians*, is thought to have got its Name, so Famed in their own Country, from Them. *Caithness* was so called, because it was Mountainous; *Ross*, because it was a Peninsula; *Buchan*, because it paid great Tribute out of

[a] The *Brittons* miserably vexed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, after the departure of the *Romans*.

[b] A Peace made betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts* of the one part, and the *Brittons* on the other.

† Oxen.

Oxen. *Strath-Bogy*, *Narn*, *Strathnavern*, *Loch-Spey*, *Strath-Earn*, and *Monteath*, took their respective Names from several Rivers of the same Appellation. *Loch-Abyr* was so called from a Lough, or rather, Bay of the Sea. Many of the Provinces situate on this side the *Forth*, as *Lennox*, *Clydsdale*, *Twedale*, *Tevidale*, *Liddisdale*, *Eskdale*, *Eusdale*, *Nithisdal*, *Annandale*, and *Domglas-dal*, had their Sirnames from Rivers: Many Places retained their ancient Names; and some had theirs only a little changed. Afterwards, to the end, that he might, by just Laws, bridle the Licentiousness, which was grown to such a height, by the long continuance of Wars; He first called home the Monks and Teachers of the *Christian* Religion, from their Exile; and, lest they might be burdensom to an indigent People, he ordained, That they should have an yearly Income, out of the Fruits of the Earth; which, thô it was small, (as those times were) yet, by reason of the Modesty and Temperance of the Men, it seemed great enough for them. He placed Garisons in the most convenient Passages, against the sudden Incursions of the Enemies; He repaired Places, that were demolished, and erected new. The Fury of War being thus extinguished, thrô the whole Island, thô the *Brittons*, being saved, as it were, out of a dangerous Tempest, did enjoy the Sweets of Publick Peace; yet, it was doubtful, whether the War or the Peace did them most mischief. For when their Cities were razed, their Villages burnt, their Cattel driven away, and all their Instruments of Husbandry lost; they, who survived this Cruelty of their Enemies, were enforced to maintain their needy Lives by Hunting, or else to turn their course of Plunder from their Enemies, upon their own Countrymen: So that an Intestine War was almost like to ensue, upon an External Peace. Neither were they only the perpetual Enemies of Foreiners; For, thô they abstained from open Wars, yet ever and anon they spoiled the Countries, contiguous to them: Also, a Party of the *Hibernians*, being encouraged by hope of Booty, did vex the poor People, who were already miserably enough distressed, with their Marine Invasions. Their last Calamity, and the worst of all, was * Famine, which did so cow the Hearts of that Warlike People, that many of them voluntarily surrendred up themselves into their Enemies Hands. At last, those few of them that remained, lurking in Caves and Dens, were necessitated to peep abroad, and so to scatter the wandring Troops of those Plunderers; they also drove the *Irish* back to Sea, and forced them to depart from *Albium*. That Mischief was no sooner removed, but a Calamity [c] nearer hand, began to press upon them. The *Scots* and *Picts*, their perpetual Enemies, were not contented to drive Preys from them by stealth, but watched an opportunity to attempt higher Matters. For *Eugenius*, the Son of *Fergus*, who, till that time, had lain still, under the Tutorage of another; his Strength being increased by a long Peace, and much augmented by a young Fry of Soldiers flocking in to him, desired to shew himself; and besides the weakness of the *Brittons*, there happened likewise a private Cause of War: *Graham*, being his Grandfather by the Mothers-side, and nobly descended (as I spake before) in his own Country, was yet of that Faction, which were desirous to

* Tithes for Ecclesiasticks.

* Peace sometimes more dangerous than War.

* Famine the forest of Evils.

[c] New occasions of Dissension between the *Scots* and *Brittons*.

free

free themselves from the bondage of the *Romans*. For which Cause, he was banished by the contrary Faction, who were then more powerful, and so he fled to the *Scots*, his old Allies, between whom many Civilities had formerly passed. After his Death, *Eugenius*, by his Ambassadors, demanded a Restitution of those fruitful Lands, which were his Ancestors, situate within the Wall of *Adrian*; intimating plainly to them, That unless they did restore them, he would make War upon them. When the Ambassadors had declared their Message in an Assembly of the *Brittons*, there were such Heats amongst them, that they came almost to blows. They that were the fiercest of them, cryed out, That the *Scots* did not seek for Lands so much, (of which they had enough) as for War; and That they did not only insult over their new Calamities, but also were resolved to try their Patience; if the Lands were denied, then a War would presently follow; if they were restored, then a cruel Enemy was to be received into their own Bowels; and yet, they should not have Peace even *Then*, unless they imagined, That their Covetousness would be satisfied with the Concession of a few Lands, who were not contented with large Provinces, which were parted with in the last War. And that therefore it was good to obviate their immoderate and unsatiable Desires, in the very beginning, and to repress their Licentiousness [d] by Arms, lest, by the Grant of small things, their Desires might be enlarged, and their Boldness encreased to ask more. There was in that Assembly one [e] *Conanus*, a *British* Nobleman, and eminent amongst his Countrymen, on the account of his Prudence, who discoursed many things gravely, concerning the Cruelty of their Enemies, and of the present State of the *Brittons*, and that all their Soldiers were almost drawn out for Foreign Service; adding withal, That War abroad, Seditions at home, and Famine, proceeding from Poverty or Want, would consume, or else weaken, the miserable Remainders of his Countrymen: As for the *Roman* Legions, they were gone home to quell their own Civil Wars, without any hopes of Return; and therefore, he gave his Advice, That they should make Peace with their formidable Enemies, if not an advantagious one, yet the best they could procure. This Counsel (he gave, as he alleged) not out of any Respect to his private Interest, but merely for the necessities of the Publick, which appears, (said he) by this, That as long as there was any probability to defend ourselves against the Cruelty of our Enemies, he never made any mention of Peace at all; he added, That he was not ignorant, that this Peace, which he now persuaded to, would not be a lasting one, but only prove a small Respite from War, till the force of the *Brittons*, weakned by so many losses, and almost ruined, might be refreshed, and gather strength by a little intermission; Whilst he was thus speaking, a Noise arose in the whole Assembly, which made him afraid: For the Seditious cryed out, That he did not respect the publick Good, but only endeavoured to obtain the Kingdom for himself, by means of Foreign Aid. Whereupon, he, departing from the Council, called God to witness, That he had no private end of his own, in persuading Peace, but, a Tumult arising amongst the Multitude, he was there [f] slain.

[d] Whereupon the *Brittons* Arm,

[e] Tho dissuaded therefrom by *Conanus*, their Countryman.

[f] Who is slain, for his good Advice.

His Loss caused the wiser sort to refrain giving their Votes freely, thô they evidently saw, that the Destruction of their Country was at hand. The Ambassadors, returning home without their Errand, The *Scots* and *Picts* left off all other Business, and prepared wholly for War; The *Brittons* foreseeing the same, after their fit of Passion was somewhat over, send Ambassadors to *Scotland*, who, upon pretence of making Peace, were to put some stop to the War, and to offer them Money; giving the *Scots* hopes, That they might get more from them, by way of an amicable Treaty, than they pretended to seek for by War; That the Chances of War were doubtful, and the issue uncertain; That it was not the part of Wise Men, to neglect the benefit which was in their view, and, upon uncertain hopes, to cast themselves upon most certain and assured Dangers. Nothing was obtained by this Ambassy, for *Eugenius* was informed by his Spies, That the *Brittons* did but dissemble the obtaining of a Peace abroad, whilst they were intent upon high Warlike Preparations at home; so that, for that reason, the *Scots* and *Picts* being inflamed with their old hatred, and invited by the Calamities of the *Brittons*; or else, lifted up with Success, would give them no Conditions, but to yield up All; so that, both Armies prepared for the last Encounter. The Confederate Kings, having been Conquerors for some years, were now erected to the hope of a greater Victory; and the *Brittons*, on the other side, set before their Eyes all the Miseries, that a fierce and conquering Enemy could inflict upon them: In this posture of Affairs, and temper of Spirit, when both Parties came in sight of one another, such a [g] sharp Fight commenced between them, as the Inhabitants of *Britanny* had never seen before, it was so obstinately maintained, that, after very long, and hot, Service, the Right Wing of the *Scots*, was, thô with difficulty, enforced to give ground; which *Eugenius* perceiving, having before brought all his other Reserves into Service, he drew on also the Squadrons, left to guard the Baggage, into the Fight; They, being intire, routed the *Brittons*, which stood against them, so that the Victory began on that side, whence the fear of a Total overthrow did proceed. The rest of the *Brittons*, following the Fortune of the other Brigade, ran away too, and flying into the Woods and Marishes near to the place where the Battel was fought, as they were thus straggling, dispersed, and unarmed, their Enemies Baggage-men, and Attendants, slew abundance of them. There fell of the [h] *Brittons* in this Fight 14000, of their Enemies 4000. After this Fight, the *Brittons*, having lost almost all their Infantry, send Ambassadors to the *Scots* and *Picts*, Commissioning them to refuse no Conditions of Peace, whatsoever: The Confederate Kings, seeing they had All in their Power, were somewhat inclined to Mercy, and therefore Terms of Peace were offered, which were hard indeed, but not the severest, which (in such their afflicted State) they might have propounded; The Conditions [i] were, *That the* Brittons *should not send for any* Roman, *or other Forein, Army, to assist them; That they should not admit them, if they came of their own accord; nor give them Liberty to march thrô their Country; That the Enemies of the* Scots *and* Picts *should be Theirs also, & vice versâ; and, That, without their* Permission, *they*

[g] A terrible Fight between the *Scots* and the *Picts*; and the *Brittons*.

[h] Wherein the *Brittons* are overthrown.

[i] And have hard Conditions of Peace impoled on them.

they ſhould not make Peace or War, nor ſend Aid to any, who deſired it; That the Limits of their Kingdom ſhould be the River Humber; *That they ſhould alſo make preſent Payment of a certain ſum of Money by way of Mulct, to be divided amongſt the Soldiers, which alſo was to be paid yearly by them; That they ſhould give an hundred Hoſtages, ſuch as the Confederate Kings ſhould approve of.*

Theſe Conditions were entertained by the *Brittons*, grudingly by ſome, but neceſſarily by all; and the ſame neceſſity which procured it, made them keep the Peace for ſome years: The *Brittons*, being left weak and forſaken of Foreigners, that they might have an Head to reſort to, for publick Advice, made [k] *Conſtantine*, their Countryman, a Nobleman, of high deſcent, and of great repute, (whom they had ſent for out of *Gallick Britanny*,) King. He, perceiving that the Forces of the *Brittons* were broken, both abroad by Wars, and at home by Fewds, Robberies, and Diſcords, thought fit to attempt nothing by Arms; but, during the Ten years he reigned, he maintained Peace with his Neighbours; at laſt, he was Slain by the Treachery of *Vortigern*, a Potent and Ambitious man; He left Three Sons behind him, of which Two were under Age; the Third and Eldeſt, as unfit for Government, was thruſt into a Monaſtery; yet he was made King, principally by the Aſſiſtance of *Vortigern*, who ſought to obtain Wealth and Power to himſelf, under the Envy of another mans Name. The Fields, which were now tilled in time of Peace, after a moſt grievous Famine, yielded ſuch a plentiful Crop of Grain, that the like was never heard of in *Britain*, before. And from hence thoſe Vices did ariſe, which uſually accompany Peace, as * Luxury, Cruelty, Whoredom, Drunkenneſs, which are more pernicious than all the Miſchiefs of War. There was no Truth or Sincerity to be found, and that not only amongſt the Vulgar, but even the Monks, and the Profeſſors of an Holier Life, made a mock at Equity, Faithfulneſs, and conſtant Piety of Life; of which *Bede*, the *Anglo-Saxon*; and *Gildas*, the *Britton*, do make an heavy Complaint. In the mean time, the Ambaſſadors, who returned from *Ætius*, brought word, That no relief could be expected from him, for the *Brittons* had ſent Letters to *Ætius*, ſome Clauſes whereof, as they are mentioned by *Bede*, I ſhall here recite; both becauſe they are a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Miſeries of that Nation; and alſo, becauſe they demonſtrate, How much many Writers are miſtaken, in their Memoirs. The Words are theſe, *To* Ætius, *the third time Conſul, the Complaints of the* Brittons. And a little after; *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea beats us back again upon the Barbarians; between Theſe two kinds of Deaths, we are either Killed or Drowned.* Now *Ætius* was joyned, in his Third Conſulſhip, with *Symmachus*, in the 450th year after *Chriſt*. Neither could there any Aid be obtained from him, who was then principally intent upon the obſerving the Motions of *Attila*: The reſt of the *Brittons* being driven to this deſperate point, only [l] *Vortigern* was glad of the publick Calamity; and, in ſuch a general hurly-burly, he thought, he might, with greater Impunity, perpetrate that Wickedneſs, which he had long before deſigned in his mind; which was, to cauſe the King to be Slain, by thoſe Guards, which he

[k] The *Brittons* make *Conſtantine* King, who was ſoon after ſlain by *Vortigern*.

* Luxury, the uſual Companion of Peace.

[l] *Vortigern*, having ſlain *Conſtantine's* Heir, makes himſelf King of the *Brittons*.

he had appointed about him, and afterwards, to avert the ſuſpition of ſo foul a Parricide from himſelf, in a pretended Fit of Anger, as if he were impatient of delay in Executing Revenge, he cauſed the Guards alſo to be put to death, without ſuffering them to plead for themſelves. Thus having obtained the Kingdom by the higheſt degree of Villany, he managed it with as little Sanctity. For, ſuſpecting the Faithfulneſs of the People towards him, and not confiding in his own ſtrength, which was but ſmall, he engaged the *Saxons* to take his part, who then exerciſed Pyracy at Sea, and infeſted all the ſhores far and near. He procured their Captain [m] *Hengiſt*, with a ſtrong Band of Soldiers, to come to him with three Galleys, and he aſſigned Lands to him in *Britain*; ſo that now he was to fight, not as for a ſtrange Country, but as for his own Demeaſne and Eſtate, and therefore was likely to do it with greater Alacrity. When this was noiſed abroad, ſuch large Numbers of Three Nations, the *Jutes*, the *Saxons*, and the *Angles* are reported to have flocked out of *Germany* into *Britain*, that they became formidable even to the Inhabitants of the Iſle. Firſt of all, about the year of our Lord 449. *Vortigern*, being ſtrengthned by thoſe Auxiliaries, joyned Battel with the *Scots* and *Picts*, whom he Conquered, and drove beyond the Wall of *Adrian*. As touching * *Eugenius*, the King of the *Scots*, there goes a double Report of him; ſome ſay, he was ſlain in fight beyond the River *Humber*; others, that he died a natural Death. However he came by his end, this is certain, he governed the *Scots* with ſuch Equity, that he may deſervedly be reckoned amongſt the Beſt of their Kings. For, tho' he ſpent the firſt Part of his Life, almoſt from his Childhood, in War, yet he ſo profited under the Diſcipline of his Grandfather, and his Mind was ſo eſtabliſhed thereby, that neither Military Freedom (as it uſually doth) did draw him to Vice; neither did it make him more negligent in conforming his Manners to the Rule of Piety; nor did his proſperous Succeſs make him more arrogant. And on the other ſide, the Peace and Calm, he enjoyed, did not abate the ſharpneſs of his Underſtanding, nor break his Martial Spirit; but he managed his Life, with ſuch an equal and poiſed Temper, that, by the advantage of his natural Diſpoſition, he did equal, or rather exceed, thoſe Princes, who are inſtructed in the Liberal Arts, and from thence come to the Helm of Government.

[m] He ſends for Aid to *Hengiſt* the *Saxon*, by whoſe help he repels the *Scots* & *Picts*.

* The Character of King *Eugenius*.

Dongardus, *The Forty Second King.*

THE ſame Year that *Eugenius* died, which was in the 452 Year of our *Lord*, his Brother, *Dongardus*, was made King in his place. He was of a Diſpoſition like his Brother, for, as he was willing to embrace Peace upon good Conditions; ſo, when occaſion required, he was not afraid of War. And therefore, in reference both to Peace and War, he not only prepared all things neceſſary to reſiſt the Invaſion of an Enemy; but alſo, he trained up the Youth and Soldiery of his Country, in Pains and Parſimony; That ſo they might be reſtrained from Vice, and their minds not grow feeble and languid by long Quiet and too much Proſperity. But

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the Seditions at home, raised by the *Brittons*, were the Cause, that his Arms were not much famed abroad. But being freed from that Encombrance, he gave himself wholly up to the Reformation of Religion; for the Reliques of the * *Pelagian* Heresy did as yet trouble the Churches. To confute them, Pope [n] *Celestine* sent *Palladius* over, (in the life of his Father *Eugenius*) who instructed many, that grew afterwards famous for Learning and Sanctity of Life; and especially *Patricius*, *Servanus*, *Ninianus*, * *Kentigernus*. The same *Palladius* is reported to have appointed [o] Bishops, first in *Scotland*. Whereas, till then, the Churches were govern'd only by Monks, without Bishops, with less Pomp and external Ceremony, but with greater Integrity and Sanctimony of Life. The *Scots*, being thus intent about purging and settling Religion and Divine Worship, escaped free from that Tempest of War, which did shatter almost the whole World. In the Second year of the Reign of *Eugenius*, * *Vortigern* was deposed, and his Son, *Vortimer*, chosen King of the *Brittons*. He renewed the Ancient League with the *Scots* and *Picts*, (that so he might more easily break the Power of the *Saxons*) which was also made Tripartite of Three Nations, against the *Romans* in the Days of *Carausius*. *Dongardus* did not long survive this League; for he died after he had reigned Five Years.

* *Dongard*, an opposer of the *Pelagian* Heresy.

[n] Pope *Celestine* sends *Palladius*, and other Learned Monks, into *Scotland*.

* Or St. *Mungo*.

[o] *Palladius* first institutes Bishops in *Scotland*, which before was governed by Monks with less splendor, but more Piety

* *Vortigern* deposed, and *Vortimer* made King of the *Brittons*, who concludes a Peace with the *Scots* & *Picts*.

Constantine I. *The Forty Third King.*

Constantinus, his youngest Brother, succeeded him in the Government; who, in his private Condition, lived temperately enough, but as soon as he mounted the Throne, he let loose the Reins to all Debauchery. [p] He was avaricious and cruel towards the Nobility, but familiar with men of an inferiour Rank. He gave himself wholly to the Constupration of Virgins and Matrons, and to excessive Feastings, having always Musicians and Stage-players about him, and all other Ministers of Lasciviousness and Pleasures. The *Scotch* Nobility, being offended at these Miscarriages, came often to him, to put him in mind of his Duty. He received their Admonitions very haughtily, bidding them to look after their own Affairs, saying, That he had better Advice from others: He also told them, That they were much mistaken, if they thought to Limit their King, on pretence of Advising him. And as he was thus arrogant towards his Subjects; so he was as abject and submissive to his Enemies. For he granted them Peace at first asking, and forgave them the Injuries they had committed; withal, he demolished some Castles, and deliver'd up others to them. This Carriage of his did so far inconse the *Scots* and *Picts*, that the *Scots* were ready to Rebel; and the *Picts*, who before had secretly dealt with the *Saxons*, set up for themselves, and at last made a publick League with them. But amongst the *Scots*, there was one *Dugal* of *Galway*, of great Authority amongst the Commons, he, for the present, restrained the Multitude by an Insinuating Oration, wherein he acknowledged, That many of those things which they complained of, were true, and what they desired was just. But yet, if

[p] *Constantines* wicked Reign.

 War

War ſhould come, as an acceſſion to their other Miſeries, the Kingdom would be endangered, yea, hardly retrievable from Deſtruction; eſpecially, ſeeing the *Picts* were alienated from them; the *Brittons*, ſince *Vortimers* Death, but their uncertain Friends; and the *Saxons* (who were very ſtrong and potent, and who managed there Victories with great Cruelties, and in whoſe Commerce their was no Faithfulneſs) were always intent upon the Deſtruction of all their Neighbours.

Thus by the Prudence of the Ancienter, the Tumult of the Common People was appeaſed, but the King continuing to reign, tho' with the Hatred and Contempt of all, was at length ſlain [q] by a Nobleman of the *Æbudæ*, for vitiating his Daughter by force, in the Fifteenth year of his Reign. This is the common Report concerning his Death; but I rather incline to the Opinion of *Johannes Fordonus*, who ſays, in his *Scotochronicon*, that he reigned 22 years, and at laſt died of a waſting Diſeaſe. In his Reign, *Aurelius Ambroſius* came into This *Britain*, out of the Leſſer beyond Sea; he was the Son of *Conſtantine*, who held the Kingdom ſome years before; but, he being Treacherouſly Slain, and his Brother, who reigned after his Father, being alſo ſlain by *Vortigern*, by like Treachery, the Two other remaining Sons of *Conſtantine* were conveyed by their Fathers Friends into *Gallick Bretagne*. I think, this Original of *Aurelius Ambroſius* is truer, than That which others deliver, (among whom is *Bede*) for they ſay, that he was the laſt of the *Roman* ſtock, who reigned in *Britanny*: Theſe two Brothers, when *Vortimer* was ſlain by the fraud of his Stepmother; and *Vortigern* had made himſelf King without Authority or Power, being now grown up and fit to Govern, returned, with the great Favour and Expectation of all men, into the Iſland, to recover their Fathers Kingdom; and withal, they brought no inconſiderable number of *Britains* out of *Gaul* along with them. After their Arrival, before they would alarm the ſtrangers, they ſubdued *Vortigern* in *Wales*, and then ſent Meſſengers to the *Scots* and *Picts*, deſiring their Allyance and craving their Conjunction in Arms againſt the *Saxons*, the moſt bitter Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Name. Their Embaſſy was kindly received by the *Scots*; and the League, before made with *Conſtantine*, was again renewed, which from that day remained almoſt inviolate, till the Kingdom of *Britanny* was oppreſſed by the *Angles*; and the Kingdom of the *Picts*, by the *Scots*. But the *Picts* anſwered the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadors, That they had already made a League with the *Saxons*, and that they ſaw no Cauſe to break it, but they were reſolved to run all hazards with them, for the future, as partakers of their good or bad ſucceſs. Thus the whole Iſland was divided into Two Factions, the [r] *Scots* and *Brittons* waging continual War againſt the *Picts* and *Saxons*.

[q] And violent Death.

[r] *Scots* and *Brittons* unite againſt *Picts* and *Saxons*.

Congallus I. *The Forty Fourth King.*

Congallus ſucceeded *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Dongardus*, *Conſtantine's* Brother; He was inclineable to Arms; but durſt not then attempt any thing, in regard the People were effeminated and weakned by Sloth and Luxury, during the Reign of his Uncle. And, tho' Many, in compliance with his Diſpoſition, (as uſually Kings have many ſuch Paraſites) did often perſuade him to take Arms; yet, he would never be induced thereunto. Firſt then, he applied himſelf to correct the publick Manners, neither did he attempt to reduce the Ancient Diſcipline, till he had Created new Magiſtrates, and, by their means, had abridged Suits and Controverſies, and reſtrained Theſts and Robberies. Peace being ſetled at home, he endeavoured to reclaim others to a civiller courſe of Life, firſt of all by his own Example; and, if any took no Copy from him, but perſiſted obſtinately in their Evil Conrſes, Such he either gently chaſtized and puniſhed, or elſe ſleighted them as deſpicable and worthleſs Perſons, and thus he quickly reduced all things to their former ſtate: Seeing (as I ſaid before) at the beginning of his Reign, he gave up himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Peace, the *Brittons* began to perſuade * *Aurelius Ambroſius* to recover *Weſtmorland* from the *Scots*, which they had poſſeſſed many years. Hereupon ſeveral Embaſſys being ſent, to and fro, betwixt them, the Matter was like to be decided by the Sword, if fear of the Common Enemy had not put an end to the Diſpute; ſo that the League made by *Conſtantine* was renewed, and no Alteration made in reference to *Weſtmorland*. *Congallus* had War with the *Saxons* all the time of his Reign; but it was a ſlow and intermittent one, as Parties fortuitouſly met in driving of their reſpective Preys; in which kind of Fighting, the *Scots* being nimble, light, and moſt Horſemen, accounted themſelves Superior to their Enemies; but they never came to a pitch'd Battel. For *Congallus* was of opinion, That it was beſt to commit as few things, as we could, to the Arbitrement of Fortune, and therefore he ſent Part of his Forces to help *Aurelius Ambroſius*; and with the reſt, he wearied his Enemy, and never ſuffered him to reſt Night nor Day. ſ *Merlin* and *Gildas* lived in the days of theſe and the next Kings; They were both *Brittons*, and obtained great Fame amongſt Poſterity, for the Opinion conceived of them, concerning Prophecies and Divinations. *Merlin* was a little the Ancienter of the Two, a Cheat and Impoſtor, rather than a Prophet. His Vaticinations are ſcattered up and down, but they are obſcure and contain no Certainty at all, to encourage any ones hopes before their fulfilling; or, to ſatisfy them, when they are; ſo that, upon neither account, can you affirm them to be True. And beſides, they are ſo framed, that you may accommodate, or apply, them to different, or contrary, Events, as you will your ſelf. Yet, tho' they are dayly furbiſhed up, and alſo augmented by new Additions, ſuch is the Folly of credulous men, That what they underſtand not, they are yet bold to affirm, to be as True as Goſpel; and, tho' they be taken in a notorious Lye, yet they will not ſuffer themſelves to be convinced thereof.

* *Aurelius Ambroſius*, in *Britain.*

ſ *Merlin* and *Gildas*, When they lived? with a Compariſon between Them; the Former counted an Impoſtor; the Later, a Virtuous and Pious man.

Gildas

Gildas was later than he, a Learned and Good Man, and one, who was had in great Veneration, both Alive and Dead, for his Excellent Learning, accompanied with Sanctity of Life. The * Prophecies, which go under his Name, are such Ridiculous Sentences, and so course and ill-framed in Wording, and also in the whole Series of their Composure, that no Wise Man can esteem them to be His: Yet each Prophet (as you call them) had a Patron, suitable to his own Disposition. *Merlin* had *Vortigern* for his Patron; and, after him, *Uter*, to whom he was a Pander for his Lust. *Gildas* had *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a Person no less admirable for the Probity of his Life, than for his Victories in War; after whose Death, *Gildas* retired unto *Glastonbury* in *Sommerset-shire*, where he lived * and died, very devoutly. Our Books of the Life of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, do make mention of him: After his Death, *Uter*, the youngest of *Constantines* Three Sons, succeeded him, in the Year of our Lord Five Hundred. And the next year after, *Congallus*, King of *Scotland*, departed this Natural Life, in the Twenty Second year of his Reign.

* *Gildas* his Prophecies, not Genuine.

* *Gildas* his Death, at *Glastonbury* in *England*.

Goranus, *The Forty Fifth King.*

GORANUS, his Brother, Succeeded him; who, after his Example, governed *Scotland* with great Piety and Justice, as much as Foreign Wars would suffer him so to do; for, he not only travelled all over the Kingdom, (as the good Kings of old were wont to do) to punish Offenders, but also, to prevent the Injuries, which great Men did offer to the Poor; who, in such Cases, dared not to complain; and to curb their oppressive Domination over them, he appointed * *Informers*, who were to find out such Miscarriages, write them down, and bring them to him; a Remedy necessary, perhaps, for those times, but in our days, a very hazardous one. He was the chief Means and Occasion, that the *Picts*, deserting the *Saxons*, made a joint League with the *Scots* and *Britains*. At that time, *Lothus* was King of the *Picts*, a Person, who excelled the Princes of his time, in all accomplishments, both of Body and Mind. [a] *Goranus* dealt earnestly with him, to break his Alliance with those *Barbarous* Nations, alleging, That he ought to remember his own Country, in which they were all born, and especially their common Religion. That he was much deceived, if he imagined, that the Peace betwixt him and the *Saxons* would be faithfully kept, when once the *Brittons* and *Scots* were overthrown; seeing he had to do with Men of inhuman Cruelty, and insatiable Avarice; That they had given sufficient proofs, how little they esteemed Leagues, or any other thing, when they wickedly slew the Nobility of the *Brittons*, who had so well deserved of them, upon Pretence of calling them out to a Conference. That the Son in Law was saved alive by the Father in Law, not for any releif of his Calamity, but for upbraiding of the Enemy; he added, That the Sacredness of Leagues, which, amongst other Nations, are accounted the firmest bonds of Union, was, amongst them, as a Snare or Bait, to catch the simple and unwary, in. To what purpose was it to run so many hazards,

* Informers found dangerous by Experience.

[a] *Goranus* persuades *Lothus* King of the *Picts*, and *Uter* King of the *Brittons*, to join with the *Scots*, and break with the *Saxons*.

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to free themſelves from the Tyranny of the *Romans*, if they muſt ſpontaneouſly give themſelves up to the much harder and baſer Servitude of the *Saxons*. This were not to make a change of their *Condition*, but of their *Maſters*, only: Yea, it was to prefer a Truculent and *Barbarous* One, before One that was mild and gentle. What a Fooliſh, and Wild a thing was it, to take away Lands from the *Scots* and *Brittons*, and to deliver them to the *Germans*? And ſo to deſpoil thoſe, who were but lately their Friends, and endeared to them by many ancient Courteſies and Reſpects, that they might enrich *Pirates*, the common Enemies of Mankind, even to their own Deſtruction. That it ought to be eſteemed the moſt grievous thing of all, by one, who was a true Chriſtian, to conſent to that League, whereby Chriſtian Religion muſt be extinguiſhed; profane Rites renewed; and wicked Tyrants, Enemies of Piety and Humanity, armed with Power againſt God and his Law.

[b] By the joint Confederacy of thoſe three Kings, the *Saxons* are worſted.

Lothus knew all this to be true, which he had ſpoken, and therefore he committed the whole affair to *Goranus* his Management; he eaſily perſuades *Uter*, not only to make an Alliance, but to contract an Affinity too, with the *Picts*, giving him *Anna*, who was either his Siſter, or elſe his Daughter, begotten in lawful Wedlock, to Wife: I am rather of their Opinion, who think, ſhe was his Siſter, as judging, that the Miſtake aroſe from hence, That *Uter* had another Natural Daughter, called *Anna*, by a Concubine. After this League between theſe Three Kings, many Victories were obtained over the *Saxons*, ſo that the Name of *Uter* began to be great and formidable all over *Britain*. After all the Commanders of the *Saxons* were ſlain, and the Power of thoſe that remain'd, broken; and ſo things made almoſt hopeleſs and deſperate among them. [c] *Uter* might have been accounted one of the greateſt Kings of his Age, unleſs, by one foul and impious Fact, he had blurred all his other great Virtues: There was one *Gorlois*, a *Noble Britton*, of great Valour and Power, when *Uter* as yet was but a private Man, he fell mightily in Love with his Wife, named *Igerne*, a very beautiful Woman; but her Chaſtity being a long time a Guard againſt his Luſt, at laſt her Continency was conquered by *Merlin*, an audaciouſly wicked Man; and, in this Adulterous courſe, he begat a Son on her, Named *Arthur*. *Uter*, his own Lawful Wife being Dead; being now freed from Nuptial Bonds, and made King; and ſo (as he thought) free from Law too, not being able to bear the abſence of *Igerne*, out of Love to her, attempted a very Temerarious Project: He framed an Accuſation againſt *Gorlois*, beſieged his Caſtle, took it, ſlew him, Married *Igerne*, and owned *Arthur* for his own Son, Educating him Nobly, in hopes of the Kingdom. And ſeeing the Infamy reflecting on him, by reaſon of his Wife, could not be concealed, that he might ſomewhat extenuate it, they broached a Tale, not much unlike That, which had been often Acted in Theatres, about *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*, *viz.* That *Uter*, by the Art of *Merlin*, was changed into the ſhape of *Gorlois*, and ſo had his firſt Nights Lodging with *Igerne*; and indeed, this *Merlin* was a Man of that Kidney, that he had rather be famous for a Wicked Deed, than none at all. *Arthur*, thus begot by a ſtoln Copulation, aſſoon

[c] The Story of *Uter*, and of *Arthur*, his Son, Kings of the *Brittons*.

as he grew up, appeared ſo amiable, in the Lineaments of his Body, and in the Inclinations of his Mind, that the Eyes of his Parents, and of all his Subjects too, were fixed upon him, and he gave many *Omens* of his future Greatneſs, that, after his Fathers Death, all deſigned him to be their King. And his Father was ſo much pleaſed with this Humour of the People, that he cheriſhed it by all the Ars he could; ſo that now it was the common Opinion, That none but *Arthur* ſhould be Heir to the *Crown*. *Uter* died, when he had Reigned 17 Years, and preſently *Arthur* was ſet up in his ſtead; though *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*, did much oppoſe it, grievouſly complaining, that his Children (for he had Two, begotten on *Anna*, *Arthur*'s Aunt, who were now of years) were deprived of their Kingdom; and that a Baſtard, begotten in Adultery, was preferred before them. On the other ſide, all the *Brittons* ſtood for *Arthur*, and denied, that he was to be counted Spurious, becauſe *Uter* Married his Mother at laſt; though it were after his Birth, and by that Marriage had treated him as his Legitimate Son, and had always accounted him, ſo to be: But although they pretended this colour of Right, yet that, which ſtood *Arthur* in moſt ſtead, was, his great Ingenuity, and thoſe Specimens of his Virtue, which he often ſhewed; yea, there was a tacite Impreſſion (as it were) on the Minds of all Men, preſaging his future Greatneſs. So that all ran in thick and threefold (as we ſay) to his Party, in ſo much that *Lothus*, being born down not only by that Pretence of Right, (which, after that time, was always obſerved in *Britanny*) but by the Affections of the People running another way, deſiſted from his Enterprize in demanding the Kingdom; which he did ſo much the rather do, becauſe he was loth to truſt his Children, for whom That Kingdom was deſired, to the *Brittons*, who had ſhewed themſelves ſo averſe to Them. Beſides, the Intreaties of his Friends did prevail with him, who all alledged, That no Kingdom ought to be ſo dear to him, as that, for the ſake thereof, he ſhould joyn in Affinity with Infidels, (to the overthrow of the *Chriſtian* Religion) who would no more Inviolably keep their League and Alliance with him, than they had done before with the *Brittons*. Moreover, the Liberal and Promiſing Diſpoſition of *Arthur*, and the Greatneſs of his Mind, even above his Age, did much affect him. Inſomuch that the League made by former Kings, betwixt the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Brittons*, was again renewed, and thereupon ſo great a Familiarity enſued, that *Lothus* promiſed to ſend *Galvinus*, the youngeſt of his Two Sons, unto the *Britiſh* Court, as ſoon as he was old enough to endure Travel. *Arthur* entred upon the Regal Government before he was full Eighteen Years of Age. But as his Courage was above his Age, ſo Succeſs was not wanting to his Daring Spirit; for, whereas his Father had divided the Kingdom by certain Boundaries, with the *Saxons*, and had made Peace with them on Conditions; The fair Opportunity offered them, by reaſon of the youthful Age of the King, more prevailed with them, to break the Peace, than the Sanctity of the League, to obſerve it. *Arthur*, that he might quench the Fire in the beginning, gathered an Army together ſooner than any Man could imagine, and, being aſſiſted with

Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries from the *Scots* and *Picts*, he overthrew the Enemy in Two great Battels, compelling them to pay Tribute, and to receive Laws from him. With the ſame eagerneſs and ſpeed, he took [c] *London*, the *Metropolis* of the *Saxons* Kingdom; and, having ſetled things there, he marched his Army directly towards *York*. But the report of Auxiliary Forces coming out of *Germany*, and the approach of Winter, compelled him to raiſe his Siege from thence. But the next Summer after, as ſoon as ever he came before *York*, he had it immediately ſurrendred to him; his unexpected Succeſs, the Year before, had ſtruck ſuch a Terrour into the Minds of Men. He took up his Winter-Quarters there, whither there reſorted to him the prime Perſons of the Neighbourhood, and of his Subjects, where they ſpent the later end of *December*, in Mirth, Jollity, Drinking, and the Vices which proceed therefrom; ſo that the Repreſentations of the old Heatheniſh Feaſts, dedicated to *Saturn*, were here again revived; but the Number of the Days they laſted were doubled; and amongſt the Wealthier ſort, trebled; during which time, they count it almoſt a Sin to treat of any ſerious Matter. Gifts are ſent mutually from, and to, one another; Frequent Invitations and Feaſtings paſs between Friends; and Domeſtick Offenders are not puniſhed. Our Countrymen call this Feaſt [d] *Juletide*, ſubſtituting the Name of *Julius Cæſar* for that of *Saturn*. The Vulgar are yet perſuaded, that the Nativity of *Chriſt* is then celebrated, but miſtakingly; for 'tis plain, that they imitate the Laſciviouſneſs of the *Bacchanalia*, rather than the Memory of *Chriſt*, then, as they ſay, born.

[c] *Arthur* takes *London* and *York* from the *Saxons*.

[d] The Licentious, rather than Religious, Obſervation of the Day of Chriſt's (ſuppoſed) Nativity, called *Juletide*.

In the mean time, the *Saxons* were reported to have pitched their Tents by the River *Humber*; and, Whether it were ſo or no, *Arthur* marched towards them. But in regard the *Brittons* were enfeebled by Pleaſures, by that means they were leſs fit for Military Services; in ſo much that they did not ſeem the ſame Men, who had overthrown the *Saxons* in ſo many Battels heretofore; for, by their Luxurious Idleneſs, they had added ſo much to their Raſhneſs, as they had loſt of their ancient Severity of Diſcipline. Hereupon Advice was given by the wiſer ſort, to ſend for Aid from the *Scots* and *Picts*. Whereupon Ambaſſadors were ſent, and Aid eaſily obtained; ſo that thoſe, whom Ambition had almoſt disjoined, yet the mutual Care of Religion, and Emulation too, did ſo piece together, That Forces were ſent from either King, ſooner than could well have been imagined. *Lothus* alſo, that he might give a Publick Teſtimony of his Reconcilement, brought his Sons *Modredus* and *Galvinus* with him into the Camp; *Galvinus* he gave to *Arthur*, as his Companion, whom he received with ſo great Courteſie; that, from that Day forward, they lived and died together. The Army of the Three Kings being thus ready, and their Camps joyned, it was unanimouſly agreed between them, That as the Danger was common to them all, and the Cauſe thereof was alſo *the ſame*, ſo they would drive out the *Saxons*, and reſtore the Chriſtian Rites and Religion, which were profaned by them. The Armies drawing near the one to the other, *Occa*, Son of a former *Occa*, who was then General of the *Saxons*, made haſte to joyn Battel. In the Confederate Army, the Two

Wings were allotted to the *Scots* and *Picts*; the main Battel to *Arthur*. The *Scots*, at the first onset, wounded *Childerick*, Commander of that Wing of the Enemy, which fought against them, he falling, by reason of his Wounds, so terrified the rest, that the whole Wing was broken. In the other Wing, *Colgernus*, the *Saxon*, after great Complaints made of the Perfidiousness of the *Picts*, made an assault upon *Lothus*, with great Violence, who was easily known by his Habit and his Arms, he dismounted him; but he himself, being environed in the midst of his Enemies, was run through by Two *Picts*, with Spears on both sides of his Body. The main Battel, where there was the sharpest Fight, having lost both Wings, did at length give Ground: *Occa* being wounded, was carried to the Seaside, with as many as could get on Shipboard with him, and Transported into *Germany*; of the rest of the *Saxons*, Those, who were most obstinate in their Errour, were put to Death: The rest, pretending to turn to the Christian Religion, were saved.

† The *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Brittons*, overthrow the *Saxons*.

There were great Forces of the *Saxons* yet remaining in the Eastern part of *England*, and in *Kent*. The Summer after, *Arthur* marched against them, having 10000 *Scots* and *Picts* for his Assistance; *Congallus*, the Son of *Eugenius*, commanded the *Scots*; and *Modredus*, the Son of *Lothus*, the *Picts*, both young Men of great Hope, and who had often given good Testimonies of their Valour and Conduct. This Army of Three Kings, being about Five Mile from the Enemy, and their Camps being distant one from another; The *Saxons*, being inform'd by their Spies, that the *Picts* (who were fartherst distant from the other Forces) were very careless and secure, they made a suddain and unexpected Assault on them, in the Night. *Modredus* made a gallant Resistance for a time; at last, when things were almost desperate on his side, he mounted on an Horse with *Gallinus*, his Father-in-Law, and so fled to King *Arthur*. *Arthur* was nothing dismayed at the loss of the *Picts*, but spent that Day in setling things, which were discomposed; after that, his Army being commanded to march in the Third Watch, he came upon the Enemy, with a Treble Army; and was at the *Saxons* Camp, before they knew what the Matter was; The ‡ *Saxons*, being dismayed, ran up and down, having no time to take counsel, or to arm themselves; thus their Camp being entred, they were slain by the *Brittons*; and especially, the angry *Picts* were cruel to all without distinction.

‡ And, at last, drive them out of a great part of *Britain*.

Some Writers of *English* Antiquities, say, That *Arthur* fought Twelve pitched Battels with the *Saxons*: But because they give us only the Names of the Places, where they were fought, and nothing else, I shall mention them no otherwise. To speak briefly of his Famous Actions, This is manifest, That he wholly subdued the Forces of the *Saxons*, and restored Peace to *Britain*; And when he went over to settle Things in *Lesser Britain* in *France*, he Trusted the Kingdom to *Modredus*, his Kinsman, who was to manage the Government, as King, till his Return. I have no certainty of the Exploits he performed in *Gaul*; As to what *Geofry* of *Mamouth* attributes to him there, it hath no shadow, much less likelyhood, of Truth in it; so that I pass them by, as impudently forged; and, as causelessly believed. But to return to the Matter.

Whilst

Whilſt *Arthur* was abſent, and intent on ſetling the *Gallick* Affairs; there were ſown the Seeds of a War, moſt pernicious to *Britain*. There was a certain Man in *Arthurs* Retinue, named *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Cadoris*; who, for the excellent Endowments both of his Body and Mind, was highly in all Mens Favour. He did ſecretly aim at the Kingdom, and to make the People his Own: Whereupon the Nobles, at a convenient time, when the King was free from buſineſs, caſt in Words concerning his Succeſſor; beſeeching him, to add this alſo to the other innumerable Bleſſings he had procured for his Country; that, if he died Childleſs, he would not leave *Britain* deſtitute of a King, eſpecially, when ſo great Wars were like to be waged againſt them. Hereupon, when ſome named [h] *Modredus* as neareſt of Kin, and already accuſtomed to the Government, both in Peace and War; and One too, who had given good Proof of himſelf in his Viceroy-Ship; who, alſo, was likely to make no ſmall Acceſſion to the *Britiſh* Affairs. Theſe things being ſpoken, the Multitude, who favoured *Conſtantine*, cryed out, That they would not have a Stranger to be their King; and that *Britain* was not ſo devoid of Men, but that it would afford a King within its own Territories: They added alſo, That it was a Fooliſh thing, to ſeek for that abroad, which they might have at home. *Arthur* knew before the Love of the People, to *Conſtantine*; and therefore, though being a Man otherwiſe Ambitious, yet he eaſily took part with the People, and, from that day, ſhewed him openly, and cheriſhed in him, the hopes of the Kingdom. *Modredus* his Friends took this ill, and looked upon it as a great wrong to him; they alleged, That by the League made by *Arthur*, with *Lothus*, it was expreſsly cautioned, That none ſhould be preferred to the Succeſſion of the Kingdom before the Sons of *Lothus*: To which the contrary Party anſwered, that That League was extorted by the neceſſity of the Times, againſt the Common good of the whole Nation, and that they were not obliged to keep it, now *Lothus*, with whom it was made, was Dead. And that therefore the *Picts* would do well, to be contented with their own Bounds, and not to invade other Mens. That the Kingdom of *Britain*, by Gods Bleſſing, was now in that State, that it could not only defend it ſelf againſt *New* Injuries, but alſo revenge the *Old*.

[h] Competitorſhip between *Modredus* and *Conſtantine*, for the Kingdom, after *Arthurs* Death.

Theſe things being brought to *Modredus* his Ear, did quite alienate his Mind from *Arthur*, and inclined him to ſet up for himſelf, by maintaining his own Dignity; only he a little ſuſpended the War, till he had tryed the Minds of the *Scots*; when they were brought over to his Party, an Army was liſted conſiſting of many *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Brittons*, being induced to ſide with [h] *Modredus*, either for the Equity of his Cauſe, the Love of his Perſon, or their private Hatred of *Arthur*. Yea, *Vannora*, the Wife of *Arthur*, was thought not to be ignorant of theſe new Cabals, as having been too familiar with *Modredus*. Both Armies pitched their Tents by *Humber*; and being ready to Fight, Propoſals were made by the Biſhops, on both ſides, in order to a Peace, but in vain; for *Conſtantine*'s Friends obſtructed all, affirming, That the Felicity of *Arthurs* Fortune, would bear down all Oppoſition. Hereupon a moſt feirce Fight began on both ſides, but Two things did eſpecially advantage *Modredus* and his Confederates;

[h] Which occaſions a bloody Battel between them.

One

One was, a Marsh in the midst between them, which the *Brittons* could not easily pass; and Another, in the heat of the Fight, there was one suborned, to spread a Report among the *Brittons*, that *Arthur* was slain, and therefore, all being lost, every one should shift for himself; at which Bruit, they all fled, yet there was great Slaughter on both sides; neither was the Victory joyous to either Party; for on the one side, *Modredus* was slain; and on the other, his Brother *Galvinus*; *Arthur* himself mortally Wounded, and a great Prey taken.

[i] *Arthur's* Character.

I know well, What Fabulous matters are reported, by many, concerning the Life and Death of [i] *Arthur*, but they are not fit to be related, lest they cause a Mist to be cast over his other famous Actions; for, when Men confidently affirm lies, they cause the Truth it self, many times, to be questioned. This is certain, he was a great Man, and very Valorous, bearing an intire Love to his Country, in freeing them from Servitude; in restoring the true Worship of God; and in reforming it, when it was corrupted: I have spoken these things concerning his Lineage, Life and Death, more prolixly, than the Nature of my Design required; for I never meant to Record all the Exploits of the *Brittons*, but to free and preserve the Affairs of our own Nation, from the Oblivion of Time, and the Fabulous Tales of some lewd and ill-disposed Writers. I have insisted longer on the Exploits of *Arthur*, partly because some do curtail them through Envy, and others do heighten them by their Verbosities. He died in the year of our Lord Five Hundred and Fifty Two, after he had Reigned 24 Years.

But to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*; *Goranus* the King, now grown old, departed this Life, after he had governed *Scotland* Thirty four years; 'tis thought he was Treacherously slain by his Subjects: There was one [k] *Toncetus*, Chief Justice in Criminal Matters, a Man no less Cruel than Covetous; he, having played many foul Pranks against the richer sort, thought, he might easily get Pardon of all from the King, because, by this means he had augmented his Revenue. The People could not easily obtain admittance to the King, now enfeebled by Age and Diseases, to make their Complaints; and, if they had Access, they judged their Allegations would not have been believed against such a principal Officer, and high Favourite. So that they set upon *Toncetus*, and slew him. But after the heat of their Anger was over, when they began to think with themselves, how foul a Fact they had committed, and that there was no Pardon to be expected by them, they turned their Wrath and Fury upon the King himself, and, by the Instigation of *Donald* of *Athol*, they entred into his Palace and slew *Him* also.

[k] The People, by the Instigation of *Donald* of *Athol*, Murder *Toncetus*; and after that, the King *Goranus* himself.

Eugenius III. *The Forty Sixth King.*

Eugenius, the Son of *Congallus*, succeeded him; when he was advised by some of the Nobility, to revenge the Death of his Uncle *Goranus*, he entertained the motion so coldly, that he himself was not without suspicion in the Case: Aud the Suspicion was increased, because he took *Donald* of *Athol*, into his Grace and Favour. So that the Wife of *Goranus*, for fear, fled, with her small Children into *Ireland*. But *Eugenius*, to purge his Life and Manners from so foul an Imputation, so managed the Kingdom, that none of the former Kings could

could be justly preferred before him; he assisted *Modred*, and also *Arthur*, against the *Saxons*. He sent several Captains to make daily Incursions into the *English* Borders; but he never fought with them in a pitched Battel. He died in the year of *Christ* Five Hundred and Fifty Eight, having Reigned Twenty Three Years.

Congallus II. *The Forty Seventh King.*

HIS Brother, *Congallus*, was set up in his Room, who governed the Kingdom Ten years, in great Peace, a Man for his excellent Virtues, worthy of perpetual Memory; for, besides his Equity in matter of Law, and the aversion of his Mind from all Covetousness, he vyed with the very Monks themselves, in point of Sobriety of Life, though they, at that time, used a most severe Discipline. He enriched Priests with Lands and other Revenues, more out of a Pious Intention, than with any good Success. He restrained the Souldiers, who were declining to Effeminateness and Luxury, (and abused the blessing of Peace,) rather by the [l] Examples and Authority of his Life, than by the severity of Laws. He called home the Sons of *Goranus*, who, for fear of *Eugenius*, had fled into *Ireland*; but before their Return, he died, in the Year Five Hundred and Sixty Eight. He never fought Battel himself, but only assisted the *Brittons* with Auxiliary Forces against the *Saxons*, with Whom they often fought with various Success.

[l] A Prince's example hath a greater influence on his Subjects, than his Laws.

Kinnatellus, *The Forty Eighth King.*

WHen he was Dead, and his Brother *Kinnatellus* designed King; *Aidanus*, the Son of *Goranus*, came into *Scotland*, by the persuasions of *Columba*; who, Two years before, had come out of *Ireland*. By him he was brought to the King; who, beyond his own and the Expectation of all other Men, received him Courteously, and wished him to be of good cheer, for he should shortly be King. For *Kinnatellus*, being worn out by Age and Sickness, and not able to Administer the Government himself, made *Aidanus* his Deputy, and so died, having Reigned Fourteen, (some say) Fifteen Months. Some Writers leave him out, and do place *Aidanus* immediately after *Congallus*; but there are More, who insert *Kinnatellus* betwixt Them.

Aidanus, *The Forty Ninth King.*

Aidanus being Nominated King by *Kinnatellus*, and confirmed by the People, received the Royal Habiliments from [m] *Columba*. For the Authority of that Man was so great, in those days, that neither Prince, nor People, would undertake any thing without his Advice. And, at that time, after he had, in a long Speech, persuaded the King to rule Equitably over the People, and the People to be Loyal to their King, he earnestly pressed them Both, to persist in the pure Worship of God, for then Both of them would prosper; but if they forsook it, they must expect Destruction, as the reward of their Offences. Having perform'd this Service, he returned into his own Country.

[m] *Columba's* great Authority.

The first Expedition of *Aidanus*, was, against the Robbers, who infested *Galway*, coming thither, he put their Commanders to Death, and Fear restrain'd the rest; but a greater Storm encountred him at

at his Return. For, after he had had three Conventions of the Estates in *Galway*, *Abria* or *Loch-abyr*, and *Caithness*, and thought all things were settled there; there was a Tumult arose amongst them in Hunting, that much Blood was spilt, and the Kings Officers, who came to punish the Offenders, were repulsed and beaten: The Authors, for fear of Punishment, fled into *Lothian*, to *Brudeus* King of the *Picts*; when Ambassadors were sent to him, to deliver them up according to the League betwixt them, they were refused; whereupon a feirce War commenced betwixt * the *Scots* and *Picts*, but it was quickly ended by the means of *Columba*, who was, according to his Merit, highly esteemed by both Nations.

* War betwixt *Scots* and *Picts*.

In the mean time, *England* was again divided into Seven Kingdoms; and the *Brittons* were driven into the Peninsula of *Wales*; but the *Saxons*, not contented with such large Dominions, stirred up a new War betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*. The Author and Kindler thereof was *Ethelfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, a Covetous Man, and who was weary of Peace, out of the desire he had to enlarge his Dominions. He persuaded the *Picts*, but with difficulty, *Brudeus* hardly consenting thereto, That they should drive away Preys out of the *Scots* Territories, and so give an occasion to a War. *Aidanus* understanding the Treachery of the *Saxons*, that he might also strengthen himself with Foreign Aid, renewed the ancient League with *Malgo*, the *Britton*. He sent his Son *Grifinus*, and his Sisters Son *Brendinus*, King of *Eubonia*, now called *Man*, a Military Man, with Forces; who, joyning with the *Brittons*, entred *Northumberland*, and after Three days march, came to the Enemy, but the *English* refused to engage them, because they expected new Succors, which were reported to be neer at hand; for indeed *Ceulinus*, King of the East *Saxons*, a very Warlike Man, was coming to them with great Forces; the *Scots* and *Brittons* fell upon him in his March, and wholly destroyed the Front of his Army, which was a long way before the rest, together with his Son *Cutha*, but they were afraid to engage the rest, lest they should be circumvented by *Ethelfrid*, who was not far distant. The * two Kings of the *Saxons*, being joined together, again renewed the Fight, with much Slaughter on both sides, wherein the *Scots* and *Brittons* were put to flight. There were slain of the *Scots* Nobles, *Grifinus* and *Brendinus*; in the opposite Army, *Ethelfrid* lost one of his Eyes, and *Brudeus* was carried wounded out of the Field, to the great Astonishment of his Party.

* A Fight between the *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Brittons*, wherein the *Brittons* are overthrown.

The next Summer after, *Ethelfrid*, uniting his Forces with the *Picts*, marched into *Gallway*, supposing, he should find all things there in great Consternation, by reason of their ill Success the last Year. But *Aidanus*, coming with his Forces thither sooner than his Enemies thought, set upon the straggling Plunderers, and drave them, with great trepidation, to their Camp. Thus having chastized their Temerity, supposing now, they would be more quiet, the Night after he passed by their Camp, and joyned himself with the *Brittons*. Both Armies, having thus united their forces, pitch'd their Tents in a narrow Valley of *Annandale*; and their Enemies, as now Cock-sure of their Destruction, beset the passages entring into

it,

it. But they, having fortify'd their Camp, as if they intended there to abide, in the Night, when the Tide was out, marched thro' the Ford, (which was known to them) amidst the quavering Sands, into *Cumberland*, and afterward into *Northumberland*, making great Havock, whithersoever they came. The Enemie followed them at their Heels, and when they came in sight of one another, both Armies prepare themselves for the Fight. The *Scots* and *Britains* added Four Commanders to those they had before, who were noble Persons, of great experience in Warlike affairs, that so, the rash-Headed Common Soldiers might be commanded by a greater Number of Captains; of the *Brittons* there were added, *Constantine* and *Mencrinus*; of the *Scots*, *Calcnus* and *Murdacus*: By their Conduct and Incouragement, the Soldiers fell upon the Enemy, with so great Violence,[a] that he was presently broken and put to flight. There goes a Report, * that *Columb*, being then in the Isle *Icolumbkil*, told his Companions of this Victory, the very same hour in which it was obtained. Of the *Saxon* Nobles there were slain, in this fight, *Cialinus* and *Vitellius*, both great Warriors, and highly descended; about Eleven years after this Victory, the *Saxons* and *Picts* infested the adjacent Country; whereupon, a Day was appointed, wherein the *Brittons* and *Scots* should meet, and, with their united Forces, set upon the *Saxons*. *Aidanus*, tho' very old, came to the place at the appointed time, and staid for the *Brittons*, but in vain, for they came not; yet he drove Preys out of his Enemies Country: * *Ethelfrid*, having now gotten a fair Opportunity to act something in, set upon the dispersed *Scots*, and made a great slaughter amongst them. *Aidanus*, having lost many of his Men, fled for his Life; yet the Victory was not unbloody to the *Saxons*, for they lost *Theobald*, *Ethelfrid*'s Brother; and some of those Squadrons, that followed him were almost wholly cut off: *Aidanus*, having received this overthrow, and being also informed of the death of * *Columb*, that Holy Man, whom he so highly honoured, foreseeing to what Cruelty the Remainder of the *Christians* were likely to be exposed, being worn out with Age and Grief, did not long survive; he Reigned 34 years, and died in the Year of our *Lord*, 604. In his Reign it was, That a certain Monk, Named [b] *Austin*, came into *Britain*, being sent by *Gregory* Pope of *Rome*, who, by his Ambition, in Preaching a *New* Religion, mightily disturbed the *Old*, for he did not so much Preach the *Christian* Religion, as the Ceremonies of the *Roman* Church. Yea, the *Brittons*, before his coming, were Converted to, and taught the Principles of, the *Christian* Religion, by the Disciples of *John* the *Evangelist*, and were instituted in the same by the Monks, who were Learned and Pious, in that Age. As for *Austin*, He laboured to reduce all things to the Dominion of the Bishop of *Rome*, only; and gave himself out to be the only Arch-Bishop of the Isle of *Britain*; and, withal, introduced a Dispute, neither Necessary nor Advantageous, concerning the Day, on which * *Easter* was to be kept; and did, by this means, mightily trouble the Churches; Yea, he so loaded the *Christian* Discipline, which was then inclining toward Superstition, with such new Ceremonies and feigned Miracles, that he scarce left any Mark or Footstep of true Piety behind him.

[a] The *Scots* and *Britons* overthrow the *Saxons*.

* *Columb*'s wonderful Narration of a Victory, at a very great distance from him.

* *Ethelfrid* routs the *Scots*, being shatter'd afore.

* *Columb*'s Death.

[b] *Austin*, the Monk, comes into *Britain*, rather to promote the Ceremonies, and Domination of Pope *Gregory*, than to Preach the true Doctrine of the Gospel.

* A dispute raised about the Observation of *Easter*-day.

Kennethus I. *The Fiftieth King.*

AFTER *Aidanus*, *Kennethus* was Elected King, he did nothing Memorable in his time: He died the 4th, (or, as some say) the 12th Month, after he began to Reign.

Eugenius, IIII. *The Fifty First King.*

AFter him, *Eugenius*, the Son of *Aidanus*, was made King. In the year of our Lord 605. He was brought up (as the *Black Book of Paſley* hath it) piously and carefully, under *Columba*, being very well educated in human Learning; yet, in This, he swerved from the Institution of his Master, that he was more addicted to War than Peace: For he exercised the *Saxons* and *Picts*, with daily Incursions. His Government was very severe and rough; Those, who were proud and contumacious, sooner felt the point of his Sword, than they received from him any Conditions of Peace; but to those who asked Pardon for their offences, and voluntarily surrendred themselves, he was very merciful and easy to forgive, and not at all insolent in his Victories. This is what That Book reports, concerning *Eugenius*. But *Boetius* says, on the contrary, That he lived in great Peace, which happened not so much from his Foreign Leagues, as from the Discords of his Enemies, who maintain'd Civil Wars amongst themselves. For the *English*, inhabiting the South Parts, making Profession of Christianity, whilst they endeavoured to revenge the injuries offered to them, deprived *Ethelfrid*, the Potent King of *Northumberland*, both of his Life and Kingdom, together. *Edwinus* succeeded him, and the kindred of *Ethelfrid* fled into *Scotland*, amongst whom were Seaven of his Sons and one Daughter. This was done in the Tenth year of the Reign of *Eugenius*. He [c] entertain'd these *Saxons*, flying to him for Refuge, (tho' he knew them to be Enemies both to him and the whole *Christian* Name) with great Courtesy and Humanity, as long as he lived; giving them Royal Reception, and causing them to be carefully educated in the *Christian* Religion. He died in the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, and was much Lamented by all Men.

[c] *Eugenius* harbors the fugitive *Saxons*.

Ferchardus, I. *The Fifty Second King.*

HIS Son, *Ferchardus*, was substituted in his room, in the Year of *Christ*, 522. and in the 13th year of *Heraclius*, the Emperour. He, being a Cunning and Politick Man, endeavoured to change the [d] Legitimate Government of the Land into Tyranny; in order whereto, he nourished Factions amongst the Nobility; supposing, by that means, to effect, what wickedly he designed, with Impunity. But the Nobles, understanding his Malicious aim, secretly made up the Breach amongst themselves; and, calling an Assembly of the Estates, Summoned him to appear, which he refusing to do, they Stormed the Castle wherein he was, and so drew him, *per force*, to Judgment. Many and grievous Crimes were objected against

[d] *Ferchard* endeavours to turn limited Monarchy into Tyranny, for which he is imprisoned, and there lays violent hands on himself.

againſt him, and particularly the *Pelagian* Hereſy, the Contempt of Baptiſm and other Sacred Rites. When he was not able to purge himſelf from any One of them, he was committed to Priſon; where, That he might not live to be a publick Spectacle of diſgrace, he put an End to his own Life, in the 14th Year of his Reign.

Donaldus, IIII. *The Fifty Third King.*

HIS Brother *Donaldus*, or *Donevaldus*, mounted the Throne in his ſtead; who, calling to mind the Elogy of his Father, and the Miſerable end of his Brother, made it his Buſineſs to maintain the true Worſhip of God; and that not only at home, but he ſought, by all Lawful means, to propagate it abroad. For, when *Edwin* was dead, he furniſhed the Kindred and Children of *Ethelfrid*, who had remained Exiles in *Scotland*, for many Years, with Accommodations to return home; he beſtowed upon them Gifts, he ſent Forces to accompany them, and gave them free Liberty to paſs and repaſs, as occaſion required. This *Edwin*, afore ſpoken of, was ſlain by *Kedvalla*, as *Bede* calls him, King of the *Brittons*, and by *Penda* King of the *Mercians*; One of which was his Enemy, out of ancient hatred to the Nation; The Other, for his new embracing of Chriſtianity; but Both, for the Emulation of his power. The Victory is reported to have been moſt Cruel; for, whilſt *Penda* endeavoured to root out the *Chriſtians*; and *Kedvalla*, the *Saxons*; their Fury was ſo great, that it ſpared neither Age nor Sex. After the death of *Edwin*, [c] *Northumberland* was divided into Two Kingdoms. *Oſticus*, Couſin-German to *Edwin*, was made King of the *Deiri*; and *Eanfrid*, as *Bede* calls him, but our Writers name him *Andefridus*, *Ethelfrides* Eldeſt Son, King of the *Bernici*; They renounced the *Chriſtian* Religion, in which they had been diligently educated, one by the *Scotiſh* Monks; the other, by *Paulinus*, the Biſhop, and revolted to their Ancient Superſtition, but were both, ſhortly after, [f] outed out of their Kingdoms, and their Lives too, by *Penda*. *Oſwald*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*, ſucceeded them Both, a ſtudious Promoter of the Chriſtian Religion. He ſent Ambaſſadors into *Scotland* to *Donaldus*, to deſire him to ſend him ſome *Chriſtian* Doctors; which he did, Men of great Sanctity and Learning, and who were accordingly received by him with great curteſy, entertained magnificently, and rewarded amply. Neither did he think it below his [g] Kingly Dignity, to interpret the Sentences of their Sermons, Preached to the People, (who did not ſo well underſtand the *Scotiſh* Language) whom he gathered together for that purpoſe; all which is clearly expreſſed by *Bede*. *Donaldus* died in the 14th year of his Reign, leaving the precious Memory of his Virtues, behind him.

[c] *Northumberland* divided into two Kingdoms, *i.e.* the *Deiri*, Inhabiting on this ſide *Tine*; and the *Bernici*, Inhabiting beyond *Tine* to *Tweed*.

[f] Apoſtacy juſtly puniſh'd.

[g] King *Donald* repeats and interprets Pious Sermons to his Subjects, himſelf.

Ferchardus II. *The* LIV. *King.*

FERCHARDUS, his Brother *Ferchardus*'s Son, succeeded him, a most flagitious Person, unsatiable in his desires of Wine, and Wealth; of inhuman Cruelty towards Men, and of as great Impiety towards God. When his Cruelty and Rapine had raged against those without, he converted his Fury upon his Domesticks, killing his Wife, and Vitiating his Daughter; [h] for which hainous Wickedness, he was Excommunicated out of the Society of Christians. And as the Nobles were about to Assemble, by way of Consultation, about his Punishment; *Coleman*, that Holy Bishop, stopped them, for he openly told him, *That Divine Vengeance should speedily overtake him*; and the Event verified his Prediction, for, a few days after, as he was a Hunting, he was hurt by a Wolf, and fell into a Feaver, and not being able to abstain from his former Intemperance, at last his Body was eaten up by the *Lowse Disease*; and then he cryed out, That he was deservedly punished, because he had not hearkned to the wholsom Advice of *Coleman*. Thus at last, seeing his Error; and *Coleman* comforting him with hopes of Pardon, in case he truly repented: He caused himself to be carried abroad in a Litter, meanly Apparrel'd, and there he made a publick Confession of his Wickedness, and so dyed, in the Year of our *Redemption* 668. *Scotland* groaned under this Monster 18 Years.

[h] *Ferchard's* wicked Life, and Repentance, at his death.

Maldvinus, *The* LV *King.*

MAldvinus, the Son of *Donald*, succeeded him; who, that he might strengthen those Parts of the Kingdom, which were weakned by the Tyranny of the former King, made Peace with all his Neighbors. Having quieted things without, he was disturbed by a Sedition at home, arising between the *Argyle* and *Lennox* Men. *Maldvinus* drew forth against the Authors of this Tumult, that so he might punish them, without prejudicing the Commonalty. They, to avoid the King's Wrath, composed their private jars, and fled into the *Ebudæ* Isles. The King sent for them, to have them punished; and the Islanders, not daring to retain them, delivered them up. Their punishment kept the rest in their Duties. About this time it was, That, when the *Scotish Monks* had spread the Doctrine of *Christ* very far over *England*, and had so instructed the *English* Youth, that now they seemed able of themselves to Preach the Gospel plainly, even to their own Countrymen; together, with their Institution and Learning, they also entertained, and suck'd in, some Envy against their Teachers; so that by reason of this Prejudice, the * *Scots-Monks* were forced to return into their own Country. Which Contumely, as it cut off the Concord between both Kingdoms, so the Modesty of Those, who had received the wrong, kept both Nations from open Hostility, only frequent Incursions were made, and Skirmishes hapned in divers places. There fell out, at this time, a terrible Plague over all *Europe*, such as was never Recorded by any Writer, before; Only the *Scots* and *Picts* were free therefrom.

* *Scots Monks* unjustly banished out of *England.*

By

By reason of the frequent Injuries, mutually offered, and Preys driven away on both sides, Both Nations were like to break forth into an open War, if the death of *Maldvinus* had not prevented it. After he had Reigned 20 years, his Wife, suspecting that he had been naught with an Harlot * Strangled him, and Four Days after She herself was punished for the Fact, by being burnt alive.

* *Maldvinus* Strangled by his Wife, for which Fact she is Burnt alive.

Eugenius V. *The* LVI *King.*

After him, *Eugenius* the 5th Son of King *Dongard*, undertook the Kingdom. [a] *Egfrid*, the King of *Northumberland* (with whom he principally desired to be at Peace) sought to deceive him by fained Truces; and he again assaulted *Egfrid* by the same Art. Thus, whe nBoth made shew of Peace in Words, they each secretly prepare for War; When the Truce was ended, *Egfrid*, thô his Friends dissuaded him from it, joyned Forces with the *Picts*, and, entring into *Scotland*, he foraged *Galway*. But he was overthrown by *Eugenius*, the *Picts* giving ground in the Fight, and lost almost all his Army, so that he hardly escaped, wounded, and with a few Followers, home. The next Year, his Friends *then also* Dissuading him, he drew forth his Army against the *Picts*, who, pretending to run away, drew him into an Ambush, and cut him off, with all his Men. The *Picts*, laying hold of This, so fair an Opportunity, recovered those large Territories, which had been taken from them in former Wars: And the *Brittons*, who freed themselves from the Government of the *Angli*, or *English*, together with the *Scots*, entred *Northumberland*, and made such an Havock there, that it never recovered itself since. Soon after *Eugenius* dyed, in the 4th Year of his Reign.

[a] *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, overthrown by the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Eugenius VI. *The* LVII *King.*

EUGENIUS the VI, the Son of *Ferchard*, succeeded *Eugenius* the V; As did *Alfrid*, Brother to *Egfrid*, succeed him in *Northumberland*: Both Kings were [b] very Learned, especially in *Theology*, according to the rate of those times: And also friendly one to the other, on the account of their common Studies. So that, the Peace was faithfully maintain'd betwixt them. *Alfrid* made use of this Tranquillity, to settle the bounds of his Kingdom, thô in narrower Limits than before. But the *Scots* had neither an Establish'd Peace, nor yet a Declared War, with the *Picts*: Excursions were frequently made, with different and interchangable Successes, thô *Cutberectus* an *English Bishop*, and *Adamannus*, a *Scotish Bishop*, did in vain labour to reconcile them: Yet This they effected, that they never fought a pitched Battel. In the mean time, *Eugenius* being inflamed with an inexpiable Hatred against the Perfidiousness of the *Picts*, was stopped in the midst of his Career to Revenge, for he dyed, having Reigned 10 Years. In his Reign, it is reported, That it Reigned Blood all over *Britain* for 7 days, and that the Milk, Cheese, and Butter, were also turned into Blood.

[b] Two Kings, very great *Theologists*.

[c] Blood rained down from Heaven for 7 days, &c.

Amberkelethus,

Amberkelethus, *The* LVIII *King.*

AFter him, *Amberkelethus*, the Son of *Findanus*, and Nephew of *Eugenius* the 5th. obtained the Kingdom. At the beginning of his Reign, he counterfeited Temperance, but soon returned to his Natural Disposition; and broke forth into all manner of Wickedness. *Garnard*, King of the *Picts*, laying hold of this Opportunity, gathered a great Army together, and invaded the *Scots*. *Amberkelethus* could hardly be excited to take Arms, without much Importunity, but at last he did; as he was going forth in the Night to ease himself, with Two Servants, he was [d] slain with an Arrow, (it was not known, who shot it) when he had not Reigned full Two Years, some say, That when he pressed upon the Enemy in a thick Wood, that he was hurt with an Arrow by them, and so dyed 10 days after.

[d] *Amberkelethus* slain.

Eugenius VII. *The* LIX *King.*

EUGENIUS, the *7th.* Brother of the former King, was Declared King, by the Suffrage of the Soldiers in the Field, that so the Army might not disband, nor be without an Head. He, putting little confidence in an Army, Levyed by a slothful King, lengthened out the War by Truces; and at last concluded it by Marrying *Spondana*, Daughter of *Garnardus*. She, not long after, was [e] slain in her Bed by Two *Athol*-men, who had conspired to destroy the King. The King himself was accused of the Murder, but falsly, and, before he was brought to Judgment, the Murderers were found out. Whereupon, he was freed. The Offenders were most exquisitely punished. When Matters were composed abroad, the King turned himself to the Affairs of Peace, delighting much in Hunting. But his chief Care was, for Religion. It was his Design and Appointment, That the Noble [f] Acts and Enterprizes of Kings should be Registred in Monasteries. He maintain'd a continued Peace 17 Years with all his Neighbours, and then dyed at * *Abernethy.*

[e] *Eugenius* like to suffer for the (supposed) Murther of his Queen.

[f] He first appoints the Acts of Kings to be Registred in Monasteries.

* A Town in the East part of *Strathern*, near *Fife.*

Mordacus, *The* LX *King.*

EUGENIUS, a little before his Death, commended *Mordacus*, the Son of *Amberkelethus* to the Nobility, to be his Successor. There was Peace all over *Britain* during his *Reign*, as *Bede* says about the end of his History. He did imitate *Eugenius*, not only in maintaining Peace, but in endowing of *Monasteries*, also. He Repaired the Convent of [g] *White-horn*, which was demolished. He dyed at the Entrance into the 16th Year of his Reign.

[g] An Abby not far from *Wigton* in *Galloway.*

Etfinus,

Etfinus, *The* LXI *King.*

IN the Year of our Lord 730, *Etfinus*, the Son of *Eugenius* the 7*th*, entred upon the Kingdom. He, being emulous of the Kings before him, kept the Kingdom in great Peace, during the ſpace of 31 years, that he managed the Government. When he was old, and could not perform the Kingly Office himſelf, he appointed Four Vice-gerents to Adminiſter Juſtice to the People. Whilſt Theſe preſided over the Affairs of *Scotland*, ſome looſe Perſons, reſuming their former Luxuriant Extravagancies, by the Magiſtrates Neglect, or, (as ſome think) Fault, put all things into an Hurly Burly. But their wicked Pranks were the leſs taken notice of, by reaſon of the exceſſive Cruelty and Pride of one * *Donaldus*, who, ranging over all *Galway*, made the Country People pay Tribute to him; or elſe he robbed them, and reduced them to great Want.

* *Donald*, a great Plunderer.

Eugenius VIII. *The* LXII *King.*

AMidſt theſe Tumults, *Eugenius* the 8*th*, the Son of *Mordacus*, was ſet up in the room of *Etfinus*, deceaſed; His firſt Enterprize, was, to ſuppreſs *Donaldus*, whom he overthrew in many bloody Fights, took him Priſoner, and publickly * executed him, to the Joy of all the Spectators. He put *Mordacus* to death, Vicegerent of *Galway*, for Siding with *Donaldus*; and ſet a Pecuniary Fine on the reſt of the Vicegerents. He made Satisfaction to the People, who had been robbed, out of the Offenders Eſtates. The Bad being terrified for fear of theſe Puniſhments, and a great Calm enſuing, after a moſt violent Tempeſt, he confirmed the Leagues, heretofore made, with the Neighbouring Kings. Yet, after all this, he, who got ſo much Glory in War, when once Peace was made, gave himſelf up to all manner of Vice. And ſeeing he would not be reclaimed, neither by the Advices of his Friends, nor of the Prieſts, all the Nobles conſpired to deſtroy him, which they did in a Publick Convention, in the * 3d year of his Reign. The Companions and Aſſociats of his wicked Practices ended their Lives at the Gallows, all Men rejoycing at their Executions.

* *Donaldus* ſlain by *Eugenius.*

* *Eugenius*, ſlain by his Nobles, for his vitious Life.

Ferguſius, III. *The* LXIII *King.*

FERGUSIUS the III, the Son of *Etfinus*, ſucceeded him, who, under a like counterfeit pretence of Virtue, being fouly vitious, dyed alſo after the like violent manner, having Reigned the like Number of years, *viz.* 3. He was poiſoned by his Wife. Others write, That when his Wife had often upbraided him with his Contempt of Matrimony, and his Flocks of Harlots, but without any amendment, that She Strangled him at night, [h] as he was ſleeping in his Bed. When Enquiry was made into his Death, and many of his Friends were accuſed, and yet, though ſeverely tortured, would confeſs nothing. The Queen, thô otherwiſe of a fierce Nature, yet pitying the ſuffering of ſo many Innocents, came forth, and from

[h] *Fergus*, for his Adulteries ſlain by his Wife, who, to avoid puniſhment kills her Self.

an high Place, told the Assembly, *That She was the Author of the Murder*; and presently, lest She should be made a living Spectacle of Reproach, She ran her Self through with a Knife; which Fact of Hers was variously spoken of, and descanted upon, according to the several Humours and Dispositions of the Men of that time.

Solvathius, *The* LXIV *King.*

KING *Solvathius*, the Son of *Eugenius* the 8*th*, is the next in Order, Who, if he had not contracted the Gout, by reason of Cold, in the 3d Year of his Reign, might well be reckoned for his Personal Valour amongst the Best of Kings; yet, notwithstanding his Disease, he appeased all Tumults, by his Generals, with great Wisdom and Prudence. First of all * *Donaldus Banus*, (*i. e.*) White, being Fearless of the King, by reason of the Lameness of his Feet, had the boldness, as to seize upon all the Western Islands, and to call himself King of the *Æbudæ*. Afterwards, making a Descent on the Continent, and carrying away much Prey, he was forced by *Cullanus*, General of the *Argyle-men*, and by *Ducalus*, Captain of the *Athol-men*, into a Wood, out of which there was but one Passage, so that their endeavours to escape were fruitless, but He and His * were there slain, every Man. One *Gilcolumbus*, excited by the same Audacity and Hope, assaulted *Galway*, oppressed before by his Father, but he also was overthrown, by the same Generals, and put to death. In the mean time, there was Peace from the *English* and *Picts*, occasioned by their Combustions at home. *Solvathius* Reigned 20 Years, and then dyed, being Praised of all Men. In the year of *Christ* 787.

* One *Donald* calls himself King of the *Æbudæ*.

* *Donald* slain.

Achaius, *The* LXV *King.*

ACHAIUS, the Son of *Etfinus*, succeeded him; he having made Peace with the *Angles* and *Picts*, understanding, that War was threatned from *Ireland*, composed the Seditions that were like to break forth at home, not only by his Pains-taking, but by his Largesses, also. The Cause of the *Irish* War, was This. In the former Kings Reign, who was unfit to make any Expedition; The *Irish* and the *Islanders*, out of hope of Prey and Impunity, had made a descent upon *Cantire*, the adjoyning Peninsule, with great Armies, both at once. But a Feud arising between the Plunderers, many of the *Islanders*, and all the *Irish*, were slain. To revenge this Slaughter, the *Irish* Rigged out a great Navy, to Sail into the *Æbudæ*. *Achaius* sent Embassadors to them, to acquaint them, That they had no just cause for a War, in regard that Thieves, fighting for their Prey, had slain one another; That the loss was not, that so many were slain, but rather, that any of them had escaped. They farther alleged, That the King and his National Councils were so far from offering any injury to the *Irish*, that they had put all the Authors of the late Slaughter to death. The Embassadors, discoursing many things to this purpose, were so coursly and barbarously rejected by the *Irish*, That they set forth their Fleet against the * *Albine Scots*, even

* War between the *Scots* and *Irish*.

*

even before their departure; when their Fleet was on the *Main*, a Tempeſt aroſe, and deſtroyed them all. This Miſchance occaſioned ſome ſentiments of Remorſe and Pity in the *Iriſh*, * ſo that now they humbly ſued for that Peace, which before they diſdainfully refuſed.

* Which is ſoon compoſed.

But firſt of all, [i] *Achaius* made Peace between the *Scots* and *Franks*, chiefly for this reaſon, becauſe not only the *Saxons*, who inhabited *Germany*, but even thoſe who had fixed themſelves in *Britanny*, did infeſt *Gaul* with Piratical Invaſions. And beſides, *Charles the Great*, whoſe deſire was to enoble *France*, not only by Arms, but Literature, had ſent for ſome [k] Learned Men out of *Scotland*, to read *Greek* and *Latin*, at *Paris*. For yet there were many Monks in *Scotland*, Eminent for Learning and Piety, the antient Diſcipline being then not quite extinguiſhed, amongſt whom was *Johannes*, Sirnamed *Scotus*, or, which is all one, *Albinus*, for the *Scots* in their own Language call themſelves *Albini*; He was the School-Maſter of *Charles the Great*, and left many Monuments of his Learning, behind him, and in particular, ſome Precepts of *Rhetorick*, which I have ſeen, with *Johannes Albinus* inſcribed. There are alſo ſome Writings of *Clement* a *Scot*, remaining, who was a great Profeſſor of Learning, at the ſame time, too in *Paris*. There were many other *Scotiſh* Monks, who paſſed over into *Gaul*, out of their Zeal for God and Godlineſs, * who preached the Doctrine of Chriſtianity to the People inhabiting about the *Rhene*, and that with ſo great Succeſs, that the People thereupon built *Monaſteries* in many Places. The *Germans* owe this to their Memory, that even to our days, *Scots* are the Governors over thoſe Monaſteries. Though *Achaius* was deſirous of Peace, yet the *Pictiſh* concerns drew him on to a War. For when [l] *Athelſtan*, the *Engliſh-Man*, had waſted the Neighbouring Lands of the *Picts*, [l] *Hungus* their King obtained the Aid of Ten Thouſand *Scots*, from *Achaius*, who before was diſgulted with the *Engliſh*. He placed his Son *Alpinus*, a Commander, over them, who was born to him by the Siſter of *Hungus*; by the aſſiſtance of thoſe Auxiliaries, he drove a great prey out of *Northumberland*. *Athelſtan*, a feirce Warriour, was almoſt at his Heels, and overtook him not far from *Hadington*. The *Picts* being diſmayed at the ſuddain coming of their Enemies, run to their Arms, and keep themſelves in their Stations, till Night; having ſet their Watches for the Night, *Hungus* being inferiour in other things, deſired Aid of God, and gave up himſelf wholly to Prayer. At laſt, when his Body was wearied with Labour, and his Mind oppreſſed with Care, he ſeemed to behold *Andrew* the Apoſtle, ſtanding by him in his Sleep, promiſing him Victory. * This Viſion being declared to the *Picts*, filled them full of Hope, ſo that they prepared themſelves with great Alacrity to the Combate, which otherwiſe they could not avoid. The next day they came to a pitched Battel. Some add, That another Prodigy was ſeen in the Heavens, a croſs like the Letter X, which did ſo terrifie the *Engliſh*, that they could hardly bear the firſt brunt of the *Picts*. * *Athelſtan* was ſlain there, who gave Name to the place of Battel, which is yet called *Athelſtans Ford*. *Hungus* aſcribed the Victory to St. * *Andrew*, to whom, beſides other Gifts, he offered the Tithes of

[i] *Achaius* the firſt of the *Scots* Kings, that enters into a Friendſhip with *France*.

[k] Learned Men ſent for out of *Scotland*, by *Charles* the Great, as *Johannes Scotus*, &c.

* Who Preach the Doctrine of Chriſtianity in *Germany*.

[l] A Battel between *Athelſtan* of *England*, and *Hungus* the *Pict*, who was aided by the *Scots*.

* *Hungus* his Viſion upon his Praye. to God.

* *Athelſtan* overthrown and ſlain.

* Gifts to St. *Andrew*.

of his Royal Demeasns: I am of Opinion, that This was the *Athelstan*, Commander of the *Danish* Nation, to whom the *English* affirm, That *Northumberland* was granted by *Alured*. *Achaius* died the Thirty Second year of his Reign, and in the Year of *Christ* Eight Hundred and Nine.

Congallus III. *The Sixty Sixth King.*

CONGALLUS, his Cousin German, succeeded him, who Reigned Five years, in Peace both at home and abroad.

Dongallus, *The Sixty Seventh King.*

DONGALLUS, the Son of *Solvathius*, was next King to him. The Soldiers, not able to endure the Severity of his Government, gathered themselves together to *Alpinus*, the Son of *Achaius*; and because they could not persuade him by fair means to undertake the Kingdom, they compelled him by force and menaces to be seemingly on their side. He having gathered together an Army, and pretending to do, as they would have him, disappointed them and fled to *Dongallus*; his coming was acceptable to the King, but a great dismay to the Rebels; and therefore they accuse him to the King, as if *Alpinus* himself had persuaded them to Rebel. The King, well perceiving their Calumny, suddenly prepared his Army, and so prevented the rumour of his coming. Those of them which he took, he put to Death.

* *Hungus's* Death.

In the mean time, * *Hungus* died, and his Eldest Son *Dorstologus* was slain, by the Fraud of his Brother, *Eganus*; neither did the Murtherer long survive his Brother. So that the Male-stock of *Hungus* being extinct, his Sister's Son *Alpinus*, as next Heir, both by an ancient Law, and in Right of Blood, claimed the Kingdom. The *Picts* disdained him as a Foreigner, whereupon *Dongallus* sent Messengers to them, to expostulate the matter, but they refused to give them Audience, but Commanded them to depart in four days. * *Dongallus* intended to make War upon them, with all his might. But in the preparation thereof, as he was passing over the *Spey*, whose Current was very violent, the Vessel, in which he was, sunk, and he was Drown'd, after he had Reigned Six Years, some say, Seven.

* *Dongal* drowned.

Alpinus, *The Sixty Eighth King.*

ALpinus, the Son of *Achaius*, led the Army raised by *Dongallus*, against *Frederethus*, who had seized upon, and arrogated, the Kingdom of the *Picts*, to himself. * The Armies met at *Restenot*, a Village of *Angus*, the Fight was maintained with great Obstinacy and Cruelty, even until Night; the Victory was uncertain, tho' the Death of *Frederethus* made it to incline to the *Scots*. For when he saw his Men to fly in the Fight, with a Troop of Noble Youngsters, he brake through the main Battel of the *Scots*, and being thus severed from his Men, was there slain, with the Flower of his Nobility. *Brudus* was substituted in his place, a Slothful Person, and unfit for Military Affairs. In his Reign, the *Scots* drove Preys out of their Enemies Country, without Resistance; and the *Picts* raising up a Tumult on purpose amongst themselves, slew *Brudus*, before he had Reigned one Year.

* Wars between the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Year. Then they ſet up *Kennethus*, another of *Frederethus* his Sons, in his ſtead, one neither Valianter, nor more Succeſsful, than his Brother: For, when he had levied an Army, and came in ſight of his Enemies, he privily ſtole away, and ſo was ſlain by a Country Man, who upbraided him as a Run-away, not knowing, Who he was. The *Picts* having loſt their King, before their Enemies were ſenſible of it, returned home, and made another Perſon, named *Brudus*, King, one of high Deſcent and Noble Atchievements. He, as ſoon as he entred upon the Kingdom, ſet upon the ſtraggling Plunderers, and curbed their Raſhneſs, making a great Slaughter amongſt them; after that, that he might ſtrengthen his weak Forces by Foreign Aids, he ſent Ambaſſadors, with great Gifts, to the *Engliſh*, which were neareſt to him. They received their Gifts, and were large enough in their Promiſes of Aſſiſtance; but, though the *Picts* earneſtly preſſed them, yet they put them off, laying the fault on their own Combuſtions at home. The *Picts* being diſappointed of their Hope there, levied all of their Own, that were able to bear Arms, and reſolved to venture their All; with this Reſolution they marched directly toward the Enemy, who were encamped not far from *Dundee*. As ſoon as they met, the Battel was ſo much the more ſharp, by reaſon of the old Hatred, the recent Diſguſt, the many mutual Slaughters, and the frequent Injuries and Wrongs, committed on both ſides. When the Conflict was a long time doubtful, at laſt, an Hundred Horſe of the *Picts* roſe out of an Ambuſh; who, that they might ſeem to be a greater Number, did alſo Horſe their Baggage Men, and Attendants, upon their Baggage Horſes; and ſo, ſhewing themſelves upon the tops of the Hills, they wheeled about, as if they would have ſet upon the Rear of the Army, which was a Fighting. That apprehenſion ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the *Scots*, that they preſently ſcattered, and fled into the Neighbouring Woods; by which many of them were ſaved alive; only ſome few were ſlain in the Fight, but more in flight, by the nimble Baggagers, who were ſet on Horſeback. * King *Alpinus*, and many of his Nobles were taken Priſoners, and cruelly ſlain. The Kings Head was faſtned to a Pole, and carried up and down the Army; till, at laſt, they ſet it up for a Spectacle in the moſt eminent place of the greateſt Town they had, (which then was *Abernethy*.) The place, where he was ſlain, as yet retains his Name, being called, *Bas Alpin, i. e. The Death of Alpin*.

* King *Alpin* overthrown in Battel by the *Picts*, and ſlain.

Kennethus II. *The Sixty Ninth King.*

Alpin being ſlain, after he had Reigned Three Years, his Son *Kennethus* ſucceeded him. The next Summer, the *Picts* having ſome hopes, that if they did but endeavour it, the *Scots* might eaſily be driven out of *Britain*, as they had been heretofore; hereupon they hired ſome Troops of the *Engliſh*, and joyned them with what Forces of their Own they could make. But a ſudden Sedition aroſe betwixt the Commanders, and that ſo outragious an One, That King *Brudus* himſelf could not compoſe it; ſo that the Army disbanded thereupon; and *Brudus* died about Three Months after, rather Heart-broken, than of any Diſeaſe. His Brother *Druſkenus* was made King in his ſtead, who, in vain attempted to compoſe things at home; but in the

interim, some *Scotish* Youngsters stole away the head of *Alpinus*, from the place where the *Picts* had set it up, and brought it to *Kennethus*, he not only commended them for their Noble Exploit, but also rewarded them with Lands. *Kennethus* called together an Assembly to consult about War with the *Picts*; and though the King himself, and the forwardest of the Soldiers, did advise to revenge the Treachery of such a perfidious People; yet, the Major part, and especially the Graver sort, thought it more adviseable, to stay, till their Forces, which were weakned in former Wars, had recovered themselves; in the mean time, they would neither seek Peace, nor yet make War with the *Picts*, till a better opportunity, for either, did offer it self. This Opinion prevailed, so that there was Peace betwixt the two Nations, for Three Years, as if it had been by common Consent. But in the Fourth Year, *Kennethus*, desirous to renew the War, yet finding few of the Nobles of his Mind, invited them to a Banquet; * the Entertainment continued till late at Night, so that they were all necessitated to lodge there, which they might more easily do, in regard every Man, according to the custom of his Ancestors, lay on the Ground, and so they disposed of them in that large House, having nothing under them but Leaves and Grass. When they were gone to Bed, the King suborned a Youth, one of his Kinsmen, commanding him to clothe himself with the Skins of Fishes, dried in the Wind, and so to enter by Night; and to speak through a long Tube, that the Voice might better reach their Ears at a distance, and thus to exhort them to War; as if a Message had been sent them from Heaven, to that purpose. The Nobles suddenly awoke at this Voice, which at that time seem'd to them to be Greater and more August than a Mans; many also were laden with Wine, and the sudden flashing of Light, from the Fishes Skins, darting upon their drowsie Eyes, and dazling them, drove them into a great Astonishment; in fine, an un-wonted Apparition affected the Eyes of them all, and a kind of Religious Consternation seized upon their Minds. And That which increased the Admiration, was, That the Messenger, stripping himself of his disguised Habit, and, by a secret Passage, conveighing himself away, as in an instant, seemed to have vanished out of sight. When the News hereof was brought to the King in the Morning, and many did add to the Story, as is usual in such Cases, he also affirmed, That the like Apparition was seen by him, in his Sleep. Hereupon, a War was concluded upon by the general Consent of them all, as if they were Commanded thereunto by God himself. When the Armies were led forth to Battel, as soon as ever they came in sight one of another, every one ran upon the Enemy, which stood next to him, not staying for the Command of their Captains. The Fight was as fiercely continued, as it was eagerly begun. At last, the Victory inclined to the * *Scots*. Those in whom the *Picts* put most Confidence proved their Ruin. For the *English Troops*, seeing that all things were managed without Order, and by Tumultuary Force, withdrew themselves into the next Hill, as if they had only been Spectators of other Mens Dangers. There was a mighty Slaughter made of the *Picts*. For the *Scots* were highly provoked against them, not only by their ancient Hatred, but by the remembrance of their later Cruelty against *Alpinus*,

* *Kenneteus*, by a witty Invention, engages his Nobles to make War upon the *Picts*.

* The *Picts*, being deserted by the *English*, receive a great overthrow by the *Scots*.

pinus, and the reſt, whom they had taken Priſoners: But that which chiefly inflamed their Minds, was a Watch-Word, ſpread abroad among the *Scots*, *That they ſhould remember* Alpinus; From that very moment, they ſpared neither Age, nor Rank, of Men: The Hills covered the departure of the *Engliſh*, and the *Scots* were ſo pertinaciouſly intent in revenging themſelves on the *Picts*, that they could not follow them. This Victory reduced the *Picts* to ſo low an ebb, and rendred their Condition ſo deplorable, that, though they endeavoured to make Peace, yet all was in vain, for the *Scots* would hearken to no Conditions, but the full ſurrendring up of their Kingdom. The next Year, when all Places were ſurrendred up beyond *Forth*, Northwards; and Gariſons placed in them, as *Kennethus* was marching his Army againſt thoſe on this ſide thereof, word was brought, That ſome of the Gariſons, which he had left behind, were taken, and the Souldiers ſlain: Hereupon, he marched his Army back againſt the Rebellious *Picts*, of whom he ſpared neither Man, Woman, nor Child; But waſted the whole Country with Fire and Sword. *Druskenus*, ſeeing the *Picts* were inraged, almoſt like Madmen, at the Cruelty exerciſed over them, and knowing now, that they muſt fight, not for their Kingdom, but for their very Lives, and the Lives of their Wives and Children, gathered together all the Force that ever he could make; and ſo paſſing the *Forth*, came to *Scone*, a Town ſituate on the Bank of the River *Tay*, where he waited for the coming of the *Scots*: There they again endeavoured to make a Pacification, offering to ſurrender all the Country beyond the *Forth*, but the *Scots* would have All, or none. The Fight, as in ſuch Circumſtances of Neceſſity, was very fierce: At laſt, the Pertinacy of the *Picts* was broken, and the River *Tay*, putting a ſtop to their flight, was the cauſe of their Deſtruction. For * *Druskenus*, and almoſt all his Nobility, being not able to paſs it, were there ſlain: And the Fortune of the common Souldiers was not better; for as they crowded to the River in ſeveral places to ſave themſelves, they laboured alſo under the ſame incapacity of paſſing it, and ſo they every one of them loſt their Lives. Hence it is, (as I judge,) that our Writers ſay, We Fought with the *Picts* ſeven times in one Day. The Force of the *Picts* was wholly broken by this Overthrow, and *Kennethus* waſted *Lothian* and the adjacent Country, together with Thoſe beyond the *Forth*, that they might never be able again to recover themſelves. The Gariſons, for fear, ſurrendred themſelves. Thoſe few *Picts*, who were left alive, fled into *England*, in an indigent and neceſſitous Condition.

* The *Picts* again routed by the *Scots*, their King *Druskon* ſlain, and their Kingdom aboliſhed.

THE

The Sixth BOOK.

AS I formerly called *Fergusius* the First, and, after him, *Fergusius* the Second, with great reason, the Founders of the *Scotish* Kingdom, so I may justly reckon * *Kennethus*, the Son of *Alpinus*, a Third Founder, also. *Fergus* the First, from a mean beginning, advanced the Affairs of the *Scots* to such an height, as that they were Envy'd by their Neighbours. *Fergus* the Second, when they were banished and dispersed into remote Countrys, and, in the Judgment of their Enemies, almost extirpated, did, as it were, recal them to Life, and, in a few years, reduced them to their Ancient Splendor. But *Kennethus* was so Couragious, as to accept of the Kingdom, when Matters were almost desperate; yea, when others thought, that the small remainder of *Scots* could hardly have been defended, or kept together; and not only so, but he brake the power of the Enemy, (tho' assisted with Foreign aid, and Triumphant also for his late Victory) in many sharp (yet prosperous) Fights; and, being thus weakned, he drave him out of *Britanny*, and took from him the Kingly Name, which to this day he could never recover again. Tho' these were *Great* Atchievements, yet they were not the *Greatest* he performed; For, as he enlarged his Kingdom to double of what it was before; so he Governed it, both by making New Laws, and also by reviving the Old ones; That neither Licentiousness arising from War, nor Pride, the product of Victory, nor any footsteps of those Evils, which are wont to accompany Luxury and Ease, did appear, during his Life. Yea, the Affairs of *Scotland* seem'd to be supported for many Years after, by the Laws, called, by Posterity, the [g] *Macalpin* Laws, as much as by Arms. But to let pass these things; I shall proceed to relate his Noble Acts, as I have begun. *Kennethus*, having driven out the *Picts*, distributed their Lands amongst his Soldiers, according to every ones Valour and Merit: whose Ambition put New Names on many Places and Countrys, cancelling and obliterating the Old. He parted [h] *Horestia* betwixt Two Brothers, *Æneas* and *Mern*; one part of which, in Old *Scotish*, is yet called [i] *Æneja*, (they, who more affect the *English* Speech, call it *Angus*:) The other, [k] *Mern*. The Country adjoyning from *Tay* to the *Forth*, was called by the Ancients, *Ross*, *i.e. Peninsule*; there are some signs of the Name, yet remaining, as [l] *Culross*, a Town, which is, as it were, the Back or Hinder part of *Ross*; and [m] *Kinross*, which signifies the Head of *Ross*. Now at this day, all that Country, is called *Fife*, from an Eminent Person, called, *Fifus*, whose Sirname they say, was *Duffus*; *Barodunum*, a Town in *Lothian*, or, as some call it, *Dunbar*, was so called (as it is thought) from

* *Kennethus* compared with both the *Fergus's*, and reckoned the Third Founder of the *Scotish* Kingdom.

[g] The wholsome Laws, made by *Kenneth*, called *Mac-Alpin-Laws*, because he was the Son of *Alpin*.

[h] The Country lying between the *Tay* and *Dee*.

[i] *Æneia*, all one with *Angus*.

[k] The *Mearns* lie alongst the *East-Sea*, between *Dee* and *North-Esk*.

[l] It stands on the North-side of *Forth*, in *Perth-shire*.

[m] A Town lying on the beginning, or head of a point of Land, that runs into the West-side of *Loch-Leven*.

from a Great Man, named, *Bar*. *Lothian* had its name, not long ago, from *Lothus* King of the *Picts*. *Cuningham* is wholly a *Danish* Word; used, as I think, by the *Danes*, after the Death of *Kennethus*, who possessed that Country for some years, having driven the *Scots* beyond the Wall of *Severus*; for *Cuningham* signifys, in the *Danish* Language, the Kings House, or Palace. 'Tis also probable, That [n] *Merch* was so called, by the *Danes*, because it was the Limits between both Kingdoms. As for [o] *Edinburgh*, either by the gross Ignorance or perverse Ill-will of some, it is sometimes called, *Vallis Dolorosa*, *i.e.* The *Dolesom Valley*, and sometimes, *Castrum Puellarum*, *Maiden-Castle*; the Name in it self is not very obscure, tho' it be made so, by ill management. They borrowed those Names from the *Gallick*-Fables, which were devised within the space of 300 Years, last past. This is certain, That the Ancient *Scots* called it, *Dunedinum*; the Later, *Edinburgum*, wherein they follow the Country Custom in imposing of Names; whereas, that Castle in a middle Appellation between both, I think may be better named, *Edinum*. But enough in this place concerning the *Old* and the *New* Names of the Countrys, of which I have spoken more largely, before. To return then to *Kennethus*; Having enlarged his Kingdom, as I said before, and settled wholsome Laws for the Government thereof; he endeavoured further to confirm his Royal Authority by mean and trivial Things, even bordering upon Superstition it self; There was a [p] Marble-Stone, which *Simon Breccus* is reported to have brought into *Ireland* out of *Spain*, which *Fergus*, the Son of *Ferchard*, is also said to have brought over into *Scotish Albion*, and to have placed it in *Argyle*. This Stone *Keunethus* removed, out of *Argyle*, to [q] *Scone* by the Rivet *Tay*, and placed it there, included in a Chair of Wood. The Kings of *Scotland* were wont to receive both the Name and the Habiliment of Kings, sitting in that Chair, till the days of *Edward* the *First*, King of *England*, of whom in his Place. *Kenneth* Translated the Episcopal See, which the *Picts* had placed at *Abernethy*, to *Fanum Reguli*, which after Ages called St. *Andrews*. But the Ancient Scots-Bishops, being chosen out of Monasteries, not then contending for Place or Honour, but for Sanctity and Learning, did perform their Functions every where, occasionally, as opportunity was offered without Envy or Emulation; no certain Dioceses being allotted to them, in regard the Ecclesiastical Function was not yet made a matter of Gain. After this sort, *Kennethus* Reigned 20 Years. In the beginning of his Fifth year, he overthrew the *Picts*, as the *Black Book* of *Pasley* hath it. The other Sixteen years, after he had destroyed the Government of the *Picts*, he lived in great Tranquillity, having Peace at home, by reason of his just Government; and Peace abroad, by the Power of his Arms. He enlarged his Dominions from the *Orcades* to the Wall of *Adrian*. A. C. 854.

[n] Otherwise called the Sheriffdom of *Berwick*.

[o] *Edinburgh* hath several Names.

[p] The Story of the Marble Stone, on which the *Scotch* Kings were anciently Crowned.

[q] An Abby on the North-side of *Tay*, a Mile above *Perth*.

[r] The Ancient *Scots Bishops*, not *Diocesans*.

Donalda

Donaldus V. *The Seventieth King.*

DONALDUS, his Brother, was choſen King next, who quite altered the whole Publick Diſcipline, together with his own Demeanour. For, whereas, in the Life time of *Alpinus*, he made a ſhew of Temperance, and, by that means, had obtained the Love of the better ſort; When his Brother was dead, as if he had been freed from all Fear and Reſtraint, he gave himſelf up wholly to [a] Pleaſure. And, as if there had been no danger from any Enemy without, he neglected all Military Study, and kept almoſt none about him, but Hunters, Hawkers, and Inventors of new Pleaſures. Upon theſe, he ſpent the Publick Revenue. The young Fry, who were prone to Pleaſures, did extol the King to the Skies, as a Noble and Generous Prince; and ſcoffed at the Parſimony of former Times, as Rude and Illiberal. The Ancient Counſellors, ſeeing all things likely to run to Ruin in a very ſhort time, came to the King, and put him in mind of his Duty; of his preſent Evils and Miſcarriages; and of the Danger imminent thereupon. He, nevertheleſs, perſiſted in his ſlothful kind of Life, which gave opportunity to the Remainders of the [b] *Picts* (as if an hopeful Alarm had been given them, even from the very bottom of Deſpair) to addreſs themſelves to *Osbreth* and *Ella*, Two of the moſt potent and prevalent Kings of the *Engliſh*, (for then *England* was divided into many Kingdoms.) They bewail'd their misfortune to them; and craved earneſtly their Aſſiſtance; promiſing, That they and all their Poſterity would become Feudataries to the *Engliſh*, in caſe they obtained the Victory over the *Scots*, which, they prejudg'd, would be an eaſy one, by reaſon of the ſlothful Nature of *Donald*. The *Engliſh* were eaſily perſuaded, and having ſetled things at home, they led out their Army into *Merch*, from whence they ſent Heralds to *Donaldus*, requiring, that the Lands which the *Scots* had forceably taken away from the *Picts*, their Friends and Allies, might be reſtored, which, unleſs he would do, they would not neglect their old Confederates, who had now alſo newly caſt themſelves upon them. *Donaldus*, by the advice of the Eſtates, which, in this time of imminent Danger, he had (thô unwillingly) convened, Levied an Army, and met with the Enemy at *Jedd*, a River of *Teviotdale*, where he joyned Battel, and overthrew *Osbreth*, enforcing him to fly to the next Mountains: From thence he marched on by *Tweed* unto the Sea ſide, recovered *Berwick*, which had been taken by the *Engliſh*, and again deſerted by them, upon the ill news of the ſucceſs of the Battel; where he took all the Ships riding in the Mouth of the River, and ſeized upon all the Enemies Proviſions therein. There he got an opportunity to renew his, interrupted, Pleaſures, and, as if his Enemies had been wholly overthrown, he drowned himſelf in all kind of Voluptuouſneſs. Whereupon, the *Engliſh*, who, in the laſt Fight were rather ſcatter'd than ſubdued, underſtanding, by their Spies, the Careleſneſs and Security of the *Scots*, gathered together what Force they could out of the Neighborhood, and by night ſet upon the *Scots*, who were laden with Wine, and faſt aſleep, making a great ſlaughter amongſt them,

[a] *Donaldus's* Licentiouſneſs.

[b] It gives opportunity to the *Picts* to ſolicite Aid from *Osbreth* in *England*.

[c] *Osbreth* overthrown by the *Scots*; but his Men rallying, overcome the *Scots*, when ſecure, after their Victory.

them; but they took the King, who was between ſleeping and waking, Priſoner. From thence they followed the Courſe of their Victory, and to make their Ravage more compleat, they divided their Army into Two Parts, and ſo marched into the Enemies Country, Part of them when they came to the *Forth*, got Veſſels, and eſſayed to paſs over by Water into *Fife*, but a great Number of them were Shipwrackt, and drowned; and the reſt, by the violence of the Storm, were forced back to the Shore, where they embarked; from whence, marching to *Sterling*, and joyning with the reſt of their Army, they paſs over the *Forth*, on a Bridge. The *Scots*, after their flight, gathered themſelves into a Body thereabouts, having the bare ſhow, rather than the ſtrength, of an Army; and ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Engliſh* for Peace; which they did not refuſe, becauſe their ſtrength was weakened by the unſucceſsful Battel of *Jedd*, and alſo by their own Shipwrack. The [d] *Engliſh* propounded hard Conditions, yet ſuch as the preſent State of Affairs made to ſeem tolerable, As that, *The* Scots *ſhould yield up all the Land, which was within the Wall of* Severus; *That their Bounds ſhould be beneath* Sterling, *the* Forth; *beneath* Dunbarton, *the* Clyd; *and between the Two Rivers, the Wall of* Severus. Amidſt ſuch hard Terms of Peace, yet this happened, as joyous, ſo unexpected, to the *Scots*, That no mention was made concerning the Reduction of the [e] *Picts*. For the *Engliſh* and *Britains* divided the Lands, ſurrendred up, betwixt them; the River being a Boundary betwixt them both. There are ſome, who think, the Money yet called * *Sterling* was then Coined there. The Lands being thus divided, the *Picts*, who thought to recover their own, being eluded of their hopes, paſſed over to the *Cimbrians* and *Scandians*, (*i. e.*) (as we now ſpeak,) to *Denmark* and *Norway*. Thoſe few of them, that ſtaid in *England*, were all put to death by them, upon pretence, that they would attempt Innovations by their ſoliciting of Forein Aid. *Donaldus*, after he had made Peace, upon his Return, was Honourably received, partly, out of Reſpect to his Anceſtors, and partly in hopes of his Repentance. But he, perſevering in his wonted Slothfulneſs, the Nobles fearing that ſo filthy and ſluggiſh a Perſon, who would neither hearken to the Counſels of his Friends, nor be reclaimed by his own Calamities, would loſe that part of the Kingdom which remained, * caſt him into Priſon; where, either for Grief in having his Pleaſure reſtrained; or, for Fear to be made a Publick Spectacle of Scorn, he laid violent hands on himſelf, in the Sixth Year of his Reign. Others report, that This *Donaldus* performed many Noble Exploits, both at home and abroad; and that he dyed a natural death at *Scone*, in the Year of our Lord 858.

[d] Peace granted upon hard Terms to the *Scots*.

[e] The *Picts* driven out of *Albium*, and never recalled.

* *Sterling* Money.

* *Donald* caſt into priſon, where he dies.

Constantinus II. *The Seventy First King.*

Constantinus, the Son of *Kennethus*, undertook the Kingdom after him, at *Scone*; he was a Prince of a great Spirit, and highly Valorous. He was desirous to obliterate the Ignominy received under *Donaldus*, and to enlarge his Kingdom unto the Bounds, left by his Father; but he was otherwise advised by his Nobles, because the greatest part of the Soldiery were slain under *Donaldus*; and the remainder was grown so Corrupt, that it was not fit to put Arms into their hands. And thereupon, the King first bent his care to amend the Publick Discipline; and so he reduced the Order of Priests to their Ancient Parsimony, by severe Laws, in regard they had left off Preaching, and had given up themselves to * Luxury, Hunting, Hawking, and to Courtly-Pomp. He caused the Young Soldiers, who were effeminated with Pleasures, to lye on the Ground, and to Eat but once a day. [f] Drunkards he punished with Death. He forbad all sports, but those who served to harden both Body and Mind, for the Wars. By these Laws, the Soldiery of the Kingdom were reduced to a better pass. And presently upon, a certain Islander, named *Evenus*, whom he himself had made Governour of *Loch-Abyr*, a Man of an unquiet Spirit, and Ambitious of Dominion, rose up in Arms; who, knowing, That the Youthful Fry of Soldiers could not well bear the Severity of these New Laws, First, gathered together a small Number, and then a greater, complaining of the present State of Things. And when he found his Discourse was acceptable to them, he easily perswaded them to conspire for the Destruction of *Constantine*. But, being more active than cautelous in gathering strength to their Faction, they were betrayed by some of their Own, and slain, before they knew any Forces were gathered together against them. [g] *Evenus*, the head of the Conspiracy, was hanged. About this time it was, That the [h] *Danes*, then the most Potent and Flourishing Nation amongst the *Germans*, were solicited by the *Picts* against the *Scots*, and also by one *Buernus*, (or, as others write, *Verna*, whose Wife *Osbreth* had forceably Vitiated) which They, being over-stocked with Youngsters at home, easily assented to, and so they transported themselves, in a great Navy, into *Britain*. Their first Descent was in *Fife*, there they slew all they met, without distinction, out of Hatred to the *Christian* Religion; and dividing their Army, they spoiled the Country two several ways. *Constantinus* drew forth against them, and first he set upon that Brigade, which *Hubba*, Brother to the *Danish* King, commanded; who, being hindred to joyn with their Fellows, by the sudden swelling of the River *Levin*, were there easily overcome and slain, except a few of his Men, who could swim over the River, who fled to their other Commander, called *Humber*. *Constantinus* followed after them, as to a Prey, not a Battel, and overtook them not far from the Town of * *Carail*, but not before they had well fortify'd their Camp. For the *Danes*, being very provident after their late unhappy Fight, had made a kind of Defensive Fortification, upon some small Winding Rocks, near the shore, by heaping up a parcel of Stones together, which

* Ecclesiasticks Reformed by *Constantine*.

[f] Drunkenness Punished with Death.

[g] *Evenus* put to Death, for conspiring against *Constantine*.

[h] The *Danes* Invade *Scotland*, are worsted at first; yet, afterwards, overthrow *Constantine*, who was slain by them.

* On the East-point of *Fife*.

which lay thereabouts. In that posture, *Constantine* assaulted them; where, by reason of the Incommodiousness of the place, and the Desperation of the *Danes*, he paid dear for his Rashness; for he lost a great Part of his Army, he himself being taken Prisoner, and haled into a little Cave, hard by, was there slain. There are some Monuments of this Fight remaining to this day, as the Cave, the Circumference of their Camp, which was not cut out regularly, or by equal spaces, but turning and winding according to the Bending of the Rocks. Some lay the blame of this unlucky Accident upon the *Picts*, who, being admitted into *Constantines* Fealty and Army, were the first that ran away, and drew the greatest Part of the Army after them. The *Danes* gathered up the Spoils, and departed to their Ships. The Kings Body was found the day after, and carried to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors in the Island *Icolumb-kil*. He possessed the Kingdom sixteen Years, and died in the Year of our Lord 874.

Ethus, *The Seventy Second King.*

HIs Brother, *Ethus*, succeeded him, from the Swiftness of his Feet, Sirnamed *Alipes*, he was elected King upon no higher, or other, Account, but because he gathered together the Relicts of the Army, which was scattered by the *Danes*. Amongst the Prodigies of his Time, they reckon those Sea-Fishes then appearing, which are seldom seen, and not after long Intervals of Time, but they never appear but in Sholes, nor without some unlucky Presage. The Common People call them [a] *Monachi-marini*, *i. e.* Sea-Monks; others give them the Title of *Bassineti*, *i. e.* Hooded, or Helmeted, Fish. [b] *Ethus*, being unmindful both of his Brother and of his Ancestors, giving up himself to all manner of Vices, and drawing the young Soldiers, easily seduceable, along with him, was taken Prisoner by a Combination of the Nobles, made against him; and, after all the flagitious Acts of his Life had been declared to the People, in a long Speech, he was forced to abjure the Government, in the second Year of his Reign. Three days after, he died in Prison, for Grief. That which chiefly offended the Martial Men, was, his slothful Unactiveness; because, that when the *Danes* were at War with the *English*, and many bloody Battels had been fought between them, yet he never bethought himself of the recovering the Country, he had lost; nor would he suffer himself to be put in mind thereof, by others. Some write, that he was not inforced to relinquish his Kingdom, but that he was wounded in a Combate by *Gregorius*, who was emulous of the Kingdom, and that he died Two months after; *Anno Christ.* 875.

[a] Sea-Monks, a prodigious sort of Fish, swimming in Sholes, always portending some Evil.

[b] *Ethus*, for his Viciousness, forced to abjure the Government.

Gregorius, *The Seventy Third King.*

GRegorius, the Son of *Dongallus*, was set up in his stead; a Man of a Royal Spirit, in whom no Virtue, requisite in a King, was wanting. First, he reconciled all those to him, who were against him in suing for the Kingdom; and then, he proceeded to compose the Discords of the Nobles amongst themselves; He so tempered the

Severities of his Government with Affability, that he did more with his Subjects by Love, than by Fear; He restored the *Old* Laws, concerning the Immunity of the Ministers of the Church, (who were but in the nature of Slaves, under the *Picts*) or else he made *New*, to the same purpose. His first [c] Expedition was into *Fife* against the *Picts*, left there by the *Danes*, whilst they were employing their Arms against the *English*. He drove them not out of *Fife* only, but out of *Lothian*, and *Merch*, too. The *Danes*, when he came to *Berwick*, fearing, if they should have any Misfortune, the *English* also would be upon their backs, durst not join in a Field-fight with *Gregory*; but sent Part of their Forces over the River into *Northumberland*, commanding them to join with a small Brigade of their Countrymen, who had gathered themselves together, and were newly landed, there; The Rest of them enter'd *Berwick* to strengthen the Garison there. But the *English*, who were, but unwillingly, under the Command of the *Danes*, (as being Men of a different Religion from them) gave admission to the *Scots* in the night, by which means all the *Danes* were put to the Sword. From thence, *Gregory* marched into *Northumberland*, and fought a prosperous Battel against *Hardnute*, wherein he made so great a slaughter of them, that their Numbers, which were lately formidable to all *Britain*, were mightily diminished, partly by *Gregory* of *Scotland*, and partly by *Alfrid* of *England*. *Gregory* took in all *Northumberland*, and gave free leave to those *English* to depart, who were willing so to do; to the rest, he very courteously distributed Lands. The greatest part of the *English* staid behind, partly out of love to their native Soil, partly by reason of the Kings Bounty to them; and partly also, for fear of their Enemies. For, seeing they had now, for many years, had several cruel Fights with the *Danes*, the Victory being many times uncertain, Many of the *English* chose rather to be under the Dominion of the *Scots*; who, though formerly Enemies, were yet *Christians*, than either to fall into the power of the Bloody *Danes*; or, to hope for uncertain Aid from their own Countrymen; especially, since things were in such an hurly burly over all *Britanny*, that the *English* knew not which Party to succour, first. After he had so chastised the *Danes*, that he expected no more Trouble from them, he turned his Arms upon the *Brittons*, who, as yet, held some of the *Scotish* Dominions; with These also he made Peace, they restoring the the said Lands, and promising to assist him against the *Danes*, if they did return; Whereupon, he disbanded his Army. But the *Brittons*, after their return home, repented of the Peace they had made; and entring *Scotland* again in an hostile manner, they were driving away a great Booty, but *Gregory* met them at * *Loch-Maban*, and, after a bloody Fight, overthrew them, *Constantine*, their King, being also slain. The *Brittons*, having received this fruit of their ill Counsel, made *Hebert*, the Brother of *Constantine*, King; and then began to think, in what a dangerous Case they were, having the both the *Scots* and *Danes* their Enemies; and their Alliance with the *English* seldom long-lived. Hereupon, they sent Embassadors to the *Scots* for Peace, who would not hearken thereunto, unless [d] *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* were restored to them, which was done, and

[c] *Gregory* overcomes the *Picts* and *Danes*,

* In *Annandale*.

[d] And the *Brittons* also, causing them to restore *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*.

and the Peace made on thoſe Conditions. About the ſame time, there came alſo Embaſſadors from [c] *Alured* of *England*; partly, to Congratulate the Victory over the *Danes*, which ought (ſaid they) to be juſtly acceptable to all *Chriſtians*; and partly, to enter into a new League againſt all the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Faith and Religion. Peace was concluded on theſe Conditions; 'That they ſhould 'oppoſe a Foreign Enemy with their joynt Forces, if they made a 'Deſcent into the Borders of either People; and that the *Scots* ſhould 'quietly enjoy what they had got from the *Danes*: Peace being concluded, on thoſe Terms, and a League made and Eſtabliſh'd, word was brought *Gregory* upon his return, That the [f] *Iriſh* had made an Irruption into *Galway*. The Cauſe of the War was pretended to be, becauſe the Men of *Galway* had hoſtilely ſeized upon, and Plundered ſome Galleys, driven on their Coaſts, belonging to the Inhabitants of *Dublin*, a City in *Ireland*. The *Iriſh*, hearing of *Gregory's* coming, retired preſently in fear with their Prey to their Ships; and *Gregory*, with a good Navy, and ſtrong Army, as ſoon as he could with conveniency, tranſported himſelf into [g] *Ireland* alſo. *Duncan*, or *Donatus*, or rather *Dunachus*, was, at that time, their King; but being under Age, *Brienus* and *Cornelius*, Two of the powerfulleſt of the Nobility next to him, had divided the whole Land into Two Factions. But patching up a Truce at the Arrival of a Foreign Enemy, they pitched and fortify'd their Camps, apart, near the River *Bann*, a Place which ſeemed convenient enough for that purpoſe. Their End in ſo doing, was, to take off the Edge of *Gregorys* Valour by delay, and to force him to withdraw his Army from a Foreign haraſſed Country, for want of Proviſions. *Gregory* ſmelt out their Deſign, and therefore, very ſecretly, in the Night, he ſent part of his Army to ſeize upon an Hill which was, as it were, over *Brienus's* head. The Day after, when the Battel was joyned, in the Heat of the Fight, they threw down mighty Stones into his Camp, which cruſhed many of his Men to pieces, and ſo terrify'd the reſt, that their Ranks were broken; and in a confuſed manner, they fled away. *Cornelius*, hearing of the Event of this Fight, withdrew his Army without ſtriking a ſtroke into Places of greater ſafety. *Brienus* was ſlain in his Camp; the reſt had Quarter given them, as much as might be, by *Gregorys* command. Whereupon, he marched over the Country without any Depopulation at all, which Lenity occaſion'd many rather to ſubmit themſelves to the Mercy of the King, than to try it out by Force. The fortified Towns were ſtrengthened with Gariſons. *Gregory* reduced [h] *Dundalk* and *Drogheda*, Two ſtrong places, made ſo both by Art and Nature; and then determined to march directly to *Dublin*. But, hearing that *Cornelius*, General of all the *Iriſh* Forces, was coming againſt him with a great Army, he turned aſide, fought with, and overthrew, him, following the Chaſe as far as *Dublin*, which he beſieged. But there was not Proviſion enough in the City for ſo many People, as had fled thither; ſo that, in a ſhort time, it was ſurrendred to him by *Cormachus*, the Biſhop of the City. *Gregory*, at his entrance into it, did no prejudice at all to any of the Inhabitants; but Viſited King *Duncan*, his Kinſman, & proteſted, that he came not thither out of an Ambitious deſire

[c] Peace made between *Alured* of *England* and the *Scots*.

[f] The *Iriſh* break in upon *Galway* in *Scotland*.

[g] Which cauſes *Gregory* to follow them into *Ireland*.

[h] Where he takes *Dundalk*, *Tredagh*, and *Dublin*, and then makes Peace with the *Iriſh*, and returns.

desire to take away the Kingdom from him, or to amass up Riches for himself; but only to revenge the Injuries he had received. Hereupon he committed the Care of the Young King to such of his Old Counsellors, as he judged most faithful to him; and himself bore the Name of his Tutor or Guardian, till he came to be of Age: He also put Garisons into the Forts, and exacted an Oath from the Nobility; That they should admit neither *English*, *Dane*, nor *Britton* into the Island, without his Permission: He appointed Judges in convenient Places, who were to judge betwixt Man and Man in matters of Controversy, according to the Laws of the Country; and receiving Sixty Hostages for the performance of these Conditions, he returned home in Triumph. The Fame of his Justice made the Peace firmer for the future, than any Terror of Arms could have done. Having thus managed Matters both at home and abroad, he departed this Life in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, being no less eminent for his Justice and Temperance, than for his Valour: So that he was justly Sir-named, by his Countrymen, *Gregory* the *Great*. He died A. 892.

Donaldus VI. *The Seventy Fourth King.*

DONALD, the Sixth of that Name, the Son of *Constantine*, the Second, was made King, next after *Gregory*, having been recommended by *Gregory*, before his Death, to the Nobility. He deceived not the Opinion, which Men had conceived of him, *i.e.* That he was a very prudent Prince; for he Loved Peace no otherwise, but that therein he always prepared for War. And when, for a long time, he had no Enemy to encounter with, yet he took care, that the Soldiery should not grow too Luxuriant, being corrupted by Ease & Rest; and so made inclineable to run into all manner of evil Practices. When a new Army of *Danes* drew near to the Coasts of *Northumberland*, and Anchored there for some days, without prejudicing any body, *Donaldus* gathered an Army together, and, being watchful over all opportunities, went to guard that Province. But, hearing, that the *Danes* had made a Descent upon the Country of the *English*, he sent Aid to King *Alured*, who fought a bloody Battel with the *Danes*. Yet, after the Battel, he was content to admit them into Part of his Dominions, provided, they would turn *Christians*. Peace was made on those Terms, the Army disbanded, and a new homebred Commotion entertained *Donaldus* at his return. Their happened so great a Feud betwixt the *Rossians*, and the *Merch*-men, caused by some small Robberies at first, that more were slain by occasional Combats, than if they had met in a pitched Battel. *Donald* marched thither, and, having slain the Heads of the Factions, restored Peace to the rest. *Johannes Fordanus*, a *Scotish* Chronologer, says, That in this Expedition he dyed at * *Fores*, not without the suspition of Poison; But *Boetius* affirms, that he return'd to *Northumberland*, to see, what would become of the Peace he had made with the *Danes*; of whom he was always suspitious; and that he dyed there, after he had Reigned Eleven years. His Memory was precious both to Rich and Poor. His Death was *A.C.* 903.

[1] The *Danes* Fight a bloody Battel with the *English*, and afterwaad turn *Christians*.

* A Town in *Murry-land*, not far from *Elgin*.

Constantine III. *The Seventy Fifth King.*

CONSTANTINE, the III. the Son of *Ethus*, was substituted King in his room; a man of no ill Disposition, and yet not constant in Good, neither. The *Danes*, who could incline *Gregory* and *Donald*, the Two last Kings of the *Scots*, by no Promises or Persuasions, to take Arms against the *English*, which were then *Christians*; Now they easily wrought upon [k] *Constantine* by Gifts, and by the vain Hope of enlarging his Dominions, to make a League with Them, which lasted scarce Two years, but the *Danes*, deserting the *Scots*, struck up a League with the *English*. This League had scarce continued Four years, before *Edward* of *England* gathered an Army speedily together, and spoiled the *Danes* Country; whereby they were reduced to such straights, that they were enforc'd to return to the *Scots*, whom they had lately deserted; To whom they Swore most Religiously, That they would for ever after observe the Amity, most inviolably, betwixt Them. This Second League is reported to have been entered into with great Ceremony, in the Tenth Year of *Constantines* Reign. He gave, the same year, *Cumberland* to *Malcolm*, Son of the last King, which was as an honourable * *Omen* to him, that he should Reign after him. And afterwards the same Custom was observed, by some succeeding Kings, to the manifest disanulling of the old way of Convening the Estates, whose Free Suffrages ought not to have been thus abridged; but this was like the Designation of the Consuls, by the *Cæsars*, which put an end to the *Roman* Liberty. A War being now commenced between *Edward*, the Son of *Alured*, and the *Danes*; *Constantine* sent Aid to the *Danes*, under the Conduct of *Malcolm*. He joyned his Army with the *Danes*, and being Superior in number, they harassed the adjoyning Countries of the *English*, and made great Devastation, wheresoever they came; to the end, that they might force the *English*, who had a far less numerous Army, to Fight: Yea, they were so arrogantly confident of their Numbers, that, they thought, their Enemy would never so much as look them in the Face; so that now, as secure of the Victory, they began to talk of dividing the Spoil. But, *as Prosperity doth blind the Eyes of the Wise; so Adversity, and the foresight of Danger, is a good Schoolmaster, even to the weaker side*; What the *English* wanted in strength, they supplyed in Cunning and Skill; Their Army was well seconded with Reserves, and so they began the Fight; the First Ranks, being commanded so to do, give ground, and pretend a Discomfiture and Flight; that so, their Enemies following them in disorder, they might again return upon them in that straggling posture: *Athelstan*, the Base-born Son of *Edward*, was General of all the *English* Forces, as our Writers affirm; and *Grafton* also says the same thing: They make this *Athelstan* guilty of Parricide, for killing his Father, and his Two Brothers *Edred* and *Edwin*, whose Right it was immediately to succeed their Father, in the Kingdom: Fame doth increase the Suspicion, that *Edward* was violently put to death, because it accounts him a Martyr. For that Fact he was hated; and therefore, to recover the Favour of the People,

[k] *Constantine* taketh part with the *Danes* against the *English*.

* The Ancient Liberty of the Subject invaded.

People, by ſome eminent Undertaking, he determined to expiate the Blood of his Kindred, by ſhedding That of his Enemies; And thereupon, after he had fought ſtoutly a-while, he gave Ground, by little and little, but afterward in greater Fear and Confuſion, as if he intended abſolutely to run away. The *Danes* and *Scots*, ſuppoſing themſelves Conquerors, were unwilling to make any brisk purſuit, leſt the Cowardlieſt of the Soldiers ſhould enjoy all the Prey; and therefore, they returned to plunder their Camp. Hereupon, *Athelſtan* gave a Signal, and the [l] *Engliſh*, returning to their Enſigns, ſet upon them as they were ſcattered and laden with Booty, and killed them, like Dogs. The greateſt part of the *Scotiſh* Nobility was loſt in this Fight, who choſe rather to dye on the ſpot, than to undergo the Ignominy of deſerting their Companions. *Malcolm*, being much wounded, was carried off the Field, by his own Men, and ſent the doleful Tidings of the loſs of his Army to King *Conſtantine*; neither was the face of things more pleaſant amongſt the *Danes*. *Athelſtan*, during this Aſtoniſhment of his Enemies, took [m] *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland* from the *Scots*; and *Northumberland*, from the *Danes*. * *Conſtantine*, having not force enough neither to wage War, or to carry on matters in Peace, called a Convention of the Eſtates, at *Abernethy*, and willingly reſigned the Kingdom, and betook himſelf to the * *Culdei*, (certain Hermits, ſo called, living in Cells) Worſhippers of God, (for ſo the Monks of that Age were called) as into a Sanctuary, amongſt whom he lived the reſt of his life at St. *Andrews*. Here the *Engliſh* Writers, who are profuſe enough in their own Praiſes, do affirm, That *Athelſtan* was the Monarch of all *Britanny*, and that the reſt, who had the Names of Kings, in *Albion*, were but precariouſly ſo; and his Feudataries only, as taking an Oath of Fidelity to him, as the ſupreme Lord. And they introduce many ignoble *Engliſh* Authors, as Favourers of that Opinion: And, to procure the greater Credit thereunto, they add alſo *Marianus Scotus*, an Illuſtrious Writer, indeed. But here I deſire the Reader to take notice, that there is not the leaſt mention of any ſuch thing in that Edition of *Marianus*, which was Printed in *Germany*; but if they have another *Marianus*, different from him, who is publickly read, and interpolated or foiſted by them, let them produce him, if they can. Beſides, they, being Men generally unlearned, do not in ſome Places ſufficiently underſtand their own Writers, neither do they take notice, That *Bede*, *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* do commonly call that part, *Britain*, over which the *Britains* ruled, *i. e.* That within the Wall of *Adrian*; or, when they ſtretched their Dominions furtheſt, within the Wall of *Severus*; ſo that, the *Scots* and *Picts* are oftentimes reckoned by them to be out of *Britain*, and not ſeldom are called *Tranſmarine* People. And therefore, when they read, that the *Engliſh* ſometime Reigned over all *Britanny*, they underſtand the Authors ſo, as if they meant all *Britanny*, i. e. *Albium* or *Albion*, whereas they do often Circumſcribe *Britanny* within narrower limits, as I have ſaid before; But of this I have ſpoken more largely, in another place. To return then to the Affairs of *Scotland*.

[l] The *Scots* and *Danes* are overcome by the Policy of *Athelſtan* of *England*.

[m] Who recovers from them *Weſtmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, which yet ſoon after revolt to their old Maſters.

* *Conſtantine* reſigns the Kingdom.

* *Culdees* (perhaps, contracted from *Cultores Dei*) or *Kelds*, Who?

Malcolm,

Malcolm I. *The Seventy Sixth King.*

CO*nſtantine* having retired himſelf into the Cloyſter of the Monks, *Malcolm*, the Son of *Donald*, was declared King. *Athelſtan* being dead, and his Brother *Edward* Reigning, *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland* revolted from the *Engliſh*, and returned to their old Maſters. Moreover, the *Danes*, who remained in *Northumberland*, ſent for *Avalaſſus*, their Countryman, of the Royal Progeny, who was Baniſhed into *Ireland*, to make him King; *Edmund*, foreſeeing, what Clouds of War were gathering over his Head, yielded up *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland* to *Malcolm*, upon this Condition, That he who ſhould next ſucceed in the *Scotiſh* Kingdom, ſhould take an Oath to the King of *England*, as the Lord Paramount of that Country. Afterwards, he eaſily reduced the *Danes*, who had been afflicted with ſo many Calamities: Neither did he long ſurvive his Victory. The *Engliſh* choſe his Brother *Edred*, King after him; againſt whom, the *Danes*, who poſſeſſed *Northumberland*, and never cordially obſerved any Peace made with the *Engliſh*, did rebel, and took from him many ſtrong Places, whilſt he was buſied in other parts of his Kingdom, and principally, *York*; but he overcame them, by the aſſiſtance of 10000 *Scots*; *Malcolm* returning home, gave himſelf up wholly to the Arts of Peace; And, to cure the Inconveniencies occaſioned by the Wars, eſpecially Luxury and Bribery, he himſelf did ordinarily Viſit all the *Scots* [n] Courts of Judicature, once in two years, and adminiſtred Juſtice with great Equity. At length, whileſt he was buſie in puniſhing Robbers, and in reſtraining the lewd Manners of the younger ſort, he was [o] ſlain by ſome Conſpirators of *Murray*-Land, in the night, in the Fifteenth year of his Reign. The Perpetrators of that Villany were, with great diligence, ſought after, and found out by the Nobles, and, being apprehended, were put to ſeveral exquiſite Deaths, according to every ones ſhare of demerit, in committing the Parricide.

[n] *Malcolm*, ſometimes ſits in Courts of Juſtice, himſelf.

[o] He is ſlain.

Indulfus, *The Seventy Seventh King.*

I*Ndulfus* Reigned after him, who, having ſetled things in Peace at home, lived ſeven years after in great Tranquillity: But in the Eighth year of his Reign, the *Danes*, taking it amiſs, that the Alliance with the *Engliſh* was preferred before Theirs, and that a perpetual League was made between the two Kings againſt them, came with a Navy of 50 Ships into the Firth of *Forth*, when the *Scots* little expected any ſuch thing, inſomuch, that they had almoſt ſurprized, and overthrown them, unawares. In ſuch a ſudden emergency, all were full of fear and amazement, inſomuch that ſome carried their Goods into the midland Country, as a place of more ſafety; others came to the Sea-ſide, to hinder the Enemies Landing. *Hago* and *Helricus* were the two Admirals of the Fleet. They endeavoured, firſt to Land in *Lothian*, and afterwards in *Fife*, but in vain; then they eſſayed to enter the *Firth* of the River *Tay*, but there alſo they were hindred from making any deſcent on Land; ſo that they

Coasted about the Sea-Coasts of *Æneia* or *Angus*, of *Mern*, *Marr*, and *Buchan*, but, in all places, being hindred from Landing, they hoisted their Sails into the Main, as if they intended to return home. But within a few days, when all was secure, they came back again, and having gotten a convenient place in *Boyn*, at the Mouth of the River *Cullin*, they there ? landed their Men without opposition, before the Country People could give any alarm of their Arrival. When *Indulfus* heard of their landing, he marched towards them, before they could well have any notice of his coming; and first, he set upon the straggling Plunderers, and drove them to the rest of their Army, but made no great Slaughter of them, because the Camp of the *Danes* was near, for them to retreat to. When the Armies came in sight of each other, they both set the Battel in array, and fell to it with equal force and courage: Whilst they were thus fiercely fighting, *Grame* and *Dumbar*, with some Troops of *Lothian*-Men, appeared on the Rear of the *Danes*, which struck them into such a Pannick fear, that they all run away, some to their Ships, others to unknown places, whithersoever the Fear of the Enemy drove them: But a great part of them cast themselves into a Ring, in a Woody Vale, and there waited for an occasion of acting valorously, or dying resolutely. *Indulfus*, as if his Enemies had been wholly overcome, rode up and down with a few Attendants, and, casually lighting on them, was there ? slain, at the beginning of the Tenth year of his Reign. Some say, that he was slain with an Arrow, shot out of a Ship, having disarmed himself, that he might be more nimble in the pursuit, and press the more eagerly upon them, as they were going a Shipboard.

? The *Danes* Land in *Scotland*.

? *Indulfus* Slain in a Fight with the *Danes*.

Duffus, *The Seventy Eighth King*.

After his Death, *Duffus*, the Son of *Malcolm*, got the Kingdom; in the beginning of his Reign he made *Culenus*, Son of King *Indulfus*, Governour of *Cumberland*, and sent him into the *Ebudæ*, which were then in War and Disorder, by reason of the frequent Robberies committed there. For the young Soldiers of the Nobility, having got a great Pack of their Fellows about them, made the Common People tributary to them: imposing a pecuniary Mulct on every Family, besides Free-quarter; and yet *Culenus* dealt not harder with them, than with the very Governors themselves of the Island, who ought to have restrained such outrages. He commanded, That, for the future, They, by whose negligence, these disorders had happened, should make Satisfaction to the Commonalty, and also pay a Fine to the King. This Injunction struck such a Terror into these idle paltry Fellows, that Many of them went over into *Ireland*; and there got their Living by their Daily labour. As this matter was acceptable to the Commons, so it was as offensive to the Noble Allies of Those, who were Banished, and to many of the younger sort, who did approve that idle kind of Life. These Men, ? in all their Meetings and Assemblies, First secretly, Afterwards in the presence of a Multitude of such as applauded them, began openly to revile their King; alleging, That he despised the Nobility, and was drawn away

? Murmurings against King *Duffus*.

away; and ſeduced, by the Counſel of ſorry Prieſts; That he put Men of Gentile Extraction, to Servile Offices; That he advanced the moſt abject of the People to the Higheſt Honours; That, in fine, he made ſuch Medleys, as to turn all things Topſy-Turvy. They added farther, That, if things ſhould continue at that paſs, either the Nobility muſt tranſport themſelves into other Countrys; or elſe, muſt make them a new King, who might Govern the People, by thoſe ancient Laws, whereby the Kingdom had arrived to that height, out of ſo ſmall beginnings. Amidſt theſe things, the [f] King was aſſaulted with a new and unuſual Diſeaſe, no evident cauſe thereof appearing, ſo that, when all Remedies had been tryed in vain, a Rumour was ſpread abroad, by I know not who, that he was bewitched; the ſuſpicion whereof aroſe, either from ſome Indications of his Diſeaſe, or elſe becauſe his body did waſte and pine away by continual ſweating, and his ſtrength was ſo much decay'd, that the Phyſicians, who were ſent for far and near, knew not what to apply for his relief. Thus, no *Common* cauſes of the diſeaſe diſcovering its ſelf, they had recourſe to a *Secret* one. And whilſt all were intent on the Kings Malady, at laſt News was brought, That Nightly Aſſemblies and Conſpiracies were made againſt him at *Foreſs*, a Town in *Murray*: The Report was taken for truth, there being nothing to contradict it: Whereupon, ſome faithful Meſſengers were ſent to *Donald*, Governor of the Caſtle, in whom the King confided much, even in his greateſt Affairs, to find out the truth of the matter. He, by the diſcovery of a certain Harlot, whoſe Mother was noted for a Wizard, detected and diſcovered the whole Conſpiracy. For the Young Girl, having blabbed out, a few days before, ſome words concerning the Sickneſs and Death of the King; being apprehended, and brought to the Rack to be tortured, at ſight thereof, preſently diſcovered, what was deſigned againſt the Life of the King: Whereupon ſome Soldiers were ſent, who found the Maids Mother and ſome other Goſſips, Roaſting the Kings Picture, made in Wax, by a ſoft Fire; Their deſign was, that, as the Wax did leiſurely melt, ſo the King, being diſſolved into a Sweat, ſhould pine away by degrees; and when the Wax was quite conſumed, then, his breath failing him, he ſhould preſently die; when this Picture of Wax was broken, and the Witches puniſhed, in the ſame Month the King was freed from his Diſeaſe, as ſome ſay. Theſe things I deliver, as I receiv'd them from our Anceſtors: What to think of this ſort of Witchcraft, I leave to the Judgment of the Reader, only minding him, That this ſtory is found amongſt our Ancient *Archives* and Records. Amidſt theſe things, the fear of the King being laid aſide, becauſe they hoped he would ſhortly die, many Robberies and Murders were committed, every where. *Duffus*, having recovered his ſtrength, followed the Robbers thro' *Murray*, *Roſs*, and *Caithnes*, and ſlew many of them, at occaſional Onſets; but he brought the Chief of them to [*] *Foreſs*; That ſo, their Puniſhment might be the more conſpicuous, in that Town. There *Donaldus*, Governor of the Town and Caſtle, Petitioned the King to pardon ſome of his Relations, who were of the Plot; but, being denied, he conceived great Indignation againſt the King, as if he had been highly wronged; whereupon, he was wholly

[f] Witchcraft practiſed upon King *Duffus*, How, and by Whom?

[*] A Town in *Murry-land*, 7 or 8 Miles North of *Elgin*.

intent on Thoughts of Revenge; for he judged, That his deserts from the King were so great, that, whatever he asked of him, he ought not to be denied: And besides, the Wife of *Donald*, seeing some of her Kindred too, were like to suffer, did further inflame the, already disaffected, Heart of her Husband, by bitter words; Moreover exciting him, to attempt the Kings Death, affirming, That, seeing he was Governor of the Castle, The Kings Life was in his Power; and, having that Power, he might not only perpetrate the Fact, but conceal it, after it was committed: Hereupon, when the King, tired with business, was sounder asleep than ordinary, and his Attendants, being made Drunk by * *Donald*, were in a Dead-sleep also; he sent in *Assassins*, no man being aware, and, after they had Murdered the King, they carried him out so cunningly, a back way, that not so much as a drop of Blood appeared; and so he was buried two Miles from the Abby of * *Kinloss*, under a little Bridge, in a blind place, having Grassy-Turfs of Earth cast over him, that there might be no sign of any Ground, that was digg'd up. This seems a more likely story to me, than what others write, that the course of the River was turned, and so his Body was cast into a hole at Bottom; but when the Waters were returned again to their own Chanel, then his Grave, such as it was, was covered. Also the Actors of that bloody Fact were sent away, because there is an * Opinion, received from our Ancestors, which as yet obtains amongst the Vulgar, *That blood will Issue from a dead Body, many days after the party was murdered, if the murderer be present, as if the fact had been but newly committed.* The day after, when the Report was spread abroad, that the King was missing, and that his Bed was besprinkled with blood, *Donald*, as if he had been surpriz'd at the atrocity of the Fact, flys into the Kings Bed-Chamber; and, as if he had been mad with Anger and Revenge, he slew the Officers appointed to attend him; after that, he presently made diligent inquiry every where, if any discovery of the dead Body might be made. The rest, being amazed at the Fact, and afraid too of their own selves, returned every one to his own house. Thus this Good King was wickedly slain, in the Flower of his Age, after he had Reigned 4 Years and 6 Months; and as soon, as they conveniently could, the Estates Assembled to create a New King.

* King *Duffus* treacherously Murdered by *Donald* and his Wife.

* In *Murryland*.

* A Traditional Opinion, still obtaining; Especially, if the Murtherer touch the Murdered Body.

Culenus, *The Seventy Ninth King.*

Culenus, the Son of *Indulfus*, being made King by the Assembly of the Estates; the next Thing, there done, was, the questioning the Murder of King *Duffus*; and they made the more haste to examine that Affair, because of some Prodigies, that had hapned, of which *one* seemed properly to respect the very Fact. An Hawk was *slain*, trus'd by an Owl, and his Throat cut by him; The other Prodigy was also referred to the same thing, in the interpretation of the Vulgar; For six whole months, after the Murder was committed, extraordinary Fires appeared in the Element, the Air was agitated with extraordinary Winds; Yea, the Heavens were so coloured and enveloped with Clouds, that neither Sun, nor Moon, could be seen in *Scotland*, all that time. Hereupon, all Men were intent to revenge the

* Prodigies, upon the Murder of *Duffus*, awaken the Estates to revenge it.

the good Kings death; and, to that purpoſe, *Culenus* went into *Murray*, hoping to find ſome ſurer Diſcoveries of the Murder upon the place, where it was committed. *Donald*, hearing of his coming, and being conſcious to himſelf of his Parricidal and Nefarious Cruelty, of which alſo his over-curious, and ſeemingly wild, Inquiſitiveneſs, made in ſearch after the Authors thereof, rendred him more ſuſpected, procured a Ship at the mouth of the River *Spey*; wherein, with ſome others, he embarked himſelf, unknown even to his Wife and Children. This he did out of fear, leſt the Truth ſhould have been extorted from him, by the Rack. This his haſty flight, his dejected Countenance, (as it was obſerved) his few Attendants, his trembling at his entrance into the Ship, which was but caſually riding there, without any preparation for his Voyage; did raiſe ſo great a ſuſpicion upon him in the minds of all, who were preſent, that they forbore not to vent all manner of Contumelies againſt him, calling him an Impious, Sacrilegious, Fellow, and a Paricide, and what other foul terms of reproach their inflamed anger could ſuggeſt. They added alſo, That, though he had prevented the coming of the King, yet he could never avoid the Vindictive Providence and Judgment of Almighty God. In a word, they followed him with all the Execrations, which the higheſt Indignation did offer to provoked Minds, even till the Ship was quite out of ſight. When *Culenus* heard of his haſty flight, he ſpeeded his march thither, where he apprehended the Wife of *Donaldus*, and his three Children; and, for fear of Torture, compelled them to diſcover the whole Series of the Conſpiracy; as alſo how, by whom, and where the Body was buried; and that ſhe her ſelf was not only privy to the Murder, but alſo a fellow-actor in it, and a perſuader of her Husband, thereunto. When the People heard this, (for ſhe was publickly Tried) the Magiſtrates could hardly diſſuade them from tearing her to pieces. The day after, *Donaldus*, having been toſſed ſome days, with contrary Winds at Sea, was Shipwracked and caſt aſhore, and being brought to the King, *he* and all *his* underwent their moſt deſerved puniſhments. They who brought him to the King were liberally rewarded, his Caſtle was burnt, and all that were therein were ſlain. And the Body of *Duffus* was honourably interred amongſt his Anceſtors. As theſe things did highly ingratiate *Culenus* to thoſe who were good; ſo the remaining part of his Life did accumulate ſo much *Odium* on him, as never any King, before him, ever laboured under. For, whether induced by his own Nature, or urged for fear of Danger, (as he would have it thought) he ſuffered the ſeverity of the Diſcipline, uſed under *Indulfus* and *Duffus*, to grow cold and remiſs; and permitted the younger Tribe, being given up to unſeaſonable Debauchery, and Foreign Delights, to run into thoſe Licentious practices, which were forbid by the Laws; till, at laſt, they broke forth into open Violence and Robbery. And when he ſaw the greateſt part of the young Nobility addicted to thoſe Vices, he alſo immerged himſelf in the ſame, ſo that he abſtained not from vitiating Noble Matrons, and even Religious Nuns, (which, in that Age, on the account of their Chaſtity, were had in great Veneration) no, nor from his own Siſters or Daughters, neither; nay, he kept Troops of other Harlots, hired by

* The Murderers of *Duffus* apprehended and executed.

Culen. lets looſe the reins to Voluptnouſneſs, and indeavours to juſtifie it in himſelf, and the young Nobility.

by his Panders, in his Court, as in a Brothel-house. When he was admonished, and put in mind of these things, by Wise and Prudent Persons; on the behalfe of the young Nobility, he answered, That something was to be indulged to their Age; and as for himself, thô he confessed, That, some things were amiss, yet he was forced, out of fear, to tolerate them: For, I remember, said he, what great Calamity the unseasonable Severity of the former King brought, not only on himself, but on the whole Kingdom also: That the Nobility were the Stay and Prop of the Throne; That it was not true, that the Martial Spirits of Men were always broken by this free kind of Life, or made low and abject; nor, That the Thoughts of Arms were so neglected by them in Peace, as if they expected, That there would never be any more War at all. 'Tis true, (proceeded he) The Luxury of Youthful Age is so far to be restrained, that it proceed not too far, that so the good Seed of Ingenuity might not be choaked (as it were) by overmuch jollity, in the very bud; yet, it is not *wholly* to be abridged, or taken away, lest the Seeds of Virtue should be plucked up together with it. When the Nobles heard this his Defensatory Plea; and perceiving, they could do no good upon him, by their Persuasions, but rather create trouble to themselves, if they should use the same liberty of Speech to him in their Rejoynders, they withdrew themselves from the Court, fearing, lest they should be compelled to be Witnesses, yea, Partakers also, of these facinorous Practices, the sight and hearing whereof they did detest, and ablior. The King, being freed from such troublesom Interposers, gave up himself wholly to Wine and Women. He proposed Rewards to those, who could invent any new kind of Pleasure, thô never so sordid and detestable; His Court was filled, Night and Day, with wanton Songs and the Huzza's of Drunkards; So that, Intemperance and Impudence were as much praised by him, as Modesty and Chastity are wont to be esteemed by Good and Pious Princes. Those Evils, which, thô allowed, or connived at, by the Law, in other Men, yet are acted by Them in *Secret*, were here *openly* committed, without Shame. The young Nobility, being thus Effeminated by Pleasure, and a Multitude of Parasites and Flatterers with them, extol the King to the Skies, as if he were the very *First* of their Kings, who had joyned Splendor and Magnificence with Authority; as tempering the Severity of his Government with Lenity, and easing the burdens of Care and Labour, by some Relaxation of Spirit and Allowance of Delight.

His Intemperance enfeebles his Body.

Now, to continue these Luxuriant courses, there was need of great Expence, and therefore the wealthier sort were Fined upon fained Accusations; and the *Plebeians* were suffered to be preyed upon, and harassed with all sorts of servile Offices. He that was not pleased with the present state of things, was accounted a barbarous Country-Clown; or, if he seemed to be of an higher Spirit than ordinary, he was presently accused by a company of Informers, as if he studied Innovation in the State. After 3 Years were spent in this flagitious Liberty, when Men were silent, out of Fear, or Sloth, * Luxury began to be a punishment to itself. For when the King's Strength was exhausted by immoderate Lust; and his Body had contracted

* Lust, a punishment to itself.

tracted Deformity by excessive Banquetings, those Diseases followed, which are wont to be Companions of such Vices; so that there remained nought but a rotten Carkass, fit for nothing but to bear the Punishment of his former impent Life. The King being thus disabled * for all Functions of Life, the strength, both of his Body and Mind, being enervated, and weakened by Intemperance, and his Courtiers also following the same practices, some *Heathrons* Fellows, being encouraged by hopes of Prey and Impunity, committed publick Robberies and Murders, regarding neither the *Plebeians*, as being Men of poor Servile Spirits; nor the Courtiers, as Persons enfeebled by Luxurious wickedness.

Culenus Summoned to appear at *Scone*.

* Or *Meffen*, lying on the River *Amond*, Two Miles above its Confluence with *Tay*, Three Miles above *Perth*.

He is slain by a *Thane*, for Vitiating his Daughter.

* *Thane* was a Name of Dignity amongst the Old *Scots*, and *Picts* before them, equal with a Baron, now: Mr. *Selden* judges it to come from a *Saxon* root. His Office was, like that of a Sheriff amongst us, to gather up the King's Revenu, Or, as an Under-Steward, to pay it in to the Lord *High Steward*, who was called *Abthane*.

Hereupon, the sounder Part of the Nobility, being encompassed with a double mischief, and therefore enforced to look to the Main, called an Assembly of the States at *Scone*. * The King also was willed to be there, That he might consult in common with the rest, in such a dangerous juncture of Affairs, for the Publick Safety, He, being inwardly struck at this Summons, and, as it were, awakned from his drowzy Sloth, began to advise with his Confederates, What a Man, in such streights, were best to do? And, tho he knew not, how to make any Resistance, nor yet, how to fly away; and, tho his Mind also presaged no good to him, yet he resolved to go to the Assembly. And, as miserable Men are wont to flatter themselves in Adversity, so he did not altogether Despair, That he, either out of Pity, or out of Respect to his Fathers Memory, should procure some Favour, that he might not be suddenly cast down from so great a Dignity, to an Abyss of Misery. In his Journy to *Scone*, having a Train big enough, but unarmed, and dispirited, about him, he was slain at a Neighbour Village called * *Methvin*. by the * *Thane*, or Sheriff of that Country, because he had forceably vitiated his Daughter. When his Death was made known, tho all Men were well pleased to be freed from such a Monster, with less trouble than they supposed they should, yet the Perpetration of the Fact by *Rohardus*, or *Rodulfus*, the *Thane*, was very much disliked by all People. He Reigned, as the former King did, 4 Years and 6 Months.

Kennethus III. *The Eightieth King.*

KENNETHUS, the Brother of *Duffus*, and Third of that Name, succeeded *Culenus*: He, being contrary to the former King, in his Disposition, Manners, and the whole course of his Life, used as much diligence in amending the Lives of the younger sort, as the other had done in corrupting them; tho, herein his Task was the greater, in regard, Men are carried headlong to Vices, with a greater Propension of Mind; but the way to Virtue is by a steep Ascent. And indeed, This was the Thing, that gave the chief Occasion to the Opinions of some Philosophers, who contended, That Man was Naturally made to enjoy Pleasure, but that he was hurled to Virtue, as it were, violently, and against his own Inclination. I grant, Both parts of the *Dilemma* are false; but, perhaps, the Original of the mistake, was, from hence, That, seeing there is a double Power of Nature in Man, One of his Body, the Other of his Mind;

Illustrating Similitudes, upon Philosophical Opinions.

the

the Vigour of the Body seems to exert itself, sooner and quicker than That of the Mind; And, as Plants do *first* send forth Stalks, Leaves, and Flowers, pleasant to behold, before the Seed begins to be formed in its proper Pod and Receptacle; but when the Seed ripens, all those other things fade, and at last wither away; so our Bodies do grow Youthful, before the Virtue of our Mind, (which is yet but weak and tender) can exert its force, but as the Members do grow Old by degrees, so the strength of Mind and Judgment doth more and more disclose it self: And therefore, as in Corn, we restrain the Luxuriant growth thereof, either by causing it to be Eaten up, or by cutting its over-rank Blade down; so in Young Men the Law supposes, That the forwardness of Wit, which overhastens to shew it self, should be restrained by careful Culture, until growing Reason may be able, of it self, to repress the Violence of the, now infirm, Body. But to return to *Kennethus*.

* The right Method for Publick Reformations, is, for Princes to begin at home, as K. *Kenneth* the 3d did.

He, well knowing, *That the Commonalty do usually comply with the Humour of their Prince, and do diligently imitate what he Loves*, first, did form a good discipline in his own Court and Family, that so he might express in *Deeds*, what he commanded in *Words*; and, as he propounded his own Life to be an Example to his Houshold; so he would have the Manners of his Domesticks to be exemplary to others. He first purged his Court from all Ministers of Lust and Wickedness, that so he might more Justifiably do the same in other parts of his Kingdom: Whereupon, he resolved to travel over the whole Country, to Indict Assemblys, for the preventing and punishing of Thefts, Murders, and Robberies, for the encouraging of Men to Labour by Rewards, and for exhorting them to Concord by alluring Speeches, that, by this means, the Ancient Discipline might be restored. But, in the Execution of this his purpose, he found greater difficulty than he imagined, for the Major part of the Nobility, either had Guilty Consciences themselves, and so feared their own Personal Punishments; or else, were *Allyed* in Blood to Those, who were Guilty; And therefore, the First Assembly being Indicted at * *Lanerick*, a Town of *Clydsdale*. They, who were Summoned to appear, being forewarned of their Danger by their Kindred, some of them fled into the *Ebudæ* Isles; Others, to other Parts, infamous for Robberies. The King, understanding the Cheat, and being not ignorant of the Authors of it, dissembled his Anger, and dissolved the Assembly; and so passed, with a few of his Confederates, into *Gallway*, as if he were to perform a Vow, he had made, to St. *Ninian*. Being come thither, he consulted with Those whom he judged most faithful to him, What was to be done, in such a case. The Result was, That a Convention of all the Nobility should, the next Year, be held at *Scone*, upon pretence of some considerable Matters to be advised upon, concerning the Good of the whole Nation, in General; That there the Heads of the Factions might be apprehended without any Tumult; and when they were Imprisoned, their Clans and Tenants might be made to bring in the Malefactors to the King. This Project was judged most adviseable, but it was kept Secret, and communicated but to few, until the meeting at *Scone* came. There the King had caused his Servants to prepare Soldiers, and to keep them pri-

* On the Banks of *Clyd*, 5 Miles above *Hamilton*.

Kenneth politickly circumvents his Nobility at *Scone*, and causes them to Reform their Clandships.

vately

vately in the next Houſe to his Palace, the day before the States Aſſembled; and at the Opening of it, the Nobility, being very Numerous, came, where they were courteouſly treated by the King; but upon a Sign given, they were immediately beſet with Armed Men. They being ſurprized with Fear, at this ſudden Change, the King encouraged them, by a gentle Speech, telling them, *That they need not be afraid, for he intended no hurt to any good or innocent Man, and thoſe Arms were not provided for their Deſtruction but Defence. He farther alleged, how they could not be ignorant, That all his endeavours, ſince he firſt came to the Crown, tended to This, That Wicked and Debauch'd Perſons might be puniſhed, and the Good enjoy the Eſtates, either left them by their Anceſtors, or acquired by their own Induſtry; and beſides, might have the quiet enjoyment of thoſe Rewards, which the King bountifully had beſtowed upon them, according to every ones Worth and Deſert; and that things might eaſily be brought to that paſs, if they would lend their helping Hands: The laſt year,* (ſaid he) *when I ſummoned ſome of the Offenders to appear on a certain day, none at all came; that failure,* (as he underſtood) *was not made, ſo much out of Confidence of their own ſtrength, as of the Aſſiſtance of ſome of their Kindred and Friends, which, if it were true, was dangerous to the Publick, and alſo very reflective upon ſuch Kindred. Now was the time, when they might redeem both Themſelves from Crime, and the Kingdom from being moleſted by Robberies. This was eaſy to be done, if thoſe, which were moſt powerful in every County, would cauſe the Malefactors to be apprehended and brought to condign puniſhment, where thoſe Malefactors were, was viſible to all. But if they made Excuſes, and, having ſo fair Opportunity to merit well of their Country, were willingly defective to improve it. The King, to whoſe Care the ſafety of the whole was committed, could not be excuſed, if he ſet them at Liberty, before the Offenders were brought to Puniſhment, and that This was the End, why he detained them in Cuſtody: And if any one thought, his long durance would be a trouble to him, he might thank himſelf, ſeeing it was in his own Power, not only to procure his Liberty, but alſo to obtain Honour, Reward, and the Praiſe of all Good Men into the bargain.* The Nobles having heard this Harangue, unanimouſly anſwered, *That they had rather aſſert their Innocency by Deeds, than Words.* Whereupon, they promiſed him their Aſſiſtance, and deſired him to lay aſide all Suſpition, if he had conceived a ſiniſter Opinion of any of them. Upon this their Solemn Engagement, the King told them the Names of the Offenders. The Nobles, by their Friends, made diligent ſearch after them, and, in a ſhort time, they were brought to the King, and puniſhed according to Law. Whereupon, the Nobles were diſmiſſed, having received ſome Gifts, and many large Promiſes, from the King; and the Commonalty alſo pray'd heartily for their King.

Matters being thus compoſed at home, he faithfully obſerved the League, made by ſome former Kings with the *Engliſh*. But this great Trauquillity of all *Britain* was ſoon diſturbed by the *Danes*, who appeared with a great Fleet, and Anchored near the *Red-Promontory*, a Place in *Æneia*, or *Angus*. They there ſtaid ſome days in Conſultation, Whether they ſhould Land there, or direct their Courſe towards *England*, as they intended at firſt; Many of them were of

* *Red-Head.*

A *Daniſh* Fleet appears upon the Coaſt,

Opinion, That it was moſt adviſeable to make for *England*, an opulent Country, where they might have both Proviſion enough for their Army, and alſo ſome hopes of Auxiliaries and Recruits, in regard that there many of the *Daniſh* ſtock were yet alive amongſt them; and many others ſtood obliged to them for old Courteſys and Friendſhips; and that Theſe, upon the firſt notice of their Arrival, would preſently flock in to them, as of old they uſed always to do. But, as for the *Scots*, they were a fierce Nation and very hardy, as Thoſe uſe to be, who are bred in Barren and Hungry Soiles; That they never attempted them, without ſome great and remarkable loſs; and, in the preſent caſe, if they overcame them, it would hardly be worth their Labour: But if they were overcome by them, they muſt endure the utmoſt Extremity and Rigour: Others were of a different Opinion, alleging, That, if they made their Deſcent on the Coaſts of *England*, then they ſhould be obliged to Fight Both Nations at once; but if the *Scots* were *Firſt* overcome, the War againſt the *Engliſh* would be eaſy, when they were bereft of Foreign Aid, and alſo terrified with the Loſs of their Friends. They further urged, That it was not the part of Great and Magnanimous Spirits, to be intent on Prey and Booty only, they ſhould rather call to mind the Blood of their Kindred and Anceſtors, who had been ſo often cruelly ſlain in *Scotland*: And that now eſpecially, having a Great Army, and being furniſhed alſo with things neceſſary for War, they ought to take That Revenge, which might puniſh the Savage Cruelty of the *Scots*, according to their Deſerts, and might alſo carry the terror of the *Daniſh* Name to all the Neighbouring Nations.

Which Lands in *Scotland*.

This laſt Opinion prevailed, ſo that they Sailed their Navy to the Mouth of the River of *Eske*; and there Landed their Forces. They Plundered the Towns, next to them, deſtroying all with Fire and Sword; as for the Caſtle, they Levelled it to the Ground. They ſlew, higly-pigly, all the Inhabitants of the Town, without diſtinction of Age or Sex. The like Deſolation they alſo made all over *Angus*, even to the *Firth* of the River *Tay*. The News hereof was brought to the King, then reſiding at *Sterlin*. Thoſe, who had eſcaped the Fury of the Enemy, made things worſe in their Relations, than they were indeed. He, by the Advice of thoſe Nobles which were preſent, propounded a ſhort Day to ſuch as dwelt near, to come in to him. Thoſe, who dwelt farther off, he charged, by Letters, to haſte up with their Forces; but, with ſuch Force as he had at preſent about him, he drew towards the Enemy, both to make what Diſcovery he could of their Poſture; and alſo, to prevent the Plundering of Stragglers, as much as he could. In a ſhort time, a great Multitude came in to his Camp, which was pitched at the Confluence of the Rivers *Tay* and *Earn*. As he was there ordering his forces, News was brought him, That the Enemy had paſſed over the *Tay*, and were Beſieging *Perth*. The King, being concerned at the Danger of a Town ſo near him, marches directly to it. As ſoon as the *Danes* were in ſight, the *Scots*, eager of Revenge, made haſt to fight them, and making choice of a convenient Place to Order their Army, they drew towards the Enemy. But the *Danes* having ſeated themſelves on an oppoſite Hill, where they

Kenneth fights with the *Danes*, and is worſted at Firſt.

could

could not, without much hazard, be attacqued; the Archers and Darts-men compelled them to come down, insomuch that a most Cruel Fight began at the bottom of the Hill; much Blood was spilt, and the Victory uncertain; when the *Danes* gave forth a Word, thro' their whole Army, *That no man must ever hope to return again to their Camp, unless as a Conquerour.* Whereupon, making a great shout, they made such a brisk Charge and Assault upon the *Scots*, that they routed Both their Wings, and eagerly followed the Pursuit. That day had been certainly most ruinous to the *Scots*, unless Aid had been afforded by One man, sent, as it were, from Heaven, in so desperate a Posture of Affairs! There was a certain Countryman, whose name was *Hay*, who was casually Plowing in the Field, over which the Scots-Runaways were a Flying, and his Two Sons with him; They were strong-bodied men, Stout and Courageous, and also great Lovers of their Country. The Father took a Yoke; the Sons what Instruments they could catch, and stood in a narrow Pass, where the thickest of the Fugitives were flying; there, *First* by Reproaches, *Then* by Threatnings, they endeavoured to stop them, but not prevailing thereby, they fell upon those that pressed on them, saying, *That they would be as so many* Danes *to them, who thus ran away.* Hereupon, Those, who were of more fearful Spirits, made an halt; and the Stouter, who fled rather for Company, than for Fear, joyned with Them, crying out *Help was at hand*, so that the whole Company turned back again on the Enemy, and forc'd the *Danes* to as fearful and hasty a flight, as they themselves had been lately guilty of. This trepidation of the *Danes* occasioned a great Shout among the Baggage men, and other Followers of the Army, as if a New Army had been coming; This Passage gave so great encouragement to the *Scots*, and struck such a terror to the *Danes*, That it raised up the Spirits of the former, who were almost upon the point of Desperation; and occasioned to the other a *certain* Overthrow, instead of an *hoped* Victory. This is the Victory, obtained at the Village * *Loncarty*, celebrated for That, and some days after; and transmitted down to Posterity, with great Rejoycing. When the Conquerors were dividing the Spoils, the Name of *Hay* was in all their Mouths; many creditable Persons affirmed, that they saw, wherever He or his Sons made an onset, there Our Ranks were restored, and the *Danes* broken; in fine, they all unanimously ascribed the Prey, the Victory, the Honour of the Day, and their own Lives, to Him. When *Hay* was brought to the King, he spake very modestly of himself, and having Rich and Splendid Garments offered him, and his Sons, that He and They might be the more taken Notice of, at their Entrance into * *Perth*, he refused them, only he wiped away the dust off his Coat, which he wore every day; and carried the Yoke, which he used in the Fight, and so he entred the City; a great Train being commanded by the King to follow him at a distance, as well as some to go before him, such a Confluence of People there was at this new Spectacle, that He alone did almost take up the Solemnity of the whole day. After the departure of the *Danes*, and so sudden and unexpected a calm, in an Assembly of the Estates, shortly after Indicted at *Scone*, the First thing agitated, was, What Honours

The Day recovered by the Valour of *Hay* and his Sons.

The *Danes* receive a mighty overthrow.

* Standing 2 Miles West from the confluence of *Almond* and *Tay*, in *Perthshire*.

* St. *Johnstons*, called *Perth*, because built on a Gentlemans Land, named *Perth*.

and Rewards ſhould be beſtowed on *Hay* and his Sons. Lands were allotted him, almoſt the fruitfuleſt in all *Scotland*, which his Poſterity enjoy to this day, and their Family is propagated into many opulent Branches, and they were *then* taken out of the Claſs of the *Plebeians*, into the Order of the Nobility: And a Coat of Arms was aſſigned them according to the cuſtom of Noble Houſes, *viz.* *Ar.* 3 *Scutcheons Gules.* Which Bearing ſhews, (in my opinion) That the publick Safety was procured by the Eminent Fortitude of thoſe Three Perſons, in that Fight.

After this Battel, Peace ſeemed to have been ſettled for many Years, when, behold, ſome troubleſome matters at home did diſturb this Calm: As for the Commotion of the *Iſlanders*, who, in a Plundering way, ranged over all *Roſs*, That was quickly ſuppreſſed; ſome of the Robbers being ſlain in Fight, ſome taken in purſuit, and after Executed. But *Crathilinthus*, the Son of *Fenella*, or (as ſome call her) *Finabella*, gave far greater diſturbance: He was then the chief of all *Mern*, both in Deſcent and Wealth. *Crathilinthus*, his Grandfather, by the Mothers ſide, was made Governor by the King, over that part of *Angus*, which lies between the Two Rivers, each of them having the Name of *Eske*, where he gathered up the Kings Taxes and Revenues; his Nephew, coming with a great Train to viſit him, a ſudden Quarrel aroſe amongſt their Servants, ſo that two of *Crathilinthus*'s Friends were ſlain: He complained thereof to his Grandfather, who laid the blame of the Tumult upon his Nephews rude Retinue and Company, and, after a ſharp Reproof, he was diſmiſſed by him, but not without Contumelies from his Servants and Domeſticks: So that returning home, he in great Wrath, complained of the Affront to his Mother; who was ſo far from endeavouring to allay his Rage, and quiet the Mind of the incenſed Youth, by grave and wholeſome Counſel, that ſhe importuned him to Revenge himſelf by force of Arms, even upon her own Father, and his Grandfather, too. Hereupon, not long after, *Crathilinthus*, having gathered an armed Company together, fit for his purpoſe, comes by Night into *Angus*, to his Grandfathers Caſtle. He, with ſome few Followers were admitted in, without Suſpicion, and being once entred, he gave the Word to the reſt, who lay in Ambuſh, and let in them alſo; ſo that he ſlew his Grandfather, with his whole Family, plundered the Caſtle, depopulated the Country adjacent; and, as if he had done a Famous Exploit, he returned pompouſly with a great Booty into *Mern*. But the *Auguſtans* did not ſuffer this Injury to paſs long Unrevenged: For, ſoon after, gathering a great many of their Faction together, they made great Havock in the Diſtrict of *Mern*. From that time forward, Slaughters and Rapines were occaſionally committed on both ſides. *Kennethus*, hearing of it, publiſhed a Proclamation, That the *Chief* of either Faction ſhould appear at *Scone*, within Fifteen Days, to anſwer, What ſhould be objected againſt them; for he feared, that if a greater number ſhould reſort to the Factions, further Tumults might ariſe; ſome few being terrified by this minatory Edict, made their appearance accordingly; but the greateſt part, of whom *Crathilinthus* was Chief, being conſcious of their

Crathilinthus raiſes a diſturbance in *Scotland.*

their own Demerits, fled away, as every one thought moſt convenient. The King made diligent ſearch after them, the greateſt part of them were taken in *Loch-Abyr*, and ſome, elſewhere. * *Crathilinthus*, and the Cheif of the Faction, were puniſhed with Death; others, according to the Degree of their Crimes, had leſſer Puniſhments, and thoſe who were but a little Guilty, had none at all inflicted on them.

* But is ſuppreſſed, and put to Death.

This Moderation and Temperament procured to the King Fear from the bad, but great Love from others; and ſettled Peace in all his Kingdom, till the Twenty firſt year of his Reign. Inſomuch, That, if he had perſiſted in that courſe of Life, which he had begun, he might well have been reckoned amongſt the Beſt of Princes; for, he ſo performed all the Offices both of Peace and War, that he got great Renown upon the account of his Equity, Impartiality and Valour. But the Excellency of his former Life was blurred by one Wicked Fact that he committed, which ſeemed, too, more aggravated in him, in regard it was incredible, and unexpected to proceed from his Diſpoſition, who had before, ſo ſeverely puniſhed Grand Offenders. The Occaſion of it was This: The King, being now grown ſomewhat ancient, had a Son named *Malcolm*, a Prince of great Ingenuity, but in point of Age, not yet mature to Govern ſo fierce a People, if his Father ſhould die. Further, the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors was then againſt it, that he ſhould Reign next after his Father. For, They were wont to chooſe not the *next*, but the *fitteſt*, of the deceaſed Kings Relations, provided, he were deſcended from *Fergus* the Firſt, King of the *Scots*. Beſides, the Favour of the Nobility was another Obſtacle, which did incline to another *Malcolm*, the Son of King *Duffus*, the moſt Praiſe-Worthy Prince of all the *Scotiſh* Royal Race: Moreover, he was then Governor of *Cumberland*, which County the *Scots* did hold as Feudataries of the Kings of *England*, on ſuch Terms, That the Government of *Cumberland* was always looked upon as previous to the Throne of *Scotland*; for it had been ſo obſerved, for ſome Ages paſt. The King, perceiving, That this *Malcolm*, for the Reaſons aforementioned, would be an hindrance to his Deſign, not daring to do it openly, cauſed him privately to be made away by Poyſon. Thus died that excellent young Man, much lamented and near to his greateſt Hope; ſome Signs of Poiſon appeared in his Body, but no Man ever dreamt of ſuſpecting the King. Yea, his Deportment was ſuch, as to avert all Suſpicion; for he Mourned and Wept for his Death, and made an Honourable mention of his Name, when occaſion was adminiſtred to ſpeak of it; and cauſed him magnificently to be Interred, no Ceremony being omitted, which could be invented for the Honour of the Deceaſed. But this ſuperlative Diligence of the King, to remove the Suſpicion from himſelf, gave a ſhrewd Jealouſie to the more Sagacious. Yet, they forbore to ſpeak out, for the Reverence all bore to, and had conceived of the Kings Sanctity. But ſoon after, the King himſelf ſcattred ſome Words abroad, to try the Minds of Men, How they would bear the abrogating of an *old* Law, and the enacting a *new*, concerning the Succeſſion of their Kings, *viz. That according to the Cuſtom of many Nations, if a King died, his Son ſhould ſucceed him; and if he were*

Kenneth embrues his Hands in the Blood of the hopeful Prince, and his Kinſman *Malcolm*.

under

under Age, then to have a Protector or Tutor assigned to him, so the Kingly Name might rest in the Child; but the Power of Government, in the Tutors or Guardians, till he came to Age. Though a great Part of the Nobles praised his Speech, as being willing to Gratifie him; yet, the Suspicion concerning the Death of *Malcolm* prevailed upon the Major part, and especially upon the Nobility, and Those of the Royal Stock, who were afraid of the King.

Kenneth III. endeavours to alter the old Law, concerning Succession of the Crown, and to make it Hereditary.

Mens Spirits being in this posture, Ambassadors came from *England*, to comfort the King upon the loss of his Kinsman; and withal, desiring, That, in substituting another Governor, he would remember, That *Cumberland* being the Bond of Concord betwixt the Two Nations, he would set Such a Person over it, who might be an indifferent Arbiter of Peace, and that would maintain the ancient Alliance betwixt the Two Nations, for the Good of them Both; and, if any new Suspicions or Jealousies should arise, that he would labour to extinguish them. The King judged this Embassy fit for his purpose; so, that having Convened the Nobility at *Scone*, he made a grave Harangue to them, against the ancient Custom of the Assemblies of Estates, in this Point; wherein he recited all the Seditions which had happened for that Cause; and with how great Impiety, some of the surviving Kindred had treated the Children of former Kings; and what Wars, Rapines, Slaughters, and Banishments, had ensued thereupon. On the other side, he put them in Mind, How much more Peaceable, and less Turbulent, the Parliamentary Assemblies of other Countries were; and what great Reverence was born to the Royal Blood; when, without convasing for Succession, Children succeeded their Parents in the Throne. Having thus spoken, he referred the matter to that Great Council, to determine something in this Case: He acquainted them also with the Demands of the *English* Ambassador; and, to give a greater Manifestation of his Condescention and Civility, whereas it was in the Kings Power alone, to appoint a Governor of *Cumberland*, he left it to them to nominate One; supposing, that by this his Moderation, he might the more easily obtain his Desire, concerning the Succession to the Crown: For, if he himself had Nominated his Son for a Governor, he thought, he should have prejudiced his other Request, because, as I said before, the Government or Prefecture over *Cumberland* was looked upon as the Designation of the Person, to be the next succeeding King of *Scotland*. *Constantine*, the Son of *Culenus*, and *Grimus*, the Son of *Mogal*, Brother to King *Duffus*, who were thought most likely to oppose both Requests, were first asked their Opinions, in the Case; who, partly for Fear of Danger; and partly, that they might not run cross to the Major part of the Nobility, who had been prepossessed and influenc'd by the King, gave their Vote, *That it was in the Kings Power, to Correct and Amend Laws, which were inconvenient to the Publick; and also, to appoint what Governor he pleased over* Cumberland. The rest, though they knew, that they had spoken contrary to their own Sense, yet Consented to what they said. And by this means, *Malcolm*, the Kings Son, though not of Age, but Immature for Government, was declared Governor of *Cumberland*; and also Prince of *Scotland*, which Title signifies in *Scotland*, as much as

And carries the Point.

Daulphin

Daulphin doth, in *France*; and *Cæsar*, amongst the old *Roman* Emperors; and the King of the *Romans*, amongst the Modern *Germans*; whereby the Successor to the preceding Magistrate is understood. Other Laws were also made, *viz. That as the Kings Eldest Son should succeed his Father; so, if the Son died before the Father, the Nephew should succeed the Grandfather: That when the King was under Age, a Tutor or Protector should be Chosen, some Eminent Man for Interest and Power, to Govern in the Kings Name and stead, till he came to Fourteen Years of Age, and then he had Liberty to choose Guardians for Himself.* And besides, many other Things were Enacted concerning the Legitimate Succession of Heirs, which ran in common to the whole Nobility, as well as to the King. The King having thus, by indirect and evil Practises, setled the Kingdom on his Posterity, as he thought; yet, his Mind was not at rest. For, though he were very Courteous to all, and highly Beneficial and Obliging to a great many; and withal, did so manage the Kingdom, that no one Part of a good King, was wanting in him; yet, his Mind being disquieted with the guilt of his Offence, suffered him to enjoy no sincere or solid Mirth; but in the Day, he was vexed with the Thoughts of that foul Wickedness, which did inject themselves; and in the Night, terrible Apparitions disturbed his Rest. At last, a Voice was heard from Heaven, either a true one, as some think; or else, such an one, as his disquieted Mind suggested, (as it commonly happens to Guilty Consciences) speaking to him, in his Sleep, to this Sense. *Dost thou think, That the Murder of* Malcolm, *an Innocent Man, secretly and most impiously Committed by thee, is either unknown to me, or, That thou shalt go unpunished for the same: Nay, there are already Plots laid against thy Life, which thou canst not avoid; neither shalt thou leave a Firm and Stable Kingdom to thy Posterity, as thou thinkest to do, but a Tumultuous and Stormy one.* The King being terrified by this dreadful Apparition, betimes in the Morning, hastned to the *Bishops* and *Monks*, to whom he declared the Confusion of his Mind, and his Repentance for his Wickedness. They, instead of prescribing him a *true* Remedy, according to the Doctrine of *Christ*, (being then degenerated, themselves, from the Piety and Simplicity of their Ancestors) enjoyned him those absurd and fallacious ones, which Evil and Self-minded Men had devised for their own Gain; and unwary People had as greedily received; which were, To bestow Gifts on Temples, and Holy Places; To visit the Sepulchres of Holy Men; To Kiss their Reliques; and to expiate his Sin by Masses and Alms; and withal, they enjoyned him to Respect and Reverence Monks and Priests, more than he had done heretofore. Neither did the King omit to perform all what they enjoyned him, thinking to be healed in his Conscience by these Mock-Plaisters. At length, when he came to *Mern* to Worship, and to do Reverence to the Bones of *Palladius*, an Holy Person; he turned aside to view a Neighbouring Castle, called * *Fethercarn*, which was then, as 'tis reported, very pleasant with shady Grows and Piles of curious Buildings, of which, almost no Footsteps remain, at this day. The Lady of that Castle was called *Fenella*, of whom Mention is made before; who bore the King a grudge, not only for the Punishment of her Son *Crathilinthus*, but also

Kenneth troubled in Conscience for his Murder of *Malcolm*.

An Apparition and Voice, to *Kenneth*.

Mock-Plaisters applied to *Kenneth's* wounded Conscience, by Superstitious Ecclesiasticks.

* Situate at the Foot of *Clermont* in *Mern*.

also upon the account of her Kinsmen, *Constantinus*, and *Grimus*; who, by his New Law, were excluded from the Succession to the Crown. But, dissembling her Anger, she entertained the King very splendidly, and with great Magnificence; and, after Dinner, she carried him out to view the Pleasantness of the Place, and the Structure of the Castle; and amongst the rest, she led him into a Privy Parlor, to see a * Brass Statue, most Curiously and Artificially cast, which was made with so much Ingeniousness, as they say, That when a String or Cord, which was secretly bent therein, was remitted and let go, it would shoot out Arrows, of its own accord; and, whilst the King was intent in viewing this Engine, an Arrow privily darted out therefrom, and slew him. *Johannes Major*, and *Hector Boetius*, do Both say, That the King came thus to his End; though, in my Judgment, it be not very probable. For, it is not likely, That, after the decay of Noble Arts amongst other Nations, so curious a Statue should be then made; and that, in the remotest part of *Britain*, too; though *John Major* writes, That *Edmond* the Son of *Eldred*, was slain by the same Artifice; but Both Stories are Fabulous, as I suppose. Neither can I easily persuade my self, That all *Scotland* did possess so many Jewels, as *Boetius* affirms, that One Lady was owner of. And therefore, I rather incline to the Opinion of some others, (amongst whom is *Winton*) who write, That the * King was slain by some Horse-men, placed in Ambush, at the Command of *Fenella*. He died in the Twenty fifth year of his Reign; a Prince eminent for all other Things, if the Murder of *Malcolm*, and his too great Affection to his Kindred, had not made such a foul Blot in his Escutcheon. He Reigned Twenty five years, and deceased in the Year of *Christ* 994.

* A strange Mechanical Statue or Engine.

* *Kenneth* slain by *Fenella*.

Constantine IV. *The Eighty First King.*

AFTER *Kenneth* his Death, *Constantine*, the Son of *Culenus*, Sirnamed, *The Bald*, used so much Art and Canvasing, to get the Kingdom, as never any Man did, before him. For he insinuated himself into all sorts of People; complaining, That he and others of the Royal Blood, were circumvented by the Fraud of *Kennethus*, and so excluded from the hopes of the Kingdom, upon the pretence of a most unjust * Law; to which, he, with others of the Blood, were forced, by Fear, to Consent. He further alleged, That the Inconvenience of the Law was very Manifest and Visible, in it self. For, What, said he, can be more Imprudent and Foolish, than to take away One of the greatest concerns in Government, from the Suffrage of the Wise, and to leave it to the Liberty of Fortune? And to bind themselves to Obey a Child, because casually born of a King, who, perhaps, might be ruled by some Woman; and, in the mean time, to exclude Brave and Virtuous Men, from sitting at the Helm? He added further, What if the Children of the King should have some Defect, either of Mind or Body, which made them unfit for Government? If Children (proceeded he) had enjoyed the Kingdom, in those days, wherein we fought so many Battels, with the *Romans*, *Britains*, *Picts*, *English*, and *Danes*; the Question would not

* *Constantine* inveighs against the Law made by *Kenneth*, about the Hereditary Succession to the Crown, with his Reasons to back his Opinion.

* then

then have been, Who ſhould Rule over us? But rather; Whether we ſhould have been any People at all, to be governed by any Body? Yea, What can border more upon Madneſs, than to bring That upon our ſelves by a Law, which God threatens as the ſevereſt Judgment to the Rebellious; and by this means, either to deſpiſe the Threatnings and Predictions of the Almighty; or, to run into them of our own accord? Neither (ſaid he) is that True, which the Flatterers of *Kenneth* pleaſe themſelves with in urging, *i. e.* That the Slaughters and Avarice of the Kings Kindred may be avoided hereby; for the Kings Children, whilſt under Age, have as much Reaſon to fear the Frauds of their Guardians; as before they did the Plots of their Kindred. And therefore, now the Tyrant is removed, let us valiantly recover the Liberty he took away; and, abrogating that Law, which was enacted by Force, and ſubmitted to out of Fear, (if it may be called a Law, and not rather a publick Enſlavement, and Proſtitution of our Freedom:) Let us, I ſay, return to the ancient Inſtitutions and Cuſtoms, by which this Kingdom aroſe, almoſt out of Nothing; and which, from ſmall Beginnings, have advanced it to that Splendour, that it is inferiour to none of its Neighbours; Yea, and when it was at a low Ebb, have erected it again. And therefore, let us not neglect, or over-ſlip, this preſent Opportunity, which offers it ſelf, leſt, hereafter, we ſeek it Vain. By theſe, and the like Harangues, he cajolled ſome of the Nobles, and drew a Multitude of the Commons to his Party; who aſſembled at *Scone*, Twelve days after the Funeral of *Kennethus*, and declared him King.

In the mean time, * *Malcolm*, who was buſie about the Concern of his Fathers Funeral, hearing, that *Conſtantine* was made King, called his Friends together, to deliberate, what was fit to be done. Some were of Opinion, That, before he proceeded any further, he ſhould ſound how the Minds of the Nobles ſtood affected, that ſo he might know, what ſtrength he was able to raiſe againſt a popular Man, ſupported by ſo many Factions and Alliances; and then, according to the Number of his Forces, to take a Reſolution. But thoſe who were young and head-ſtrong, deſpiſed this Courſe, as ſlow and dilatory; alleging, That it was beſt to obviate the Danger at its firſt Riſe, and to proceed againſt the Enemy, before he was ſetled in his new Kingdom. The King being young, embraced the later Opinion, as the more ſpecious of the Two, and having gathered an Army of about Ten Thouſand Men together, marches towards the Enemy. Neither was *Conſtantine* defective in his Preparations; for, in a ſhort time, he levied ſo great an Army, that *Malcolm*, at the news of his Approach, disbanded his Soldiers, and retired himſelf into *Cumberland*. But *Kennethus*, his Natural Brother, begot on a Concubine, judging that courſe to be very Diſhonourable, perſuaded ſome of the moſt Valiant Troops to ſtay behind, and ſo to ſtop the Enemy at the River *Forth* near *Sterling*, which was the Boundary to both Armies. There both Camps lay idle on the high Banks of the River, which was Fordable but in few places; by which means, they were ſo afflicted with Peſtilence and Famine, (both which Calamities did rage very much, that Year) that each Army was forced to Disband. Thus, the Kingdom being divided into Two Factions,

* *Malcolm*, Competitor with *Conſtantine* for the Crown.

the Commonalty was miserably afflicted with Hunger, Pestilence, and frequent Robberies. In the mean time, during the absence of *Malcolm*, who, according to his League, was assisting the *English* against the *Danes*, *Constantine*, thinking he had now got a convenient Opportunity to subdue the Faction opposite to him, marches with great Forces into *Lothian*. *Kennethus*, who was left by his Brother to observe all *Constantine*'s Motions, gave him an halt at the Mouth of the River * *Almon*. And, because he was inferior in Number, he supplyed that defect by Stratagem, for he so ordered his Army, that he had the advantage both of the Sun and Wind; and besides, his Army was flanked, as much as it could, with the River, which was the chief Cause of his Victory. For the *Constantinians*, trusting to their Multitude, rushed violently into the Battel, having the Sunbeams darting into their very Faces; and besides, a Storm, suddainly arising, drove so much Dust into their Faces and Eyes, that they could scarce lift up their Heads against their Enemies. A great Slaughter was made in both Armies, and both Generals themselves, upon a Charge, wounded and slew one another; after *Constantine* had invaded the Kingdom, an Year and Six Months.

* Or Almondwater, dividing *Mid-Lothian*, from *West-Lothian*, or *Linlithgoshire*.

Constantine slain.

Grimus, *The Eighty Second King.*

Grimus, the Son of King *Duffus*, or, as others say, of his Brother *Mogallus*, after *Constantine*'s death, was brought to *Scone*, and there, by the Men of his own Faction, was made King. He, perceiving, that some Nobles of his Party were already corrupted by Messengers sent from *Malcolm*; and More of them were solicited by him, to a Defection; took some of those Messengers and committed them to Prison: *Malcolm*, being much incensed at the Imprisonment of his Embassadors, as being done against the Law of Nations, breaks forth into open War. As *Grimus* was making head against him, a suddain Rumor was dispersed through all *Malcolm*'s Army, of the Vastness of the Army coming against them, so that all *Malcolm*'s Measures were disturbed thereby; many of his Soldiers ran privily away; and many others, making frivolous pretences, did publickly desire to be dismissed. The Fear first arose from the Merchants, who, preferring their Private Concerns before the Publick Good, scattered the Report throughout the whole Army. And besides, there were Some among them, who privately favoured *Grimus* his Party; for indeed, there were many things in him very attractive of the Vulgar, as the Talness of his Stature, his great Beauty, accompanied with a singular Courtesie, and a comely Meen in all his Actions; Besides, as there was occasion, he was severe in punishing Offenders, and he managed Matters with great Celerity and Prudence, so that many promised themselves an Happy and an Honourable Calm, under his Government. In this Diversity and Combustion of Mens Spirits, *Malcolm*, not daring to commit any thing to an hazard in Battel, by the Advice of his Friends, dismissed the greatest part of his Army, and, with some select Troops, resolved to stop the Enemies passage over the *Forth*.

*

In

In the mean time, the Biſhop of that Dioceſs, *Forthadus* by Name, of whom all had an high Opinion for his Sanctimony, endeavoured, by his Authority, to compoſe Matters, and paſſing to and fro betwixt both Parties, at length he brought Matters to this paſs, That a Truce was made for Three Months; *Grimus* being to go into *Angus*; and *Malcolm* into *Cumberland*: And alſo Arbitrators were to be choſen by both Parties, by Conſent, who were to determine the main Controverſie in Diſpute. Neither did *Forthadus* give over his Endeavours, till * Peace was made by them on theſe Conditions; 'That *Grimus* ſhould retain the Name of King, as long as he lived: 'And, that, after his Deceaſe, the Kingdom ſhould return to *Malcolm*; 'And, for the future, the Law of *Kennethus*, for eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion in the King's Children, ſhould be obſerved as Sacred and Inviolate. In the mean time, the Wall of *Severus* was to be the Boundary 'to them Both. That which was within the Wall was to belong to '*Malcolm*; and That without, to *Grimus*. Both of them were to be 'contented with thoſe Limits, Neither being to invade each other, or 'to aſſiſt the Enemies of one another. Thus Peace was made, to the great Joy of all Men, which was Religiouſly obſerved for almoſt Eight Years. *Grimus* was the firſt Occaſion of the Breach, for whereas, ſince the beginning of his Reign, in turbulent Times, he had carried himſelf as a good Prince, his Induſtry being ſlackened by the Quiet he enjoyed, he wholly plunged himſelf in voluptuous Courſes; and that kind of Life, being, as uſually it is, a Life of Expence, he was reduced to ſome Neceſſity, and was thereby enforced to pretend Crimes againſt the Richer ſort, that ſo, out of Covetouſneſs, he might enjoy their Eſtates. Being told of the danger of this Courſe, he was ſo far from Reforming it; or, from abating any thing of his former Vileneſs, That he reſolved to put his Monitors in Priſon, that ſo others, being terrified by their Puniſhment, might not uſe the like freedom, in reproving Kings. In order whereto, he invited them kindly to his Court, but they, having notice of his Deſign, by their Friends, withdrew themſelves; at which, *Grimus* was ſo enraged, that he gathered a Band of Men together, and made after them, ſpoiling their Lands more than any Foreign Enemy could have done; he ſpared neither Men, Houſes, Cattle nor Corn, and That which he could not carry away, he ſpoiled, That ſo it might be rendred uſeleſs to the Owners. Thus he made a promiſcous Havock of all things, (whether Sacred or Prophane) by Fire and Sword. Complaint hereof being made to *Malcolm*, who was then buſie in helping the *Engliſh* againſt the *Danes*, he preſently returned home; for he was incenſed, not only at the undeſerved Sufferings of ſo many brave and innocent Perſons, but much more, at the Indignity offered him by *Grimus*; who, knowing that the Lands were ſhortly to paſs over to another, without any Reſpect to future Times, had ſwept away the Fruits thereof, as if it had been an Enemies Country. There was a great Reſort to *Malcolm*, at his return, inſomuch, that, thô *Grimus* had for a time been Dear to, and Beloved of, the People; yet now the greateſt part of the Nobles forſook him. Notwithſtanding, with what Forces he could make, he made Head againſt his Enemy. When their Camps were near one another,

* An Agreement made between *Malcolm* and *Grimus*, concerning the Crown.

Grimus, knowing that *Malcolm* would Religiously observe *Ascensi n-day*, resolved *then* to attaque him, hoping to find him unprepared. *Malcolm*, having notice of his Design, kept his Men in Arms, and thô he did hope well, as to the Victory, in so good a Cause; yet he sent to *Grimus*, to advise him to defer Fighting for that day, that so They, being *Christians*, might not pollute so Holy a Day, with shedding the Blood of their Countrymen; Yet he was, nevertheless, resolved to Fight, alleging to his Soldiers, That the Fear the Enemy was in, thô pretended to be out of Reverence to so Holy a Feast, was a good *Omen* of their Victory. Hereupon, a fierce and eager Fight began; wherein, * *Grimus*, being forsaken of his Men, was wounded in the Head, taken Prisoner, and soon after had his Eyes put out. Insomuch, that, in a short time, out of Grief, as well as his Wounds, he Dyed in the Tenth Year of his Reign. *Malcolm* carried it Nobly towards the Conquered, and caused *Grimus* to be interred in the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. The Faction, which followed him, he received into his Grace and Favour, laying aside the Memory of past Offences; Then going to the Assembly of Estates at *Scone*, before he would undertake the Government, he caused * the Law made by his Father, concerning the Succession to the Crown, to be publickly Ratified by the Votes of the whole Parliament.

* *Grime*, having broken the Agreement with *Malcolm*, is overthrown by him in Battel.

* The Law concerning Hereditary Succession to the Crown Confirmed.

Malcolm II. *The Eighty Third King.*

AT the entrance into his Government, he laboured to restore the State of the Kingdom, which was sorely shaken by Factions. And as he forgave all former Offences to himself, so he took care that the Seeds of Faction and Discord amongst all different Parties might also be rooted out. After this, he sent Governors, chosen out of the Nobility, into all Provinces, (Just and Pious Men) to restrain the Licentiousness of Robbers; who, in former times, had taken great Liberty to themselves to Steal and Plunder. By Them also the Common People were encouraged to Tillage and Husbandry; so that Provisions grew cheaper, Commerce between Man and Man safer, and the publick Peace was better secured. Amidst these Transactions, *Sueno*, * the Son of *Harald*, King of the *Danes*, being banished from home, came into *Scotland*. He was oftentimes overcome, made Prisoner by, and Ransomed from, the *Vandals*; and having sought for Aid in vain from *Olavus*, King of the * *Scandians*, and *Edward* King of *England*, at last he came into *Scotland*, and being turned *Christian*, of whom before he was a most bitter Enemy, there he received some small assistance, and so returned into his own Country; from whence soon after he passed over with a great Army into *England*. First, he overthrew the *English*, alone; and afterwards, he had the same Success against them, when the *Scots* assisted them, whom he grievously threatned, because they would not forsake the *English*, and return into their own Country. Neither were his Threatnings in vain, for *Olavus* of * *Scandia*, and *Enecus*, General of the *Danes*, were sent by him with a great Army into *Scotland*; They ranged over all *Murray*, killed whomsoever they met, took away all they could catch, whether Sacred or Prophane; at last, gathering into a Body,

Sueno, or *Swain*, coming into *Scotland*, obtains Aid there against *England*.

* *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Laps*, and *Norts*, were anciently so called.

* The *Danes* enter *Scotland*, and overthrow King *Malcolm* in Battel.

Body, they assaulted Castles, and other strong Places. While they were Besieging these Fortresses, *Malcolm* had gathered an Army together out of the Neighbouring Countrys, and pitch'd his Camp not far from them. The day after, the *Scots*, perceiving the Multitude of the *Danes*, and their Warlike Preparations, were struck with great Terrour; The King endeavoured to encourage them, but to small purpose; at last, a Noise was raised in the Camp, by those who were willing to seem more valiant than the rest; and when it was raised, others received, and seconded it; so that presently, as if they had been wild, they ran in upon the *Danes*, without the Command of their Leaders, and rushed upon the points of their Swords, who were ready to receive them. After the forwardest were slain, the rest fled back, faster than ever they came on. The King was Wounded in the Head, and had much ado, to be carried off the Field into an adjacent Wood, where he was Horsed, and so escaped with his Life. After this Victory, the Castle of *Narn* was surrendred to the *Danes*, the Garison being dismayed at the Event of the unhappy Fight; yet they put them to Death, after the surrender. They strongly fortified the Castle, because it was seated in a convenient Pass; and, of a Peninsule, made it a convenient Isle, by cutting through a narrow Chanel, for the Sea to surround it; and then they called it by a *Danish* Name, * *Burgus*. The other Castles, which were *Elgin* and *Foress*, were deserted, for fear of the Cruelty of the *Danes*. The *Danes* upon this good Success, resolved to fix their Habitations in *Murray*, and sent home their Ships to bring over their Wives and Children, in the mean time exercising all manner of cruel hardships over the Captived *Scots*.. *Malcolm*, in order to prevent their further Progress, gathered a stronger, and more compact, Army together; and when they were gone into *Marr*, he met them at a place called * *Mortlich*, both Armies being in great fear; the *Scots* being afraid of the Cruelty of the *Danes*; and the *Danes* fearing the Places, which they did not know, (as being far from the Sea, and fit for Ambushes) more than their Enemies. In the beginning of the Fight, the *Scots* were much discouraged at the Slaughter of Three of their Valiant Worthies, *viz.* of *Kennethus*, *Thane* of the Islands; of *Grimus*, *Thane* of *Strathearn*; and of *Dumbar*, *Thane* of *Lothian*, who all fell, presently one after another; so that they were forced to retreat, and to retire into their old Fastness, which was behind their backs: There, fencing their Camp with a Trench, Ditch, and huge Trees, which they cut down, in a narrow place, they fronted, and stopped, the Enemy; yea, they slew some, who, as if they had fully gotten the Victory, did carelessly assault them, amongst whom, *Enecus*, one of their Generals, fell. His Loss, as it made the *Danes* less forward to fight; so it added Alacrity to the *Scots*, who were crest-fallen, before. So that, almost in a moment of time, the Scene was quite altered; The *Danes* were put to flight, and the *Scots* pursued them. *Olavus*, the other of their Generals, got some to guide him, and bent his Course, that night, towards *Murray*. Though *Malcolm* knew it, yet, having slain the forwardest of his Enemies, and wounded many more, he desisted from following the Chase. When News of this Overthrow was brought to *Swain*, in *England*, he bore it undauntedly; and sent some

* A Burgh, or Burough.

* A Village on the West of the River *Fiddick* near *Balvany*.

* The *Danes* overthrown by the *Scots*, and their General, *Enecus*, slain.

ſome of his old Soldiers, and ſome that were newly come to him from his own Country, under *Camus*, their General, to recruit his old and ſhattered Army, in *Scotland*. He firſt came into the *Firth* of *Forth*, but being hindred by the Country (who obſerved all his Motions) from Landing, he ſet Sail, and made for the * *Red-Promontory* of *Angus*. There he landed his Men, and attempted to take in ſome Places, but, being diſappointed, he fell a plundering. Having pitched his Tents at * *Balbridum*, *i. e.* the Village of St. *Bride*, word was brought him by his Spies, that the *Scots* Forces were ſcarce two miles diſtant from him; whereupon both Generals, according to the Exigence of the time, exhorted their Men to fight; and the next day, they were all ready at their Arms, almoſt at one time. The third day, they fought with ſo great eagerneſs and fury, as either new Hope, or old Hatred, could occaſion and ſuggeſt; At laſt, the *Scots* prevailed, and * *Camus*, endeavouring to ſecure the Remainders of his Army, by flying to the Mountains towards *Murray*, before he had gone two miles, was overtaken by the Purſuers, and he and all his Men cut off. There are Monuments extant of this Victory, in an Obeliske, and a Neighbouring Village, which as yet retains the Memorable Name of *Camus*. Another Band of them were cut off not far from the Town of * *Breichin*; where alſo another Obeliske was erected; The Remainder, being few in Number, under the Covert of the night, made to their Ships; Theſe laſt were toſſed up and down ſeveral days in the raging Sea, by croſs Winds, at length coming to the inhoſpitable Shore of *Buchan*, they rode there ſo long at Anchor, till they were neceſſitated, for want, to ſend about 500 of their Men aſhore, to get ſome Relief, out of the Neighbouring Country; *Mernanus*, the *Thane* of the place, ſtopp'd them from returning to their Ships, and compelled them to retire, to a ſteep Hill, where, being aſſiſted by the Conveniency of the place, they defended themſelves with Stones, and ſlew many of the *Scots*, who raſhly attempted them: At laſt, the *Scots* encouraged one another, and in ſeveral Parties, in great Numbers, got up the Hill, and put every Man of the *Danes* to the Sword. There alſo, as well as at *Bambreid*, when the Wind blows up the Sand, there are Bones diſcovered of a greater Magnitude, than can well ſuit with the Stature of the Men of our Times.

Yet *Sueno* was not diſcouraged, no not with this Overthrow alſo, but ſent his Son * *Canutus*, with new Levies, into *Scotland*. He landed his Souldiers in *Buchan*, and ſo preyed upon the Country. *Malcolm*, though he had yet hardly recovered his Loſs, ſuſtained in former Battels, yet made head againſt him, and being not willing to hazard all by fighting a pitched Battel, he thought it beſt to weary the Enemy with light Skirmiſhes, and to keep him from plundering; for, by this means, he hoped, in a ſhort time, to reduce him to great want of Proviſions, as being in an Enemies Country, almoſt quite waſted and deſolated by the Miſeries of War, before. He followed this Counſel for ſome days, but, at laſt, when the *Scots* had got a full underſtanding of their Enemies Strength, they leſs diffided their Own; and both Armies, being equally preſſed with Want, did unanimouſly crave a Signal to the Battel, pretending, unleſs it were given, they would fall to it, even, without the Conſent of their Generals.

Here-

* Called *Redhead*, *Ridhead*, or *Reedhead*.

* *Bambreid* in the midway between *Dundee* and *Aberbrothock*.

* The *Danes*, under their General *Camus*, receive another overthrow from the *Scots*.

* On the River *South-Esk*, in *Angus*.

* *Canutus* ſent by *Swain*, into *Scotland*.

Hereupon, *Malcolm* ſet the Battel in array, which was fought with ſuch * deſperate Rage and Fury, that neither Party came off in Triumph. And though the Victory did nominally reſt on the *Scots* ſide, yet a great part of their Nobility being ſlain, and the reſt, wearied and diſcouraged in their Spirits, returned to their Camp, giving the *Danes* liberty to retreat, without any purſuit; The next day, when both Parties muſtered their Men, they found ſo great a Slaughter to have been made, that they willingly admitted ſome Prieſts to be Interceſſors of Peace between them. Whereupon, Peace was made on theſe Conditions, *That the* Danes *ſhould leave* Murray, *and* Buchan, *and depart; and that as long as* Malcolm *and* Sueno *lived, neither of them ſhould wage War with one another any more, nor help one another's Enemies; That the Field in which the Battel was fought, ſhould be ſet apart, and Conſecrated for the Burial of the Dead.* Upon this, the *Danes* withdrew, and *Malcolm* took Order for the Interment of the ſlain.

* A Third deſperate Battel between the *Danes*, under *Camutus* their General, and the *Scots*;

* Which produceth Conditions of Peace between Them.

A while after, he called an Aſſembly of Eſtates at *Scone*; and, that he might reward thoſe who had deſerved well of their Country, he divided all the King's Lands between them: On the other ſide, the Nobility granted to the King, * 'That when any of them died, their 'Children ſhould be under the Wardſhip and Tutelage of the King, 'till they arrived at the Age of 21 Years; and, that the King ſhould 'receive all their Revenue, except what was expended for the Edu-'cation of the Wards; And beſides, that he ſhould have the Power to 'give them in Marriage; Or, otherwiſe to diſpoſe of them, when 'they were grown up, and ſhould alſo receive their Dowry. I judge, this Cuſtom came rather from the *Engliſh* and *Danes*; becauſe it yet continues throughout all *England*, and in part of *Normandy*, too. Afterwards, the King bent his Thoughts to repair the Damages ſuſtained by the War; he re-edified many Temples, and Sacred Places, demoliſhed by the Enemy; he built New Caſtles, or elſe repaired the Old, in every Town. Having thus reſtored Peace to the Kingdom by his great Valour, he endeavoured further to adorn it with good Inſtitutions and wholſom Laws; and, in order thereunto, he erected New Names for Magiſtrates, (I believe, ſuch, as he borrowed from his Neighbours) which ſerved rather for vain Ambition, than for any real Uſe. For, in former times, there was no Name ſuperior in Honour to that of a *Knight*, except that of *Thane*, *i.e.* Governor, or Sheriff, of a Province or Country; which Cuſtom, as I hear, is yet obſerved amongſt the *Danes*. But, now a days, Princes keep no Mean, in inſtituting * New Names, or Titles, of Honour; though there be no uſe at all of thoſe Names, but the bare Sound. Thus *Malcolm*, having finiſhed his Toilſom Wars, Reigned ſome Years in great Splendor and Glory. But, in the Progreſs of his Age, he ſullied the Beauty of his former Life with the blot of Covetouſneſs. That Vice, being incident to Old Men, partly grew up in him with his Age, and partly aroſe from that Want, which his immoderate Largeſſes had driven him to. So that thoſe Lands, which he had unadviſedly diſtributed amongſt the Nobility, he did as unjuſtly and wickedly labour to reſume; by which means, he put ſome of them to Death, and reduced others to great Penury. Hereupon, the preſent

* The Originals of Wardſhips.

* New Titles of Honour.

sent sense of suffering, though sometimes just, drowned the Memory of all former Courtesies; so that, the Injury reaching to a few, but the Fear to many, the Friends and Kindred of those which were slain and impoverished, bent all their Thoughts to revenge Them, and to secure Themselves. And at last, bribing the King's Domesticks at * *Glammes*, in *Angus*, they were admitted at Night into the King's Bed-Chamber, and † slew him. When they had committed the Fact, those bribed Domesticks, together with the Parricides, took Horse, which they had ready bridled and saddled for all Events; and, being not able to find the way, in regard the Snow covered all the Track, they were confounded, and arrived at a Lake, by the Town of * *Forfar*; where, endeavouring to pass over, the Ice being not very firm, they sunk with their Weight, and were all * drowned. Their Bodies lay undiscovered for a season, by reason the Ice closed again; but when a Thaw came, they were found, and hung upon Gibbets in the High-ways, there to rot for the Terrour of the Living; and in Reproach to them, after they were dead. This is the common Report about *Malcolm*'s End; though some write, that he was slain by an Ambush, laid by the Kinred of *Grimus* and *Constantinus*, the former Kings, after a bloody Battel joyned and fought betwixt them. Others say, that he was killed by the Friends of a Noble Virgin, whom he had forceably vitiated; but all agree, that he came to a violent Death. *Malcolm* Reigned so justly above Thirty Years, that, unless Avarice had corrupted his Mind in's Old Age, he might well have been numbered amongst the Best of Princes. The Year, in which he died, was a Prodigious One, for, in the Winter, the Rivers did mightily overflow; and in Spring, there were great Inundations of the Sea. And moreover, a few Days after the Summer Solstice, there were very pinching Frosts, and mighty Snows, by which means, the Fruits of the Earth being spoiled, a great Famine did ensue.

* About four Miles South of *Forfar*.

† King *Malcolm* Murdered.

* The Chief Town of *Angus*.

* K. *Malcolm*'s Murderers drowned in their Flight.

Prodigies.

*

THE

The Seventh BOOK.

I Have declared in the former Book, how eagerly *Kenneth*, and his Son *Malcolm*, did ſtrive, to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Crown in their Families, *That the Eldeſt Son might ſucceed the Father:* But what the Succeſs thereof, was, will appear in the Sequel. This is certain, That that Publick Benefit which was promiſed to the whole Kingdom, nor yet the private Advantage, alleged to ariſe to our Kings, thereby, were not at all obtained, by this New Law. An Univerſal Good to All was pretended, in thus ſettling the Succeſſion, that Seditions, Murders, and Treacheries, might be prevented amongſt Thoſe of the Blood; and alſo, that Ambition, with the other Miſchiefs accompanying it, might be rooted out from amongſt the Nobles. But, on the contrary, when I enquire into the Cauſes of Publick Grievances, and compare the *Old* with the *Modern*, it ſeems to me, That all thoſe Miſchiefs, which we would have avoided by this New Law, are ſo far from being extinguiſhed by the Antiquating of the Old, that they rather receive a great Increaſe therefrom. For, not to ſpeak of the Plots of *their* Kinred againſt Thoſe who are actually in the Throne; nor of a preſent King's Evil Suſpitions of thoſe, whom Nature and the Law would have accounted as moſt dear to him; I ſay, omitting theſe things, which, in the Series of our Hiſtory, will be further explained; all the Miſeries of former Ages may ſeem light and tolerable, if compared with thoſe Calamities, which followed upon the Death of *Alexander* the Third. Neither will I inſiſt upon the Particulars following, *viz.* that That Law doth enervate the Force of all Publick Councils, without which no Lawful Government can ſubſiſt: That it doth willingly, and, by conſent, create thoſe Evils to our ſelves, which others, who have Intereſt in Publick Governments, do chiefly, if not only, deprecate; *viz.* To have Kings, over whom other Governors muſt be appointed; and ſo the People are to be univerſally committed into their Power, who have no Power over themſelves: inſomuch, That thoſe Perſons, who are hardly brought to Obey Wiſe, Prudent, and Experienced Kings, are now required to yield Obedience, as it were, to the very ſhadow of a King; by which means, we willingly precipitate our ſelves into thoſe Puniſhments, which God threatens to Thoſe, who deſpiſe and contemn his Holy Majeſty, namely, That Children, Male or Female, may Reign over us, whom the Law of Nations, and even Nature it ſelf, (the Mother of all Laws) hath ſubjected to the Rule of others. As for the private Benefit, That Kings aim at by this Law, *i. e.* That they may perpetuate their Name and Stock, how vain and fallacious that Pretence is, the Examples of the Ancients, yea, even Nature it ſelf, might inform them, if they had but conſidered, by

Deſcants, by way of Reflection, upon the Law of *Kenneth* about Hereditary Succeſſion to the Crown.

how many Laws and Rewards, the *Romans* endeavoured to perennate the mighty Names of their Families; of which yet, no one Footstep remains at this Day, no not in any part of the World, which they had Conquered. Which Disappointment doth deservedly attend those, who fight against even Nature it self, by endeavouring to cloath a fading, frail, Thing, subject to Momentany Alterations, and Blasts of Fortune, with a sort of Perpetuity; and to endow it with a kind of Eternity, which they themselves neither are Partakers of, nor can be; yea, they strive to effect it by those *Mediums*, which are most cross to their purpose: For, what is less conducive to Perpetuity, than Tyranny? Yet, this New Law makes a great Step thereto; for a Tyrant is, as it were, the *White*, or *Mark*, exposed to the Hate of all Men, insomuch that he cannot long subsist, and when he falls, all *His* fall with him. It seems to me, That God doth sometimes gently chastize and disappoint this endeavour of Foolish Men; and sometimes he doth expose it, even to Publick Scorn, as if it were emulous of his own Power. There can be no clearer, or fitter, Example of Gods Will and Pleasure, than That which we have now under our Hands. For *Malcolm*, who so much laboured to confirm the Law, (which was, almost, forcibly Enacted by his Father) by common Suffrage and Consent, *For the Kings Children to be substituted in the Room of their deceased Parents*, even He, left no Male-Child behind him; but he had Two Daughters, One called *Beatrix*, whom he Married to a Nobleman named *Grimus*, the *Thane* of the Western Islands, and the Chief of all other *Thanes*, and therefore styled in that Age, * *Abthane*; the Other, named *Doada*, he Married to the *Thane* of *Angus*, by whom he begot *Mackbeth*, or *Macbeda*, of whom in his Place.

* *Abthane*, or great *Thane*, is the Chief above all other *Thanes*, which receives the King's Revenue, as Lord High Treasurer, from the other *Thanes*.

Donaldus VII. *The Eighty Fourth King.*

MALCOLM being ſlain, as hath been related, *Donaldus*, his Nephew by his Daughter *Beatrix*, ſucceeded him. A Prince of great Courteſy, and of more Indulgence to his own Kindred, than became a King: For he was of a mild and Inclineable Diſpoſition; and, from his Youth, gave forth *Omens* of his Popularity; For, in the moſt difficult times, when he was made Governor of *Cumberland* by his Grandfather, and could not come to the King (by reaſon of the *Daniſh* Troops, which ſwarmed over the Country, and ſtopped all Paſſages) to Swear to the Laws, yet he faithfully took part with the *Engliſh*, until *Canutus*, having had the reſt of *England* ſurrendred to him, made an Expedition againſt him, and then he ſubmitted himſelf to the *Danes*, on the ſame Conditions, under which he obeyed the *Engliſh*, before. This alſo was popular in him, That he adminiſtred Juſtice with great Equity, and every Year he viſited the Provinces, to hear the Complaints of the Poor, and, as much as he could, he would not ſuffer the Great men to oppreſs Them. But, as theſe Virtues did endear him to the Good, ſo they leſſen'd his Authority amongſt the Lovers of Sedition, ſo that his Clemency to the Former occaſioned the Rage of wicked men againſt him. The beginning of leſſening and deſpiſing his Government, hapned in *Loch-Abyr*, upon the account of one *Buncho*, *Thane* of that Country, a ſtrict Lover of impartial Juſtice; ſome ill Men, not enduring his Severity in Puniſhments, made a Conſpiracy againſt him, Plundered him of his Goods, and drove him away, being wounded and almoſt dead. As ſoon as ever his Wounds permitted him to endure the jogging of his body, he took a Journy and complained to the King; the King ſent a publick Officer to do Juſtice upon the Offenders, but he was grievouſly affronted, and afterwards ſlain by them; ſo great Security did they fancy to themſelves, by reaſon of the Lenity (but, as they interpreted it, Sloth) of a good King. The chief of the Faction, which raiſed the Rebellion, was named *Mac-duald*, who, deſpairing of Pardon, prepares himſelf for an open War. He called in the * *Iſlanders* to his aſſiſtance, (who were always prone to Sedition) and alſo the forwardeſt of the *Iriſh*, in hopes of Prey. He told them, That under an effeminate and ſlothful King, who was fitter to rule Monks than Warriors, there was no fear of Puniſhment, but there might be great hopes of Advantage; and that he did not doubt, but the *Scots*, who were, as it were, fettered with the Chains of a Long Peace under the former King, when an Alarm was ſounded to the War, would come in to recover their Ancient Liberty. Theſe Exhortations were ſeconded with a ſucceſsfull beginning, which much heartned the Party. There was one *Malcolm*, of the Prime Nobility, ſent by the King againſt them, with ſome Forces; but his Army was preſently overthrown by them, and he himſelf, being taken Priſoner, had his head cut off by them. The King, being troubled at this Overthrow, called a Council together, to conſult of what was fit to be done. Some were very ſlow in delivering their Opinions, but *Mackbeth*, Kinſman to the King, laid the

Donald's juſt Government, both to Rich and Poor.

* One *Mac-duald* Rebels againſt *Donald*.
* Or *Red-ſhanks*.

blame of the Misfortune on the Sluggishness of former times, withal promising, that, if the Command or Generalship were bestowed on him and *Bancho*, who was well acquainted with that Country, he would quickly subdue all, and quiet things. This *Mackbeth* was of a sharp Wit, and of a very lofty Spirit; and, if Moderation had accompanied it, he had been worthy of a Command, tho' an eminent one. But, in punishing Offenders, he was so severe, that having no respect to the Laws, he seemed soon likely to degenerate into Cruelty. When the chief Command of the Army was conferred upon him, many were so terrified, that, casting aside their Hopes, which they had conceived by reason of the Kings Slothful Temper, they hid themselves in Holes and Corners. The *Islanders* and the *Irish*, their Flight being stopp'd, were driven into great Despair, and in a fierce Fight were every one of them slain; *Macduala* himself, with a few others flying into a Neighbour Castle, being past all hopes of Pardon, redeemed Himself and His from the Opprobriousness of his Enemies, by a voluntary death. *Mackbeth*, not content with that punishment, cut off his Head, and sent it to the King at *Perth*, and hung up the rest of his Body, for all to behold, in a conspicuous place. Those of the *Red-shanks*, which he took, he caused to be hanged.

Mackbeth his Character.

Macdnald is overthrown by *Mackbeth* and *Bancho*.

This Domestick Sedition being appeased, a far greater Terror succeeded, and seized on him, occasioned by the *Danes*. For *Sueno*, the powerful King of the *Danes*, dying, left Three Kingdoms to his Three Sons; *England* to *Harold*; *Norway* to *Sueno*; and *Denmark* to *Canutus*. *Harold* dying soon after, *Canutus* succeeded him in the Realm of *Scotland*. *Sueno*, (or *Swain*) King of *Norway*, being Emulous of his Brothers Glory, crossed the Seas with a great Navy, and Landed in *Fife*; upon the Bruit of his coming, *Machbeth* was sent to Levy an Army; *Bancho*, the other General, staying, in the Interim, with the King. *Duncanus*, or *Donald*, as if he had been rouzed from a fit of Sluggishness, was forced to go meet the Enemy. They fought near * *Culross*, with such obstinate Courage, that as One Party was scarce able to fly; so the Other had no heart to pursue. The *Scots*, who look'd upon themselves as overcome, rather by the Incommodiousness of the Place, than by the Valour of their Enemies, retreated to *Perth*; and there staid with the Relicts of their conquered Forces, waiting for the Motions of the Enemy. *Swain*, thinking, That if he pressed eagerly on them, all *Scotland* would speedily be his Own, made towards *Perth*, with all his Forces, to besiege *Duncan*; his Ships he sent about by the *Tay*, to meet him there: *Duncan*, tho' he much confided in the present Posture of Affairs, because *Mackbeth* was very near him with a new supply of Force; yet, being counselled by *Bancho*, to piece out his Force by Stratagem, he sent Messengers, one to *Mackbeth*, to desire him to stop where he was; and another to *Swain*, to treat about the Surrender of the Town. The *Scots* desired, That, upon the Surrender, They and Theirs might have Liberty to depart in safety; *Swain*, supposing their Request proceeded from the very bottom of Despair, would hear of nothing but surrendring at Mercy; upon this, he sent other Messengers, with unlimited Instructions, and a Command to delay time in making Conditions;

Swain and his three Sons.

Swain King of *Norway* Lands in *Scotland*.

* A Town standing on the *Forth* in *Perthshire*.

ditions; who, to ingratiate themſelves the more, told the *Norvegians*, That, whilſt the Conditions of Peace were propounding and ſetling, their King would ſend abundance of Proviſions into their Camp; as knowing, That they were not over-plentiful in Victuals; That Gift was acceptable to the *Norvegians*, not ſo much on the account of the *Scots* Bounty, or their own Penury, as, that, they thought it was a Sign, their Spirits were cowed out, and quite broken. Whereupon, a great deal of Bread and Wine was ſent, both Wine preſſed out of the Grape, and alſo ſtrong Drink made of Barly-Malt, mixed with the Juice of a Poyſonous Herb, whereof abundance grows in *Scotland*, called, *Somniferous* * *Night-ſhade*. The Stalk of it is above two Foot Long, and in its upper part ſpreads into Branches, the Leaves are broadiſh, acuminated on the outſide, and faintly Green. The Berrys are great and of a Black Colour when they are ripe, which proceed out of the Stalk under the bottom of the Leaves. Their Taſte is ſweetiſh, and almoſt inſipid. It hath a very ſmall ſeed, as little as the Grains of a Fig. The Virtue of the Fruit, Root, and eſpecially of the Seed, is *Soporiferous*; and will make men mad, if they be taken in too great Quantities. With this Herb all the Proviſion was infected, and they that carried it, to prevent all ſuſpition of Fraud, taſted of it before, and invited the *Danes* to drink huge Draughts thereof. *Swain* himſelf, in token of Good will, did the ſame, according to the cuſtom of his Nation. But *Duncan*, knowing that the force of the Potion would reach to their very Vitals, whilſt they were aſleep, had in great ſilence admitted *Mackbeth*, with his Forces into the City, by a Gate which was furtheſt off from the Enemies Camp; and, underſtanding by his Spies, that the Enemy was faſt aſleep and full of Wine, he ſent *Bancho* before, who well knew all the Avenues both of that Place, and of the Enemies Camp too, with the greateſt part of the Army; placing the reſt in Ambuſh. He, entring their Camp, and making a great Shout, found all things in a greater Poſture of Negligence than he imagined, before. There were a few raiſed up at the Noiſe, who running up and down, like Mad-men, were ſlain as they were met; the others were killed, ſleeping. Their King, who was almoſt dead drunk, wanting not only Strength, but Senſe alſo, was ſnatcht up by ſome few, who were not ſo much overcome with Wine as the reſt, and laid like a Log, or Beaſt, upon an Horſe, which they caſually lighted on, and ſo carried to the Ships. There, the Caſe was almoſt as bad as in the Camp, for almoſt all the Seamen were ſlain aſhore; ſo that there could ſcarce be got together ſo many of them, as were ſufficient to guide one Ship. Yet, by this means, the King eſcaped to his Country. The reſt of the Ships, by ſtreſs of Weather, fell foul upon one another, and were ſunk; and by the acceſſion of Sand and other Traſh, which the Water carries, heaped up together, there was made an Hillock dangerous to Sailers, which the Vulgar call, * *Drumilaw-Sands*.

* The *Scots*, by an inebriating Drink made of *Night-ſhade*, ſtupifie the *Danes*.

* The Herb *Night-ſhade*, its Deſcription, and Properties.

Danes overthrown.

* *Drumilaw-Sands*, on the North-ſide of the Mouth of *Tay*.

While the *Scots* were joyous for this Victory, obtained without Blood; News was brought, that a Fleet of *Danes* rod at * *Kinghorn*, which was ſent by *Canutus*, to help *Swain*. The Soldiers and Paſſengers, Landing, did ſeize upon, and carry away the Goods of the

* A Burgh-Roya. on the North ſide of the [illegible] in *Fif*.

Fifians,

Fifians, without any Reſiſtance. *Bancho* was ſent with Forces againſt them; who, aſſaulting the foremoſt, made a great Slaughter amongſt them. Theſe were the principal Men of the Nation, the reſt were eaſily driven back to their Ships. *Bancho* is reported to have ſold the burying Places for the Slain, for a great deal of Money. Their Sepulchres, they ſay, are yet to be ſeen in the Iſle * *Æmona*.

Another Fleet of the *Danes* overthrown by *Bancho*.

* Or, *Inch-Colm*.

'Tis Reported, that the * *Danes*, having made ſo many unlucky Expeditions into *Scotland*, bound themſelves by a Solemn Oath, never to return, as Enemies, thither, any more. When Matters thus proſperouſly ſucceeded with the *Scots*, both at home and abroad, and all things flouriſhed in Peace, *Mackbeth*, who had always a Diſguſt at the un-active Slothfulneſs of his Couſin; and thereupon had conceived a ſecret Hope of the Kingdom in his Mind, was further encouraged in his Ambitious Thoughts, by a Dream which he had: For one Night, when he was far diſtant from the King, he ſeemed to ſee Three Women, whoſe Beauty was more Auguſt and Surprizing than bare Womens uſeth to be, of which, one Saluted him, *Thane* of *Angus*; another, *Thane* of *Murray*; and a Third, King of *Scotland*. His Mind, which was before Sick, betwixt Hope and Deſire, was mightily encouraged by this Dream, ſo that he contrived all poſſible ways, by which he might obtain the Kingdom; in order to which, a juſt occaſion was offered him, as he thought. *Duncan* begat Two Sons on the Daughter of *Sibert*, a petty King of *Northumberland*; *Malcolm*, Sirnamed *Cammorus*, (which is as much as *Jolt-head*,) and *Donaldus*, Sirnamed *Banus*, i. e. *White*: Of theſe, he made *Malcolm*, ſcarce yet out of his Childhood, Governor of *Cumberland*. *Mackbeth* took this matter mighty Hainouſly; in regard, he look'd upon it as Obſtacle of Delay to him, in his obtaining the Kingdom; for, having arrived at the Enjoyment of his other Honours, promiſed him by his Dream; by this means, he thought, that either he ſhould be ſecluded altogether from the Kingdom; or elſe, ſhould be much retarded in the Enjoyment thereof; in regard the Government of *Cumberland* was always look'd upon, as the firſt ſtep to the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Beſides, his Mind, which was feirce enough of it ſelf, was ſpurred on, by the daily Importunities of his Wife, (who was Privy to all his Counſels.) Whereupon, communicating the matter to his moſt intimate Friends, amongſt whom *Bancho* was one, he got a fit opportunity, at *Innerneſs*, to way-lay the King, and ſo ſlew him in the Seventh year of his Reign; and gathering a Company together, went to *Scone*, and under the ſhelter of popular Favour, made himſelf King. *Duncan*'s Children were aſtoniſhed at this ſudden Diſaſter. They ſaw their Father was ſlain, the Author of the Murder in the Throne, and Snares laid for them, to take away their Lives; that ſo, by their Deaths, the Kingdom might be confirmed to *Mackbeth*: Whereupon, they ſhifted up and down, and hid themſelves, and thus, for a time, eſcaped his Fury. But perceiving, that no place could long ſecure them from his Rage; and that, being of a feirce Nature, there was no hope of Clemency to be expected from him, they fled ſeveral ways; *Malcolm*, into *Cumberland*; and *Donald*, to the Kindred of his Father, in the *Æbudæ* Iſlands.

* *Mackbeth*'s Dream, encouraging him to aſpire to the Kingdom.

* He thereupon ſlays King *Donald*, or *Duncan*, (as ſome call him) and is declared King.

Donald's Children fly for their Lives.

Mackbeth,

Mackbeth, *The Eighty Fifth King.*

Mackbeth, to confirm the ill-gotten Kingdom to himself, procured the favour of the Nobles by great Gifts, being secure of the Kings Children because of their Age, and of his Neighbouring Princes, in regard of their mutual Animosities, and Discords. Thus having engaged the great Men, he determined to procure the favour of the Vulgar by Justice and Equity, and to retain it by Severity, if nothing else would do. Whereupon, he determined with himself to punish the Free-booters or Thieves, who had taken courage from the Lenity of *Duncan*; but, foreseeing, that this could not be done without great Tumults and much ado, he devised this Project, which was, to sow the Seeds of Discord amongst them, by some fit Men, for that purpose, that thereupon they might challenge one another; and so, some of them might fight in equal and divided Numbers, one with another. All this was to be done on one and the same day, and that in the most remote parts of *Scotland*, too; when they all met at the time appointed, they were taken by an Ambush, which he had laid for that purpose. Their Punishment strook a Terrour into the rest. Besides, he put to death the *Thanes* of *Caithnes*, *Ross*, *Sutherland*, and *Narn*, and some others of the Clans, by whose Fewds the Commonalty were miserably harassed, before. Afterwards, he went into the *Ebudæ* Islands, and used severe Justice there. After his return from thence, he once or twice summoned *Macgill* or *Macgild*, the powerfullest Man in all *Galway*, to appear, but he refused so to do, rather out of fear for being of *Malcolm*'s Faction, than for the guilt of the Crimes objected to him; whereupon, he sent Forces against him, who overthrew him in Battel, and cut off his Head.

Mackbeth severe against Thieves.

The publick Peace being thus restored, he applied his mind to make Laws, (a thing almost wholly neglected by former Kings) and indeed, he Enacted many good and useful ones, which now are either wholly unknown, or else lie unobserved, to the great damage of the Publick. In a word, he so managed the Government for ten years, that, if he had not obtained it by Violence, he might have been accounted inferior to none of the former Kings. But when he had so strengthned himself with the Aid and Favour of the Multitude, that he feared no Force to disturb him; the Murder of the King (as 'tis very probable) hurried his Mind into dangerous Precipices, so that he converted his Government, got by Treachery, into a Cruel Tyranny. He vented the first Shock of his Inhumanity upon * *Bancho*, who was his Companion in the Kings Parricide. Some ill Men had spread a kind of Prophecie abroad among the Vulgar, *That hereafter his Posterity should enjoy the Kingdom*; whereupon, fearing lest he, being a powerful and active Man, and also of the Blood Royal, should imitate the Example proposed by himself, he courteously invited him and his Son to Supper, but, in his return, he caused him to be slain, as if a sudden Fray and Tumult had arisen. His Son *Fleanchus*, being not known in the dark, escaped the Ambush, and, being informed by his Friends, how his Father was treacherously slain by the

He makes Wholesom Laws.

But, afterward, degenerates, & causes *Bancho* to be treacherously slain.

King, and that his Life was also sought after, he fled secretly into *Wales*. Upon that Murder, so cruelly and perfidiously committed, the Nobles were afraid of themselves, insomuch, that they all departed to their own homes, and came but few of them, and those very seldom, to Court. So that the Kings Cruelty being partly discovered by some, and partly vehemently suspected by all, mutual Fear and Hatred sprung up betwixt him and the Nobility. Whereupon, seeing the matter could no longer be concealed, he broke forth into open Tyranny, and the Rich and Powerful for light, frivolous, and, many times, but pretended, Causes, were put to Death. Their Confiscated Goods helped to maintain a Band of *Debauchees*, which he had about him under the name of a Guard. And yet, he thought, that his Life was not sufficiently secured by them neither, so that he resolved to build a Castle on the top of the Hill * *Dunsinnan*, where there was a large Prospect all over the Country; which Work proceeding but slowly on, by reason of the difficulty of Carriage of Materials thither, he commanded in all the *Thanes* of the whole Kingdom, and so dividing the Task amongst them, They themselves were to oversee, That the Labourers did their Duty. At that time, *Mackduff* was the *Thane* of *Fife*, a very powerful Man in his Country; He, being loth to commit his Life unto the Kings hands, went not himself, but sent thither many Workmen, and some of them his intimate Friends, to press on the Work. The King, either out of a desire (as was pretended) to see how the Building proceeded, or else to apprehend *Mackduff*, (as he himself feared) came to view the Structure, and by chance spying a Teem of *Mackduff*'s Oxen, not able to draw up their Load against a steep Hill, he took thence a willing occasion to vent his Passion against the *Thane*, saying, *That he knew well enough, before, his disobedient Temper, and therefore, was resolved to punish it; and, to make him an Example, he threatened to lay the Yoke upon his own Neck, instead of his Oxen.* *Macduff*, hearing of it, commended the Care of his Family to his Wife, and, without any delay, fitted up a small Vessel, as well as the streights of Time permitted, and so passed over into *Lothian*, and from thence into *England*. The King hearing, that he intended to fly, made haste into *Fife*, with a strong Band of Men to prevent him; but, he being departed before, the King was presently admitted into his Castle, where he poured out all his Fury upon the *Thane's* Wife and Children, who were there present. His Goods were confiscated, He himself was proclaimed Traitor, and a grievous Punishment was threatened to any, who dared to converse with, or entertain, him. He exercised also great Cruelty against others, if they were either Noble or Rich, without distinction. For now the Nobility was despised by him, and he managed the Government by Domestick Counsels. In the mean time, *Macduff*, arriving in *England*, found *Malcolm* there, Royally Treated by King *Edward*. For *Edward*, when the *Danes* Power was broken in *England*, being recalled from Banishment, did favour *Malcolm*, who was brought to him by *Sibert*, (his Grandfather by the Mother side) for many Reasons, as, either, because his Father and Grandfather, when Governors of *Cumberland*, had always favoured the Concerns of his Ancestors, as much as the Times would

* Lying South-west, 3 miles from *Cowper* in *Angus*.

Mackduff, ill resents *Mackbeth*.

He flies into *England*.

And stirs up *Malcolm*, *Duncan*'s Son, against him.

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would permit them to do; or else, because the *Similitude of Events, and the remembrance of Dangers, did assimilate their Minds*, for each King had been unjustly banished by Tyrants; Or, Lastly, because *the Affliction of Kings doth conciliate and move the Minds, even of the greatest strangers, to pity and favour them.* Whereupon, the *Thane*, as soon as he had opportunity to speak with *Malcolm*, in a long Discourse declared to him the Necessity of his unhappy Flight, the Cruelty of *Mackbeth* against all ranks of Men, with the universal Hatred of the People, conceived against him; so that he advised him, in an accurate Harangue, as he was a Son, so to endeavour the Recovery of his Fathers Kingdom, especially, seeing he could not, without incurring a great deal of Guilt, leave the Murder of his Father, to pass unrevenged; nor, neglect the Miseries of the People, which God had committed to his Charge; nor finally, ought He to shut his Ears, against the just Petitions of his Friends. Besides, he told him, That King *Edward* was so Gracious a Prince, That he would not be wanting to him, his Friend, and Suppliant; That the People did also favour Him and hated the Tyrant; In fine, *That Gods Favour would attend the Good, against the Impious, if he were not wanting to himself.* But *Malcolm*, who had often before been persuaded, and solicited to return, by Messengers secretly sent to him from *Mackbeth*; That he might not be ensnared, before he committed so great a Concern to Fortune, resolved to try the Faithfulness of *Mackduff*; and therefore, he framed his Answer, thus, 'I know (says he) That 'all what thou hast said is true; but I am afraid That you, who in-'vite Me to undertake the Regal Government, do not throughly know 'my Disposition; for those Vices, which have already destroyed ma-'ny Kings, *viz.* Lust, and Avarice, do almost Reign, even in me, too; 'and tho now, my private Fortune doth hide and disguise them, 'yet the Liberty of a Kingdom will let loose the Reins thereunto; 'And therefore, said he, Pray, have a care, that you invite me not, 'rather to my Ruin, than to a Throne: When *Mackduff* had reply-'ed thereto, That the Lust and Desire of many Concubines might 'be prevented by a lawful Marriage; and that Avarice might be al-'so bounded and forborn, when the fear of Penury (as it must be 'upon a Throne) is removed: *Malcolm* subjoyned, That he had ra-'ther now make an ingenious Confession to him, as his Friend, than 'to be found guilty hereafter, to the great damage of them both; For 'my Self, to deal plainly with you, said he, There is no Truth nor 'Sincerity in me, I confide in no Body living, but I change my De-'signs and Counsels, upon every blast of Suspition; and thus, from 'the Inconstancy of my own Disposition, I use to make a Judgment 'of other Mens. Whereupon, *Mackduff* replyed, 'Avant, says he, 'Thou Disgrace and Prodigy of the Royal Name and Stock, worthi-'er to be sent into the remotest Desert, than to be called to a Throne; 'and, in a great Anger, he was about to fling away. Then *Malcolm* took him by the hand, and declared the Cause of this his Dissimulation to him, telling him, That he had been so often assaulted by the Wiles of *Mackbeth*, that he did not dare, lightly, to trust every body: But now he saw no Cause to suspect any Fraud in *Macduff*, in respect either of his Lineage, his Manners, Fame, nor Fortune.

King, and that his Life was also sought after, he fled secretly into *Wales*. Upon that Murder, so cruelly and perfidiously committed, the Nobles were afraid of themselves, insomuch, that they all departed to their own homes, and came but few of them, and those very seldom, to Court. So that the Kings Cruelty being partly discovered by some, and partly vehemently suspected by all, mutual Fear and Hatred sprung up betwixt him and the Nobility. Whereupon, seeing the matter could no longer be concealed, he broke forth into open Tyranny, and the Rich and Powerful for light, frivolous, and, many times, but pretended, Causes, were put to Death. Their Confiscated Goods helped to maintain a Band of *Debanchees*, which he had about him under the name of a Guard. And yet, he thought, that his Life was not sufficiently secured by them neither, so that he resolved to build a Castle on the top of the Hill * *Dunsinnan*, where there was a large Prospect all over the Country; which Work proceeding but slowly on, by reason of the difficulty of Carriage of Materials thither, he commanded in all the *Thanes* of the whole Kingdom, and so dividing the Task amongst them, They themselves were to oversee, That the Labourers did their Duty. At that time, *Mackduff* was the *Thane* of *Fife*, a very powerful Man in his Country; He, being loth to commit his Life unto the Kings hands, went not himself, but sent thither many Workmen, and some of them his intimate Friends, to press on the Work. The King, either out of a desire (as was pretended) to see how the Building proceeded, or else to apprehend *Mackduff*, (as he himself feared) came to view the Structure, and by chance spying a Teem of *Mackduff*'s Oxen, not able to draw up their Load against a steep Hill, he took thence a willing occasion to vent his Passion against the *Thane*, saying, *That he knew well enough, before, his disobedient Temper, and therefore, was resolved to punish it; and, to make him an Example, he threatened to lay the Yoke upon his own Neck, instead of his Oxen.* *Macduff*, hearing of it, commended the Care of his Family to his Wife, and, without any delay, fitted up a small Vessel, as well as the streights of Time permitted, and so passed over into *Lothian*, and from thence into *England*. The King hearing, that he intended to fly, made haste into *Fife*, with a strong Band of Men to prevent him; but, he being departed before, the King was presently admitted into his Castle, where he poured out all his Fury upon the *Thane's* Wife and Children, who were there present. His Goods were confiscated, He himself was proclaimed Traitor, and a grievous Punishment was threatened to any, who dared to converse with, or entertain, him. He exercised also great Cruelty against others, if they were either Noble or Rich, without distinction. For now the Nobility was despised by him, and he managed the Government by Domestick Counsels. In the mean time, *Macduff*, arriving in *England*, found *Malcolm* there, Royally Treated by King *Edward*. For *Edward*, when the *Danes* Power was broken in *England*, being recalled from Banishment, did favour *Malcolm*, who was brought to him by *Sibert*, (his Grandfather by the Mother side) for many Reasons, as, either, because his Father and Grandfather, when Governors of *Cumberland*, had always favoured the Concerns of his Ancestors, as much as the Times would

* Lying South-west, 3 miles from *Cowper* in *Angus*.

Mackduff, ill resents *Mackbeth*.

He flies into *England*.

And stirs up *Malcolm*, *Duncan*'s Son, against him.

would permit them to do; or elſe, becauſe the *Similitude of Events, and the remembrance of Dangers, did aſſimilate their Minds*, for each King had been unjuſtly baniſhed by Tyrants; Or, Laſtly, becauſe *the Affliction of Kings doth conciliate and move the Minds, even of the greateſt ſtrangers, to pity and favour them.* Whereupon, the *Thane*, as ſoon as he had opportunity to ſpeak with *Malcolm*, in a long Diſcourſe declared to him the Neceſſity of his unhappy Flight, the Cruelty of *Mackbeth* againſt all ranks of Men, with the univerſal Hatred of the People, conceived againſt him; ſo that he adviſed him, in an accurate Harangue, as he was a Son, ſo to endeavour the Recovery of his Fathers Kingdom, eſpecially, ſeeing he could not, without incurring a great deal of Guilt, leave the Murder of his Father, to paſs unrevenged; nor, neglect the Miſeries of the People, which God had committed to his Charge; nor finally, ought He to ſhut his Ears, againſt the juſt Petitions of his Friends. Beſides, he told him, That King *Edward* was ſo Gracious a Prince, That he would not be wanting to him, his Friend, and Suppliant; That the People did alſo favour Him and hated the Tyrant; In fine, *That Gods Favour would attend the Good, againſt the Impious, if he were not wanting to himſelf.* But *Malcolm*, who had often before been perſuaded, and ſolicited to return, by Meſſengers ſecretly ſent to him from *Mackbeth*; That he might not be enſnared, before he committed ſo great a Concern to Fortune, reſolved to try the Faithfulneſs of *Mackduff*; and therefore, he framed his Anſwer, thus, 'I know (ſays he) That 'all what thou haſt ſaid is true; but I am afraid That you, who in-'vite Me to undertake the Regal Government, do not throughly know 'my Diſpoſition; for thoſe Vices, which have already deſtroyed ma-'ny Kings, *viz.* Luſt, and Avarice, do almoſt Reign, even in me, too; 'and thô now, my private Fortune doth hide and diſguiſe them, 'yet the Liberty of a Kingdom will let looſe the Reins thereunto; 'And therefore, ſaid he, Pray, have a care, that you invite me not, 'rather to my Ruin, than to a Throne: When *Mackduff* had reply-'ed thereto, That the Luſt and Deſire of many Concubines might 'be prevented by a lawful Marriage; and that Avarice might be al-'ſo bounded and forborn, when the fear of Penury (as it muſt be 'upon a Throne) is removed: *Malcolm* ſubjoyned, That he had ra-'ther now make an ingenious Confeſſion to him, as his Friend, than 'to be found guilty hereafter, to the great damage of them both; For 'my Self, to deal plainly with you, ſaid he, There is no Truth nor 'Sincerity in me, I confide in no Body living, but I change my De-'ſigns and Counſels, upon every blaſt of Suſpition; and thus, from 'the Inconſtancy of my own Diſpoſition, I uſe to make a Judgment 'of other Mens. Whereupon, *Mackduff* replyed, 'Avant, ſays he, 'Thou Diſgrace and Prodigy of the Royal Name and Stock, worthi-'er to be ſent into the remoteſt Deſert, than to be called to a Throne; 'and, in a great Anger, he was about to fling away. Then *Malcolm* took him by the hand, and declared the Cauſe of this his Diſſimulation to him, telling him, That he had been ſo often aſſaulted by the Wiles of *Mackbeth*, that he did not dare, lightly, to truſt every body: But now he ſaw no Cauſe to ſuſpect any Fraud in *Macduff*, in reſpect either of his Lineage, his Manners, Fame, nor Fortune.

Thus they, plighting their Faith one to another, consulted, concerning the destruction of the Tyrant, and advised their Friends of it, by secret Messages. King *Edward* assisted him with Ten Thousand Men, over whom *Malcolm*'s Grandfather, by the Mothers side, was made General. At the Report of this Armies March, there was a great combustion in *Scotland*, and many flock'd in daily to the new King; *Mackbeth* being deserted by almost all his Men, in so suddain a Revolt, not knowing what better course to take, shut up himself in the Castle of *Dunsinnan*, and sent his Friends into the *Æbudæ*, and into *Ireland*, with Money to hire Soldiers. *Malcolm* understanding his Design, makes up directly towards him, the People praying for him all along as he went, and, with joyful Acclamations, wishing him good Success. His Soldiers took this as an *Omen* of Victory, and thereupon stuck up green Boughs in their Helmets, representing an Army Triumphing, rather than going to Fight. *Mackbeth* being terrified at the Confidence of his Enemy, immediately fled; and his Soldiers forsaken by their Leader, surrendred themselves up to *Malcolm*; Some of our Writers do here Record many Fables, which are like * *Milesian* Tales, and fitter for the Stage, than an History; and therefore I omit them. *Mackbeth* Reigned Seventeen Years. In the first Ten, he performed the Duty of a very good King; in the last Seven, he equalled the Cruelty of the worst of Tyrants.

* *Malcolm*, by the assistance of *Edward*, K. of *England*, recovers the Kingdom from *Mackbeth*.

* See Note * *p.* 77.

Malcolm, III. *The Eighty Sixth King.*

MALCOLM, having thus recovered his Fathers Kingdom, was Declared King at *Scone*, the 25*th* day of *April*, in the Year of our Redemption, 1057. At the entrance of his Reign, he convened an Assembly of the Estates at *Forsar*; where the First thing he did, was, to restore to the Children their Father's Estates, who had been put to death by *Mackbeth*; He is thought by some to have been the *First*, that introduced * New and Foreign Names, as distinguishments of Degrees in Honour, which he borrowed from his Neighbor-Nations, and are no less Barbarous than the former were: Such as are *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earls*, *Barons*, *Riders* or *Knights*. * *Mackduff*, the *Thane* of *Fife*, was the First who had the Title of *Earl*, conferred upon him, and many others afterwards, according to their respective Merits, were honoured with New Titles. Some write, That at that time Noblemen began to be Sirnamed by their Lands, which, I think, is false, for that Custom is not yet received amongst the *Ancient Scots*; and besides, *then* all *Scotland* used their Ancient Rights and Customs, but, instead of a Sirname, after the manner of the *Greeks*, they added their Fathers Name to their own; or else, adjoyned a Word taken from some Event; or, from some Mark of Body, or Mind; and that this Custom did then obtain amongst the *Gauls*, is plain, by those Royal Sirnames of *Crassus*, *Calvus*, *Balbus*, and also, by the Sirnames of many Noble Families in *England*, especially, such as followed *William* the Conqueror, and fixed their Habitations there. For the Custom of taking Sirnames from Lands, was received but lately amongst the other *Gauls*, as appears by *Frossard*'s History, no mean Author. *Mackduff* had Three Requests granted to him, as a Reward

* *Malcolm*, First brought in Foreign Titles of Honour into *Scotland*.

* *Mackduff*, the first Earl in *Scotland*.

'Reward for his Services. One, That his Posterity should place the 'King, who was to be Crowned, in the Chair of State; Another, 'That they should lead the Van of the Kings Armies: And a Third, 'That, if any of his Family were Guilty of the unpremeditated slaugh-'ter of a Nobleman, he should pay Four and Twenty Marks of Sil-'ver, as a Fine; if of a Plebeian, Twelve Marks: Which last Law was observed till the days of our Fathers, as long as any of that Family were in being.

* Three Grand Privileges of the *Mackduffi*.

Whilst these things were acted at *Forfar*; They, who remained of the Faction of *Mackbeth*, carryed his Son, *Luthlac*, to *Scone*, (who was Sirnamed *Fatuus*, from his Disposition), and there he was Saluted King. *Malcolm* assaulted him in the Valley * *Bogian*, where he was * slain, three Months after he had Usurped the Name of King; yet, out of respect to his Kingly Race, His, and his Fathers Bodies were buried in the Royal Sepulchres in * *Ionia*. Afterwards, he Reigned four years in Peace. Then word was brought him, that a great Troop of Robbers were Nested in *Cockburn*-Forest, and that they infested *Lothian* and *Merch*, to the great damage of the Husbandman. *Patric Dunbar*, with some Trouble, overcame them, losing Forty of his own Men in the Onset, and killing 600 of Them. Forty more of them were taken Prisoners, and hanged. *Patric*, for this Exploit, was made Earl of *Merch*.

* Called *Strae*- or *Strath-Boy*, lying on the River *Boy*, Forty Miles North of *Aberdeen*.

* *Luthlac*, *Mackbeth*'s Son, slain by *Malcolm*.

* Or *Icolumbkil* an Isle 2 Miles from the South end of *Mul*.

The Kingdom was now so settled, that no open Force could hurt the King, yet he was assaulted by Private * Conspiracies. The whole Plot was discovered to him, whereupon he sent for the Head of the Faction, and, after much familiar Discourse, he led him aside into a secret Valley, commanding his Followers to stay behind. There he upbraided him with the former Benefits bestowed on him, and declared to him the Plot he had contrived against his Life; adding further, if Thou hast Courage enough, why dost thou not *now* set upon me, seeing we are both Armed, that so thou mayst obtain thy desire by Valour, not by Treachery? He, being amazed at this sudden Discovery, fell down on his Knees, and asked Pardon of the King, who being a Merciful, as well as Valiant, Prince, easily forgave him. *Matthew Paris* makes mention of this Passage.

* *Malcolm* assaulted by private Conspiracies, which he overcomes.

In the mean time, *Edgar*, to whom, next to *Edward*, the Crown of *England* belonged, being driven by contrary Winds, came into *Scotland*, with his whole Family. What I am to speak concerning this Person, that it may be the better understood, I shall fetch things a little higher.

* *Edmond*, King of *England*, being slain by the Treachery of his Subjects; *Canutus*, the *Dane*, who Reigned over *Part* of the Island, presently seized upon the *Whole*. At first, he Nobly treated *Edward* and *Edmond*, the Sons of the Deceased *Edmond*, when they were brought to him. Afterwards, being edged on by wicked Ambition, he, desirous to confirm the Kingdom to his Posterity, by their Destruction, sent them away privately to *Valgar*, Governour of *Swedland*, to be Murdered there. *Valgar*, understanding their Noble stock, and considering also their Age and Innocence, withal taking Compassion of their Condition and Fortune, sent them to *Hungary* to King *Salomon*, pretending to *Canutus*, That he had put them death.

* The Story of *Edmond*, K. of *England*, and *Canutus*.

There they were Royally Educated and so much grateful Towardlineſs appeared in *Edward*, that *Salomon* culled him out of all the Young Nobles, to give him his Daughter *Agatha* to Wife. By her he had *Edgar*, *Margaret*, and *Chriſtian*. In the mean time, *Canutus* dying, *Hardicanute* ſucceeded him. When he was ſlain, *Edward* was recalled from *Normandy*, whither he was before Baniſhed, together with his Brother *Alured*; Earl *Godwyn*, a powerful man, of *Engliſh* Blood, but who had Married the Daughter of *Canutus*, was ſent to fetch them home. He, being deſirous to transfer the Kingdom into his own Family, cauſed *Alured* to be Poyſoned; as for *Edward*, he was preſerved, rather by Gods Providence, than by any human Counſel, and Reigned moſt devoutly in *England*. But, wanting Children, his Chief care was, to recal his Kinſman out of *Hungary* to undertake the Government, alleging, That when *Edgar* returned, he would willingly ſurrender up All to him; but His Modeſty outdid the Kings Piety; for he refuſed to accept of the Kingdom, as long as he was alive.

At length, upon *Edwards* death, *Harald*, *Godwyns* Son, invaded the Throne, yet he dealt kindly with *Agatha*, the *Hungarian*, and her Children. But he being alſo overthrown by *William* the *Norman*; *Edgar*, to avoid *Williams* Cruelty, reſolved with his Mother and Siſters to return into *Hungary*; but by a Tempeſt he was driven into *Scotland*. There he was Courteouſly entertained by *Malcolm*, who made him his Kinſman alſo by the Marriage of his Siſter, *Margaret*. * *William*, then Reigning in *England*, upon every light Occaſion, was very cruel againſt the Nobles either of *Engliſh* or *Daniſh* Extraction. But underſtanding, what was a doing in *Scotland*, and fearing a Tempeſt might ariſe from thence, he ſent an Herald to demand *Edgar*, denouncing War againſt *Scotland*, unleſs he were ſurrendred up. * *Malcolm* looked upon it as a cruel and faithleſs Thing, to deliver up his Suppliants Gueſt and Kinſman (and one, againſt whom his very Enemies could object no Crime) to his Capital Enemy to be put to Death, and therefore reſolved to ſuffer any thing, rather than ſo to do. And thereupon he not only detained, and harboured, *Edgar*, but alſo gave Admiſſion to his Friends, who, in great Numbers, were Baniſhed from their own homes, and gave them Lands to live upon; whoſe Poſteritys were there Propagated into many Rich and Opulent Families. Upon this Occaſion, there followed a War betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, wherein *Sibert*, King of *Northumberland* favouring *Edgar*, joyned his Forces with the *Scots*. The *Norman*, being puff'd up with the good Succeſs of his Affairs, made light of the *Scotiſh* War, and thinking to end it in a ſhort time, he ſent one *Roger*, a Nobleman of his own Country, with Forces into *Northumberland*. But he, being overcome and put to flight, was at laſt Slain by his own Men.

Then *Richard*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, was ſent with a greater Army, but he could do but little good, neither; for *Patrick Dunbar*, wearied him out with light Skirmiſhes, ſo that his Men could not ſtraggle for to get in Prey; at laſt, *Odo*, *William*'s Brother, and Biſhop of *Bayon*, being made Earl of *Kent*, came down with a much greater ſtrength; he made great ſpoil in *Northumberland*, and ſlew ſome, who thought

to

* *William* the *Norman* demands *Edgar*, then in *Scotland*.

* Whom *Malcolm* refuſes to Surrender.

* Whereupon a War en ſ. *Roger*, *Richard*, *Odo*, and *Robert*, Generals for *William* of *England*, worſhed in *Scotland*,

to ſtop him from plundering; but, as he was returning with a great Booty, *Malcolm*, and *Sibert*, ſet upon him, ſlew and took many of his Army, and recovered the Prey. When his Army was recruited, *Robert*, *William*'s Son, was ſent down thither, but he made no great Earnings of it neither, only he pitched his Camp at the River *Tine*, and he rather kept off, than made, or inferred, the War. In the mean time, he repaired *Newcaſtle*, which was almoſt decayed by reaſon of its Antiquity. *William* being thus wearied with a War, more tedious than profitable, his Courage being ſomewhat cooled, applied himſelf to thoughts of Peace; which was made on theſe Conditions. That in *Stanmore*, *i. e.* a *Stony Heath*, (a Name impoſed on it, for that very Cauſe,) lying between *Richmond-ſhire* and *Cumberland*, the Bounds of both Kingdoms ſhould be fixed; and in the Boundary a * Croſs of Stone ſhould be Erected, which ſhould contain the Statues, and Arms, of the Kings of Both Sides: That Croſs, as long as it ſtood, was called, *Kings Croſs*; That *Malcolm* ſhould enjoy *Cumberland*, upon the ſame Terms as his Anceſtors had held it. *Edgar* was alſo received into *William*'s Favour, and endowed with large Revenues; and that he might prevent all occaſion of ſuſpition of his innovating things, he never departed from the Court. *Voldioſus* alſo, the Son of *Sibert*, was to have his Fathers Eſtate reſtored to him; and beſides, he was admitted into Affinity with the King, by Marrying a Neice of his, born of his Daughter.

Newcaſtle repaired.

A Peace concluded between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

* Or, *Re-Croſs*, on the North-ſide, it had the Portraicture of the *Scots* King, and of the *Engliſh* King on the South.

* Inteſtine Tumults did ſucceed this External Peace; for the Men of *Galway*, and of the *Æbudæ*, did Ravage and commit Murders over all their Neighbouring Parts; and the *Murray-Men*, with thoſe of *Roſs*, *Caithneſs*, and their Allies, made a Conſpiracy, and aſſuming their Neighbour Iſlanders to their Aid, gave an *Omen* of a greater War. *Walter*, the Nephew of *Bancho*, by his Son *Fleanchus*, who was before received into Favour with the King, was ſent againſt the *Galway-Men*; and *Macduff*, againſt the other Rebels; whilſt the King himſelf was gathering greater Forces. *Walter* ſlew the Head of that Faction, and ſo quell'd the common Souldiers, that the King at his Return, made him *Lord Steward* of all *Scotland*, for his Good Service.

* Home-bred Seditions againſt *Malcolm* quell'd.

This Magiſtrate was to gather in all the Kings Revenues; alſo; he had a Juriſdiction, ſuch as the Sheriffs of Counties have; and he is the ſame with That, which our Anceſtors called a *Thane*. But now a days, the *Engliſh* Speech getting the better of our Country Language, the *Thanes* of Counties, are in many places, called *Stewards*; and he, which was anciently called *Abthane*, is now the *Lord High Steward of* Scotland: Yet, in ſome few places, the Name of *Thane* doth yet remain. From this *Walter*, the Family of the *Steuarts*, who have ſo long Reigned over *Scotland*, took its Beginning.

The Original of the Family of the *Stuarts*, afterwards Kings of *Scotland*.

But *Macduff*, warring in another Province, when he came to the Borders of *Marr*, the *Marrians* promiſed him a Sum of Money, if he would not enter into their Province; and he, fearing the Multitude of the Enemy, did protract the time in Propoſals and Terms of a pretended Peace, till the King arrived with greater Forces. When they came to the Village * *Monimuſs*, they joined Camps; and the King, being troubled at the bruit of the Enemies Numbers, promiſed

* Lying on the South-ſide of the River *Dond* in *Marr*.

to

* *Malcolm's* Vow to St. *Andrew.*

to devote the Village, whither he was going, to St. *Andrew* the Apostle, the Tutelary Saint of *Scotland*, if he returned Victor from that Expedition. After a few Removes, he came to the River *Spey*, the violenteſt Current in all *Scotland*, where he beheld a greater number of Soldiers, than, he thought, could have been levied out of thoſe Countries, ſtanding on the other ſide of the River, to hinder his Paſſage. Whereupon, the Standard Bearer, making an Halt, and delaying to enter the River, he ſnatch'd the Standard out of his Hand, and gave it to one *Alexander Carron*, a Knight of known Valour, whoſe Poſterity had ever afterwards the Honour of carrying the Kings Standard, in the Wars; and in ſtead of *Carron*, the Name of *Scrimger* was given him; becauſe he, being full of true Valour, though ignorant of the Modes and Niceties of War, had out-done One, who was a Maſter in handling of Arms, and who valued himſelf highly upon that Account. As the King was entring the River, the Mitred Prieſts, with their Mitres on their Heads, prevented him; who, by his Permiſſion, having paſſed over to the Enemy before, had ended the War without Blood. The Nobles ſurrendred themſelves upon Quarter for Life: Thoſe, who were the moſt Seditious, and and the Authors of the Riſing, were Tryed, had their Goods Confiſcated, and themſelves Condemned to perpetual Impriſonment.

Alexander Carron, preferred and Sirnamed *Scrimger.*

The Seditious quell'd.

Peace being thus, by his great Induſtry, obtained, both at home and abroad; he converted his pains to amend the publick Manners; for, he lived Devoutly and Piouſly himſelf, and provoked others, by his Example, to a Modeſt, Juſt, and Sober, Life. It is thought, that he was aſſiſted herein, by the Counſel and Monitions of his Wife, a choice Woman, and eminently Pious. She omitted no Office of Humanity towards the Poor, or the Prieſts; neither did *Agatha*, the Mother, or *Chriſtiana*, the Siſter, come behind the Queen in any Religious Duty: For, becauſe a Nuns Life was then accounted the great Nouriſher and Maintainer of Piety, Both of them leaving the toilſome Cares of the World, ſhut themſelves up in a Monaſtery appointed for Virgins. Then the King, to the Four former Biſhopricks of St. *Andrews*, *Gaſgow*, *Whithorn*, and **Murthlack*, (where the old Diſcipline, by the Biſhops Sloth and Default, was either remitted, or laid quite aſide) added * That of *Murray*, and *Caithneſs*, procuring Men Pious, and Learned, according to the rate of thoſe times, to fill the *Sees*. And whereas alſo * Luxury began to abound in thoſe days, in regard many *Engliſh* came in, and great Commerce was had with Foreign Nations; and alſo many *Engliſh* Exiles were entertained and ſcatt'red almoſt all over the Kingdom; he laboured, though to little purpoſe, to reſtrain it. But he had the hardeſt Task of all, with the Nobles, whom he endeavoured to reclaim to the Practice of their ancient Parſimony; for they, having once ſwallowed the bait of Pleaſure, did not only grow worſe and worſe, but even ran headlong into Debauchery; yea, they laboured to cover that foul Vice, under the falſe Name of Neatneſs, Bravery, and Gallantry. *Malcolm*, forſeeing, that ſuch courſes would be the Ruin not only of Religion, but alſo of Military Diſcipline, did, firſt of all, Reform his own Family, very exactly; afterwards, he made moſt ſevere * Sumptuary Laws, denouncing great Puniſhment againſt the Violators

The Piety of *Malcolm's* Queen, &c.

* Or, *Mortlich.*

* *Malcolm* erects new Biſhopricks.

* Sumptuary Laws made by *Malcolm.*

Violators of them. Yet, by those Remedies he rather stopp'd, than cured, the Disease; nevertheless, as long as he lived, he employed all his endeavours to work a thorough Reform therein. It is also Reported, That his Wife obtained of him, That, whereas the Nobles had gradually obtained a Priviledge, to lye, the first Night, with any Married Bride, by the Law of *Eugenius*; That Custom should be altered, and the Husband have Liberty to Redeem it by paying half a Mark of Silver, which Payment is yet called * *Marcheta Mulierum*.

* *Marcheta Mulierum*, What?

* Whilst *Malcolm* was thus busied in reforming the publick Manners, *William*, King of *England*, dies: His Son, *William Rufus*, succeeded him. Peace could not long be continued between two Kings, of such different Dispositions. For the King of *Scots* chose that Time, to Build two Temples, or Cathedrals, in, one at *Durham* in *England*; the other, at *Dumferling* in *Scotland*; upon Both which Piles he bestowed great Cost, so that he endeavoured to retrieve Church-Affairs, which then began to flag and decay. And withal, he translated *Turgot*, Abbat of the Monks at *Durham*, to the Bishoprick of St. *Andrews*. This he did, whilst *Rufus* was plucking down Towns and Monasteries, and making Forests, that he might have the more room to hunt in. And when *Anselme* the *Norman*, then Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, did, with freedom, rebuke him for the same, he Banished him the Land. He also sought for an Occasion of War against the *Scots*; And thereupon, he surprized the Castle of * *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*, having slain the Garison which was therein: *Malcolm*, having demanded Restitution, but in vain, Besieged the Castle with a great Army: They within, being reduced to great extremity and want, talk'd of surrendring it, and desired the King to come, and receive the Keys with his own Hand; which, as he was a doing, being tendred to him on the point of a Spear, the Soldier run him into the Eye, and killed him. And his Son * *Edward* also, being forward to revenge his Fathers Death, and thereupon, more negligent of his own safety, made an unwary assault upon the Enemy, wherein he received a Wound, of which he died soon after; The *Scots*, being afflicted and troubled at this double Slaughter of *Two* of their Kings, broke up the Siege, and returned home. *Margaret* did not long survive her Husband and Son, but died of Grief. The Bodies of the Kings, which, at first, were buried at *Tinmouth*, (a Monastery at the mouth of *Tine*) were afterwards brought back to *Dumferling*: *Malcolm* held the Kingdom Thirty and three years, being noted for no Vice, but famous to Posterity, for his great and many Virtues; he had six Sons by his Wife *Margaret*, of whom *Edward* was slain by the *English* in the Siege of *Alnwick* Castle: *Edmond* and *Etheldred* were Banished into *England*, by their Uncle *Donald*, where they died: The other Three, *Edgar*, *Atheldred*, and *David*, succeeded in the Kingdom, one after another: He also had Two Daughters, the Elder *Maud*, Sirnamed the *Good*, Married *Henry*, King of *England*; the younger, named *Mary*, had *Eustace*, Earl of * *Bologn*, for her Husband. Several * Prodigies hapned in those days, and in particular, there was such a mighty and unusual an Inundation of the *German* Ocean, that it did not only drown the Fields and Country, and choked them up with Sand; but also, overthrew Villages, Towns, and Castles;

* King *William*, *Rufus* Wars against *Malcolm*.

* *Malcolm*, and his Son *Edward*, slain by the *English*.

* On the River *Lian*, on the *British* Sea, West of *Calice*.

* Prodigies, *viz.* The Inundation of the *German*-Sea, and Men-killing Thunder-bolts.

And

And besides, there were great and terrible Thunders, and more were killed with Thunderbolts, than were ever Recorded to have perished, by that Death, in *Britain*, before.

Donaldus VII. *Sirnamed* Banus, *The Eighty Seventh King.*

* *Donald* promises the Islands to *Magnus*, King of *Norway*.

UPon the Death of *Malcolm*, *Donaldus* (*Banus*) *i.e.* The White, his Brother, who, for fear of *Mackbeth*, had fled into the *Ebudæ*, was, with great facility, declared King; for he had promised all the Islands to *Magnus*, King of *Norwey*, if, by his Assistance, he might enjoy the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And in this his Obtaining of the Kingdom, those were most assistant to him, who did falsely accuse the former King, for corrupting the Discipline of his Ancestors; and withal, who stomached, that the Banished *English* should enjoy the Estates of *Scots*, in *Scotland*: *Edgar*, in such a suddain Mutation of things, being afraid and solicitous for his Sisters Children, which were yet but young, caused them to be transported to him, into *England*. But this Piety of the Good Man was calumniated by some. For *Orgarus*, an *Englishman*, seeking to curry favour with King *Rufus*, accused him, that he had secretly boasted, *That he and his Kindred were Lawful Heirs of the Crown*. The Accuser was not able to make good his Allegation by any Witnesses; and therefore, the Matter was adjudged to be decided by a Duel, wherein the Accuser was overcome by another *Englishman*, who offered him the Combate, instead of *Edgar*, who was now grown old, and also sickly. All good Men, who had a Veneration for the Memory of *Malcolm* and *Margaret*, hated *Donald*, who, by Foreign Aid, in Conjunction with those of his own Faction, had seized on the Kingdom: And he, by his Rashness, did much increase the Hatred conceived against him, and by severe Threats, which he uttered, amongst his Familiars, against the Nobles, who would not Swear Allegiance to him. And therefore they sent for *Duncan*, a Base-born Son of *Malcolm*'s; who had served long, with Credit, in the Wars under *William Rufus*, to oppose *Donald*. At his coming, many revolted from *Donald*; so that he was diffident of his own State, and therefore * fled into the *Ebudæ*, about six months after he had Usurped the Throne.

* *Donald* flies.

Duncan, *The Eighty Eighth King.*

NEither did *Duncan* Reign long, for he, being a Military Man, and not so Skilful in the Arts of Peace, carried it more Imperiously, than a Peaceable and Civil Government required; so that, he quickly fell into the hatred of the Major part of his Subjects. When *Donaldus*, who observed all his motions, heard thereof, in his Banishment, he corrupted *Macpendir*, Earl of *Mern*, and, by him, caused *Duncan* to be slain in the night in *Monteath*, a year and six months after he began to Reign. As for *Donald*, he governed a troublesom Kingdom for about three years; Good Men rather tolerating him, (for want of a better) than approving him. The *English*,

* *Duncan* slain, by the procurement of *Donald*.

Engliſh, on the one ſide, and the Iſlanders on the other; in his time much moleſted *Scotland*. The Envy alſo againſt him was heightned, in that *Magnus*, King of *Norwey*, had ſeized on the Weſtern Iſlands, which though he ſeemed to have done by Force, yet all Men ſmelt out the Cheat, in regard *Donald* did not ſo much as ſtir, at ſo great an Affront. And, at laſt, the publick Indignation waxed hotter againſt him, when the Vulgar underſtood, That it was done by a Secret Paction and Agreement betwixt him and *Magnus*.

Edgar, *The Eighty Ninth King*.

UPon thoſe Diſguſts, ſecret Meſſengers were diſpatched to *Edgar*, *Malcolm*'s Son. That he would come over, and be General, in order to obtain the Kingdom; and, as ſoon as he appeared upon the Borders, they promiſed to flock in to him. And they were as good as their Words. For *Edgar*, being aſſiſted with a ſmall Force by *Rufus*, at the inſtance of *Edgar* his Uncle, had ſcarce entred *Scotland*, before *Donald*, being forſaken of his Men, fled away; but being purſued and taken, was brought back to *Edgar*, who committed him to Priſon, where he died, ſoon after. *Edgar*, having recovered the Kingdom, by the General Suffrage of all the Eſtates, Firſt of all, he made Peace, with *William*, King of *England*, and he dying without Children, he renewed it with *Henry* his Brother. He gave him *Maud*, his Siſter, to Wife, Sirnamed the *Good*, from her Virtuous Manners, (as I ſaid before.) By her, he had *William*, *Richard*, *Euſemia*, and *Maud*. *Edgar* Reigned Nine Years and Six Months, in great Peace, Reverenced and Beloved by *Good* Men; and ſo formidable to the *Bad*, that, in all his Reign, there were no Civil Tumults or Seditions, nor any fear of a Foreign Enemy. One Monument of his Praiſe, was, the Monaſtery of * *Coldingham*, Dedicated to St. *Ebb* the Virgin, which he built in the Seventh Year of his Reign; though afterwards, it was transferred into the Name of *Cutbert*.

* *Edgar*'s Pious Reign. He builds the Monaſtery of *Coldingham*.

* Lying within two Miles of *Aymouth* in *Merſe*, near the *Scotiſh* Sea.

Alexander I. *The Ninetieth King*.

EDGAR dying without Iſſue, his Brother *Alexander*, Sirnamed *Acer*, or the *Feirce*, ſucceeded him. In the very beginning of his Reign, ſome Youngſters, that loved to Fiſh in troubled Waters, imagining, that he would be a Peaceable (or, as they interpreted it, a *Sluggiſh*) King, as his Brother was, Conſpired to take away his Life; that ſo, they might Rob and Plunder, with more Freedom. The Matter being diſcovered to him, he purſued the Conſpirators, unto the furtheſt part of *Roſs*: When they came to the River *Spey*, they thought to ſtop the Kings Purſuit, by reaſon of the Rapidneſs of the River; and beſides, the Kings Friends would not ſuffer him to enter the River, becauſe the Tide coming in, they judged it unpaſſable; yet he ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and was about to paſs over. The reſt, leſt they might ſeem to forſake their King, in a Danger ſo great, following him. But his own Men (as I ſaid) drew him back, ſo that he ſent over Part of his Army, under the Command of *Alexander Carron*, the Son of that *Alexander*, I mentioned before, whoſe

Alexander's Valour.

Miraculous Boldness, in passing the River with his Forces, struck such a Terrour into the Enemy, that they presently betook themselves to their Heels. Many were Slain in the Pursuit; their Leaders were then taken, or else, afterwards brought to the King, and were all Hanged up.

This Expedition procured him Peace, even to the End of his Life. As he was returning through *Mern*, a * Poor Woman met him, grievously complaining, That her Husband had been scourged with a Whip of Thongs, by the Earl of *Mern*'s Son, because he had sued him for a Debt. The King hearing it, presently, in great Disdain, leapt from his Horse, and would not stir from the Place, till the Offender had received Condign Punishment. Then he went to * *Envergoury*, or, as some write, to * *Balleggary*, *Edgar*'s Town; some write, That the Sirname of *Acer* was given him, for those Exploits; but, others say, it had a more Tragick Original, *viz.* That some Thieves, having corrupted one of his Bed-Chamber, were privately admitted thereinto, whilst he was asleep; and, their suddain Rushing in awakening him, he first slew his Treacherous Servant; and afterwards, Six of the Thieves. Whereupon, an Hubbub was raised in the Court, and the rest fled, but *Alexander* pursued them so fiercely, that most of them were slain. Afterwards, he turned his Thoughts to the Works of Peace; he built *Michael*'s *Church* in *Scone*, from the very Ground: The College of Priests, which was there, he turned into a Monastery for *Monks*. Being once carried by Tempest into the Isle * *Æmona*, he was there reduced to great Want and Hunger; for, neither he, nor his Companions, could procure any Food for some Days, but what they got from those that Lived Solitary Lives, vulgarly called *Hermits*. He built also a Church there, in Memory of St. *Columb*, supplying it with Canons, as they call them, and Lands to maintain them. He also gave great Guifts and Largesses, and settled Revenues, on St. *Andrews*, which was Rich enough before. He finished the Church at *Dumfirling*, which his Father had begun, and Endowed it with Revenues.

* He doth Justice to a Poor Woman.

* Lying on the East-side of the *Carse*, or Plain, of *Gowry*, within two Miles of *Dundee*.

* Lying in the *Braes*, or, *Risings*, of the *Carse* of *Gowry*, five Miles above *Dundee*.

* *Inch-Colm*, or *St. Columb's* Isle, in the *Firth* of *Forth*, in *Fife*, near *Aberdeen*.

After these Transactions, in Peace and War, when he had Reigned Seventeen Years, he departed this Life, leaving no Children by *Sibyl*, his Wife, Daughter of *William* the *Norman*.

David I. *The Ninety First King.*

HIS Brother, *David*, succeeded him in the Kingdom, in the Year of Christ 1124. He, seeing, that his Brothers Reigned successively, one after another, in *Scotland*, stayed with his Sister *Maud*, in *England*. There he Married *Maud*, his Niece, a Woman of great Beauty, Wealth and Nobility. For *Voldiosus* of *Northumberland* was her Father, and her Mother was *Judith*, Niece to *William*, the *Norman*. On her, he begot a Son named *Henry*, in whom both his Father's and Mother's Disposition did presently appear. By this Marriage, his Revenues were much encreased by the Accession of *Northumberland* and *Huntington-shire* thereto. Thus, with the

Universal

Universal Gratulation of his Subjects, he came into *Scotland*; to possess the Kingdom: 'Tis true, the Memory of his Parents was of great Force to procure him the Favour of the People; yet his own Virtue was such, that he stood in no need of any adventitious Help: For, as, in other Virtues, he equalled other good Kings; so, in his Condescention to hear the Causes of the Poor, he was much superiour to them. As for the Complaints of the Rich, he heard them himself; and if a false Judgment had been given, he would not rescind it, but compelled the Judge himself to pay the Damages awarded. He restrained Luxury, which then begun to spread, according to the Example of his Father. He banished *Epicures*, and such as studied Arts to provoke the Appetite, out of the Kingdom. He far exceeded the Beneficence of his Parents, and Allies, (which were worthy rather of Pardon, than Praise) in increasing the Revenues of the Church. He repaired Monasteries, whether decayed by Age, or ruined by the Wars; and He also built New Ones from the Ground. To the Six Bishopricks before, he added Four more. * *Ross*, *Brechin*, *Dunkelden*, and *Dunblain*. He almost impoverished the succeeding King to Endow them, for he bestowed upon them a great part of the Royal Revenue. *Johannes Major*, who, when I was but a Youth, was famous for his Theological Studies, having highly praised this King for his other Actions; yet, he blames his profuse Lavishness in Endowing Monasteries in a solemn (and, I wish, it had been an undeserved) Oration. And I the more wonder at this immoderate Profusion of the Publick Stock and Patrimony; because, in those very Times, St. *Bernard* sharply reproves the *Priests* and *Monks* in his Invective and Severe Sermons, for their excessive Luxury and Expence; which yet, if compared with That of our Age, seems but moderate: And the Fruits, which followed these *Donations*, shew, That the Design was not well grounded. For, as in Bodies too Corpulent, the use of all the Members ceases; so, the Sparks of Wit, oppressed by Luxury, did thereby languish in Abbies. The Study of Learning was extinct, Piety degenerated into Superstition, and the Seeds of all Vices sprung up in them, as in an unplowed Field. All the time of his Reign he had but one Commotion, and that was rather a Tumult, than a War. And it was quickly ended in the Slaughter of *Æneas*, Earl of *Murray*, with a great Number of his Followers. *Malcolm Mackbeth*, endeavouring to raise a new Sedition, was committed Prisoner to the Castle of * *Roxburgh*. Other Matters succeeded according to his desire, but yet a twofold Distress, or rather, Calamity, seized him. One, from the untimely Death of his Wife; The Other, of his Son. As for his Wife *Maud*, she was a Woman of high Descent, of exquisite Beauty, and most accomplished Manners: He loved her passionately whilst she lived; and the loss of her, in the Flower of her Age, did so affect him, That, for Twenty Years after he lived a Widower; neither did he touch any other Woman, all that while: And yet the Greatness of his Sorrow was no hindrance to him, from managing the Publick Offices and Concerns both of Peace and War. Concerning his Son, I will speak in due place.

David's just Reign.

* He creates new Bishopricks.

He is censured for his Profuseness towards Monasteries.

* In *Teviotdale*.

David thus addicted himself to the Arts of Peace; but some troublesom Matters, in *England*, drew him unwillingly into a War. The Occasion, this. All the Off-spring of King *Henry* of *England*, besides his Daughter *Maud*, were drowned in their passage out of *France* into *England*; which Misfortune did so grieve him, that (it is reported) he never laughed after. *Maud*, who only survived, and escaped, that Calamity, Married the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth. Her Husband dying without Children, she returned into *England* to her Father. He was willing to settle the Succession on her; and in Order thereto, because she was a Widow and Childless, if he himself should die, he caused all the * Nobility to swear an Oath of Fealty to her; and, in hopes, that she might have Children, he Married her to *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*. Five Years after that Marriage, *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, and King *Henry* died, and *Geoffry* of *Anjou*, falling into a dangerous Disease, lay Bedrid.

Henry of *England* never Laughed, after the Drowning of his Children.

*K. *Henry* setles the Succession on his Daughter *Maud*, the Empress, by causing the Nobility to Swear Fealty to her, in his Life time.

In the mean time, * *Stephen* Earl of *Bologne*, in this want of Royal Issue, took heart to attempt the Crown of *England*: Neither did he look upon it as a Design of any great Difficulty, both by reason of the Weakness of the adverse Party, and also, because he himself had some Royal Blood running in his Veins: For he was born of a Daughter of *William* the *Norman*, which had Married the Earl of *Bloys*. He himself had also Married *Maud*, Daughter of the former Earl of *Bologne*, and Cousin-German to *Maud* the Empress, and begotten upon *Mary*, Sister to *David*, King of *Scotland*: * Upon the Confidence of so great Alliances, by reason of the absence of *Maud* the Queen, and the Sickness of *Geoffry*, he thought he might easily obtain the Crown of *England*. And to make his Way clearer, without any Conscience or Regard of his Oath, which he and th'other kindred had taken to Queen *Maud*, he drew in, by great Promises, the * Bishops of *England*, who had also taken the same Oath, into his Unlawful design; and, especially, *William*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, who was the first that Swore Allegiance to Queen *Maud*, and *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who had not only taken the Oath himself, but had also read the Words of it to the other Nobles, when they Swore.

* *Stephen*, notwithstanding his Oath, seizes on the Crown of *England*.

* His Pretensions for so doing.

The Bishops of *England* not True to *Maud*, according to their Oaths.

Upon this Confidence, even before his Uncle *Henry* was buried, he stept into the Throne, and the Two First Years reigned peaceably enough: Whereupon, growing insolent, he began to neglect his Agreement made with the *English*; and also to deal harshly with strangers. After he had compelled all the *English*, partly by Fear, partly by fair Promises, to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, he sent Embassadors to *David*, King of *Scots*, to put him in mind, to take the same Oath, for the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Huntingdon*, which he held of him. * *David* returned Answer, That he, together with *Stephen* himself, and the other Nobles of *England*, had, not long since, bound themselves, by an Oath, to obey *Maud*, their Lawful Queen; And that he ought not, nor would, acknowledge any other King, as long as she was alive: When this Answer was brought to *Stephen*, presently a War began. The *English* entred upon the adjacent *Scots*; the *Scots* doing as much for them. The next Year, an Army of *Scots*, under the Conduct of the Earls of *Merch*, of *Menteith*, and of *Argus*, entred *England*, and met the

David of *Scotland* maintains the Cause of *Maud*, his Kinswoman. He lays Perjury to *Stephen*'s Charge.

the *Engliſh* at the Town of *Allerton*, whoſe General was the Earl of *Gloceſter*. A ſharp Battel was there fought with equal ſlaughter on both ſides, as long as the Army ſtood to it; at laſt, the * *Engliſh*, being overthrown, many periſhed in the flight, and many of the Nobility were taken Priſoners, amongſt whom was the Earl of *Gloceſter*, himſelf; *Stephen*, being much concerned at this Overthrow, leſt the Friends and Kindred of the Captive Nobles might be alienated from him, refuſed no Conditions of Peace. The Terms were Theſe, 'That the *Engliſh* Priſoners ſhould be releaſed without Ranſom: 'That *Stephen* ſhould quit all the Claim, which, as chief Lord, he 'pretended to have over *Cumberland*. But *Stephen* obſerved thoſe Conditions, no better than he did the Oath, formerly taken, to *Maud*, his Kinſwoman: For, before the Armies were quite Disbanded, and the Priſoners Releaſed, he privately ſurprized ſome Caſtles in *Northumberland*; and, by driving away Bootys from the *Scots* Countrys, renewed the War. The *Scots*, gathering a ſudden Army together out of the Neighbour Countrys, and deſpiſing the *Engliſh*, whom they had overthrown in Battel, the ſelf ſame Year, did raſhly run on to the Conflict at the River * *Tees*; where they paid for their Folly, in undervaluing the Enemy, by receiving a great Overthrow; and were alſo enforced to quit *Northumberland*: *David*, to retrieve this Loſs and Ignominy, gathered as great an Army, as ever he could, together, and came to *Roxburgh*: Thither *Turſtan*, or (as *William* of *Newberry* calls him) *Truſtinus*, was ſent, by the *Engliſh*, to Treat concerning a Pacification, and, there being ſome hope of Agreement, a Truce was made for Three Months, upon Condition, 'That *Nor-* 'thumberland ſhould be preſently reſtored to the *Scots*: But this Promiſe, which was made by *Stephen*, only to have the Army Disbanded, was not performed; ſo that *David* drove away a great Booty, out of that Part of *Northumberland*, which obeyed *Stephen*; and *Stephen*, gathering a great Force together, pierced as far as *Roxborough*: But, underſtanding, That the Nobility were averſe, and complained, That they were intangled in an Unjuſt and Unneceſſary War, without performing any Memorable Exploit, he retired into the heart of his Kingdom: And, the next Year, fearing ſome inteſtine Sedition, he ſent his Wife *Maud* to *David*, her Uncle, to treat of Peace. Upon her Mediation, it was accorded, That *David*, from *Newcaſtle*, where he commonly aboad; and *Stephen*, from *Durham*, ſhould ſend Arbitrators for compoſing of Matters, to the Town of *Cheſter in the ſtreet*, ſcituate in the Midway, equally diſtant, from Both Places. *David* ſent the Arch-Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſgoe*; *Stephen*, the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*: Both Parties were the more inclineable to Peace, becauſe *Stephen* feared War from abroad, and Seditions at home; and the *Scots* complained, That they were forced to bear the ſhock of a War, made in the behalf of another; whereas *Maud*, for whoſe ſake it was commenced, did nothing at all in it. The Peace was made on Theſe Conditions, 'That *Cumberland*, 'as by Ancient Right, ſhould be poſſeſſed by *David*, and that *Nor-* 'thumberland unto the River *Tees*, (as *William* of *Newberry*, the 'Engliſhman, writes) and *Huntingtonſhire*, ſhould be enjoyed by 'Henry, *Davids* Son, upon the account of his Mothers Inheritance;

North Allerton, lying near the River *Swale* in the *North-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*.

He Fights the *Engliſh*, and Overthrows them.

An Agreement between *David* and *Stephen* not obſerved.

Which hath its Source near *Black-Laws* in *Teeſdale*.

The *Scots* overthrown by *Stephen*.

Another Agreement between the *Scots* and *Stephen* King of *England*.

'and

'and, That he ſhould do Homage to *Stephen*, for the ſame. When things were thus compoſed, *David* retired into *Cumberland*, and *Stephen* into *Kent*. This Peace was made in the Year of our Lord 1139. In which Year, *Maud*, being returned into *England*, ſent her Son * *Henry*, afterward King of *England*, to *Carliſle*, to *David* his Great Uncle, that he might be inſtructed in Feats of Arms, and alſo be made Knight, by him; who, without doubt was the excellenteſt Warrior in his time; which Matter, in thoſe days, was performed with a great deal of Ceremony.

Henry, Heir of *England*, ſent to *David* his Uncle, to be made Knight by him.

At that time, there was ſo great a Diſturbance in *England*, by reaſon of Domeſtique Diſcords, That no Part of it was free from a Civil War, but That which *David* the King of *Scots* held. And, that he alone might not plead Exemption from the publick Calamity; within Three Years after, his Son, the only Heir (in hope) of ſo much Power and Felicity, dyed in the flower of his Age, leaving Three Sons, and as many Daughters behind him. He left ſo great a Love behind for him, both from the *Scots* and *Engliſh*; that, beſides the publick Loſs, every one lamented his own private Misfortune alſo, at his death: For ſo great a Sincerity, and Moderation of Mind, ſhined forth in him, even in that Age, wherein Youth is accuſtomed to wantonize, That every body expected moſt rare and ſingular Fruits from his Diſpoſition, when it was ripened by Age. His Fathers Grief was alſo further increaſed, by reaſon of the tender Age of his Nephew, and the Ambition, and reſtleſs Diſpoſition, of *Stephen*; and if he dyed, he was troubled at the Fierceneſs of *Henry*'s Spirit, then in the fervor of his Youth; who, being the Son of *Maud*, was to ſucceed in the Kingdom. When the Thoughts of ſo many foreſeen Miſchiefs did aſſault his diſeaſed and feeble Mind, inſomuch, that all Men imagined, he would have ſunk under them, yet he bore up ſo ſtoutly, that he invited ſome of the Prime Nobility (who were ſolicitous for him, leſt he ſhould be too much afflicted, as well they might) to Supper, and there he entertained them with a Diſcourſe, rather like a *Comforter* than a *Mourner*, He told them. * 'That 'no new thing had hapned to him, or to his Son. That he had long 'ſince Learned from the Sermons of Learned and Holy Men; That 'the World was Governed by the Providence of Almighty God; 'whom it was a fooliſh and impious thing to endeavour to reſiſt: 'That he was not ignorant, his Son was born, on no other Terms, 'but that he muſt alſo dye; and ſo pay that Debt to Nature, which 'he owed even at his very Birth: And when Men were always rea'dy to pay that Debt, 'twas no great matter, when God, their Cre'ditor, called upon them for it: That, if only *Wicked* Men were ſub'ject to Death, then a Man might juſtly grieve at the Deceaſe of his 'Kindred; but, when we ſee *Good* Men alſo Dye, all Chriſtians (ſaid 'he) ought to be throughly ſetled in this perſuaſion, *That no Evil 'can happen to the Good*, (*either alive or dead*;) and therefore, Why 'ſhould we be ſo much troubled at a ſhort Separation, eſpecially from 'our Kindred, who have not ſo much left us, as they are gone before us, 'to our common Country: Whither we alſo, thô we ſhould live never 'ſo long, muſt yet at laſt follow? As for my Son, if he hath under'taken this Voyage before us, that ſo he might viſit and enjoy the

* King *David* loſes his hopeful Son and Heir.

* But bears his Affliction Pioufly and Patiently.

* Fellowſhip,

'Fellowſhip of my Parents and Brethren, thoſe precious Men, before-'hand; if we are troubled at it, let us take heed, That we ſeem not 'rather to envy his Happineſs, than to Mourn for our own Loſs. As 'for you, Worthy Lords, as I am beholding to you for many Offices 'of Reſpect, ſo, both I and my Son (for I ſhall undertake alſo for 'him) are much obliged for your Loves to me, and your Grateful 'and Pious Memory of him.

This Greatneſs of Mind in the King, as it added much to his own Veneration, ſo it increaſed the Senſe of the loſs of his Son, in the Minds of all; when they conſidered, What a Prince they and their Children were deprived of. And *David*, that he might make uſe of the only way of Conſolation, which was left him, cauſed his Nephews, and his Sons Children, to be brought to him, and to be trained up in Court-diſcipline, which was *then* moſt Pious; In Fine, he provided for their Security, as far as Human Counſel could foreſee. He commended *Malcolm*, the eldeſt of the Three, to the Care of the whole Nobility, and particularly of *Mackduff*, Earl of *Fife*, a very powerful and prudent Man, and he cauſed him to carry him all over the Land, that ſo he might be received, as the undoubted Heir of the Kingdom: *William*, the next Son, he made Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſent him preſently to take Poſſeſſion of that Country: *David* the Third Son, he made Earl of *Huntington*, in *England*, and of *Garioch*, in *Scotland*: He made the more haſte to prefer them, becauſe, being Sick of a mortal Diſeaſe, he foreſaw, his Time could not be long in this World. He dyed in the Year of *Chriſt* 1553. the * Ninth of the *Calends* of *June*. He was ſo well beloved, That all Men thought, they had loſt rather a Father in him, yea, the beſt of Fathers, than a King: For, thô his whole Life was ſo Devout, as no Hiſtory records the like;) yet, ſome few Years before his Death, he Devoted himſelf to the Preparation for his later End; So that, his Deportment *then* did much increaſe Mens Veneration for the former part of his Life. For, thô he equalled former Kings, who were moſt Praiſe-worthy, in the Art of War, and excelled them in the Study of Peace: Yet now, leaving off contending with others, for Superiority in Virtue; He maintained a Combat with himſelf alone, wherein he advanced ſo much, That if the Higheſt, and moſt Learned Wits ſhould endeavour to give the Idea, or Pattern, of a Good King, they could never comprehend in their Thoughts, ſuch an exemplary Prince, as *David* ſhewed himſelf, in his whole Life, to be: He Reigned 29 Years, 2 Months, and 3 Days.

* *May* 24.

Lying on the North-weſt of *Aberdeneſhire*.

K. *David's* extraordinary Character, for Piety and Virtue.

Malcolm, IV. *The Ninety Second King.*

HIS Nephew *Malcolm* ſucceeded him, who, thô yet Underage, gave great hopes of his future Ingenuity. For, he was ſo Educated by his Father and Grandfather, that he ſeemed to reſemble them aſmuch in the Virtues of his Mind, as in the Lineaments of his Body: In the beginning of his Reign, a great Plague raged all over *Scotland*, whereby great Numbers of Men, and Cattle alſo, were deſtroyed. At that time, one *Somerled* was *Thane* of *Argyle*, whoſe Fortune was above his Family, and his Mind above his Fortune. He, conceiving

A great Peſtilence in *Scotland*.

conceiving ſome hopes to enjoy the Kingdom, by reaſon of the King's Non-age, and the preſent Calamity, gathered a Band of his Confidents together, and invaded the adjacent Countries. Yea, the Havock he made was ſpoken of far and neer, and the fear of him ſpreading itſelf further, many *Bad* Men coming in to him, and ſome *Good* good being forced to joyn with him too, in a ſhort time he made up a vaſt Army. Upon the report of this Tumult, *Donald* alſo, the Son of *Malcolm Macbeth*, made another Buſtle; but, being taken at *Whithorn* in *Galway*, and ſent to the King, he was committed to the ſame Priſon with his Father: But, ſoon after, the King was reconciled to them, and they were both releaſed. *Gilchriſt*, Earl of *Angus*, was ſent, with an Army, againſt *Somerled*, who defeated and killed many of his Men, and cauſed him, with ſome few more, to fly into *Ireland*. This Victory, thus unexpectedly and ſuddainly obtained, produced Tranquillity at home, but Envy abroad. For *Henry*, King of *England*, an Ambitious Prince, and deſirous to inlarge his own Dominions, reſolved with himſelf to curb the growing Greatneſs and Power of *Malcolm*. But he could not well make open War upon him, out of Conſcience of that Pact and Oath, which he had ſworn to him. For, when he received the Military Girdle, (as the Cuſtom is) from King *David*, *Malcolm*'s Grandfather, at *Carliſle*, he promiſed, and took his Oath on it, (as *William* of *Newberry*, beſides our own Writers, ſay,) *That he would never go about, to deprive, either* David *himſelf, or any of his Poſterity, of any part of thoſe Poſſeſſions, which* David *then held in* England. He being ſomewhat bound up by this Oath, That he might find out ſome colour for his Calumniations, he reſolved to try the Kings Patience in a leſſer Matter. When *John*, Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, was Dedicating Churches, Shaving Prieſts, and performing the other Parts of his Epiſcopal Office, (as then they were judged to be) all over *Cumberland*. *Henry*, by *Truſtine*, Archbiſhop of *York*, ſent a new Biſhop into that Country, called the Biſhop of *Carliſle*. *John* was ſo moved at the Injury, that, ſeeing no ſufficient Safeguard, neither in the King, nor in the Law, he left his Biſhoprick, and retired into the Monaſtery of *Tours*, in *France*. Whence he returned not, untill the Pope, at *Malcolm* his Requeſt, drew him unwillingly out of his Cell, and made him return to his own Country: *Malcolm* bore the wrong better, than ſome hoped; ſo that, not thinking it a ſufficient Cauſe for a War, he went to *Cheſter in the Street*, there to quiet Suſpicions, and to cut off occaſions of Diſcord. Being arrived there, by the Fraud of *Henry*, he was Circumvented, and made to take an Oath of Fidelity to him; whereas, it was not the King himſelf, but his Brothers, who had Lands in *England*, according to an old Agreement, who were to take that Oath. But this was Craftily and Maliciouſly deviſed by the *Engliſh* King, to ſow the Seed of Diſcord amongſt Brethren; which the following year did more fully appear, when he cokes'd *Malcolm* out of *Northumberland*, which was his Brother *William*'s Patrimony. For, he ſent for him to *London*, That, according to the Examples of his Anceſtors, he, in a publick Aſſembly, might acknowledge himſelf his Feudatary, for the Lands which he held in *England*. He, under Covert of the Publick Faith, came ſpeedily thither, but without

Somerled riſes in Arms, but is overthrown.

Henry of *England* deſigns againſt *Malcolm*;

And makes him take a Feodatary Oath to him.

out doing any thing of That, for which his Journey was pretended, he was inforced, againſt his Will, with that little Retinue, which he had, to accompany *Henry* into *France*: *Henry*'s Deſign herein, was, partly, that the *Scots* might not attempt any thing againſt him in his abſence; and partly, to alienate the Mind of *Lewis*, King of *France*, from him. Thus, *Malcolm* was compelled, for fear of a greater Miſchief, to go againſt his old Friend, and was not ſuffered to come back to his own Country; till King *Henry*, having made no great Earnings of the *French* War, returned home alſo. Then *Malcolm* obtained leave to return to *Scotland*; where, in a Convention of the Nobility, he declared to them the Adventure of his Travels; but, he found a great Part of them very much incenſed, that he had joyned with a *certain* Enemy, againſt an Old and Truſty Friend; and did not foreſee the Artifices, by which *Henry* had gulled him. The King, on the other ſide, alleged, That he was haled unwillingly into *France*, by a King, in whoſe Power he was, and to whom he dared to deny nothing, at that time; and therefore, he did not deſpair, but the *French* would be ſatisfied and appeaſed, when they underſtood, he was hurried thither by Force, and carried none of his Country Forces along with him. This Harangue, with much ado, quieted the Sedition for the preſent, which was almoſt ready to break out.

He carries *Malcolm* into *France*.

But *Henry*, who had Spies every where, knew, That the Tumult was rather ſuſpended, than that the Minds of Men were reconciled to him; and therefore, he Summoned *Malcolm* to come to a Convention at *York*. There he was accuſed of a pretended Crime, That the *Engliſh* had been worſted in *France*, principally by his means; and therefore, it was referred to the Aſſembly, Whether he ought not to loſe all the Countries which he held in *England*. Though he anſwered all the objected Crimes, and fully cleared himſelf; yet, he found all their Ears ſhut againſt him, as being prepoſſeſſed by the Fears or Favour of their King; ſo that a Decree was made in Favour of *Henry*: Neither was he contented with this Injury, but he alſo ſuborned ſome Perſons, fit for his purpoſe, to bruit it abroad, 'That *Malcolm* had 'freely, and of his own accord, quitted his Intereſt in thoſe Coun-'tries. At which, his Subjects, the *Scots*, were ſo incenſed, that at his Return home, they beſieged him in *Perth*, and had almoſt taken him. But, by the Intervention of ſome great Men, their Anger was ſomewhat abated, when he had informed the Nobility, how unjuſtly, and fraudulently, *Henry* had deſpoiled him of his Ancient Patrimony. Whereupon, they unanimouſly agreed upon a * War, that ſo he might recover by juſt Arms, what was unlawfully taken from him by Force. Thus a War was Decreed, Denounc'd, and Waged, not without great Inconveniencies to both Nations. At laſt, both Kings came to a Conference, not far from *Carliſle*, and after much diſpute, *Pro* and *Con*, *Henry* took away *Northumberland* from *Malcolm*, leaving him *Cumberland*, and *Huntingdon-ſhire*; *Henry* had no other Pretence for his Ambitious Avarice, but This, That he could not ſuffer ſo great a Diminution to be made of his Kingdom. But, ſeeing no reſpect to Juſtice, and Right, no Pacts, Covenants, no, nor the Religion of an Oath, could hinder the unſatiable Avarice of *Henry*; *Malcolm*, being a Man of a low Spirit, and too deſi-

And at his return, deſpoils him of his Ancient Patrimony in *England*.

* The Scots make War upon *England*.

Peace concluded between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, wherein *Malcolm* quits *Northumberland*.

rous of Peace, upon any Conditions whatever, accepted of his Terms, ſore againſt the Minds of the *Scots* Nobility; who denied, *That the King could alienate any part of his Dominions, without the General Conſent of the Eſtates.*

After this, the King began to be deſpiſed by his Subjects, as not having Fortitude, or Prudence, enough, to weild the Scepter; neither did any thing bridle their fierce Minds, from Riſing in Arms, but a greater Fear from *Henry*; who (they knew) did aim at the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland, being encouraged thereunto, by the Simplicity of *Malcolm*, and by his Hopes of Foreign Aid. This General Diſaffection to the King did much leſſen the Reverence of his Government. A Rebellion was firſt begun by *Angus*, or rather, *Æneas*, of *Galway*, a Potent Man, but yet more encouraged by the Kings Sloth, than his own Power. *Gilchriſt* was ſent againſt him; who overthrew him in Three Fights, and compelled him to take Sanctuary in the Monaſtery of *White-horn*, out of which it was not counted Lawful to pull him by Force; and therefore, after a long Siege, being driven to the want of all Neceſſaries, he was forced to Capitulate: He was to loſe part of his Eſtate for his Puniſhment; and his Son was to be given, as an Hoſtage, for his good Behaviour for the future. But, he being of a lofty Spirit, and not able to endure this abatement of his former Greatneſs, turn'd Monk, ſhaved himſelf, and ſhut himſelf up in a Monaſtery near *Edinburgh*, to avoid the ſhame and ſcorn of Men. Neither was there Peace in other Parts of the Realm; for, the *Murray-Men*, being always given to Mutinying, roſe in Arms under *Gildo*, or rather *Gildominick*, their Captain; and did not only ſpoil the circumjacent Counties; but, when Heralds of Arms were ſent from the King, they moſt barbarouſly ſlew them. *Gilchriſt* was ſent out againſt them alſo, with a greater Army, but with unlike Succeſs: For the Valour of an Adverſary, which is wont to be a Terrour to other Rebels, drove thoſe wicked Perſons, conſcious of their own Demerits, to Deſperation; and therefore, endeavouring to ſell their Lives, as dear as they could, they routed the oppoſite Army, and became Conquerors. *Malcolm*, upon this overthrow, recruited his old Army, and marched into *Murray*, and met the *Murray*-Men, at the Mouth of the River *Spey*; who, though they knew, that the Kings Forces were encreaſed, and Theirs diminiſhed in the late Fight; yet, being encouraged by the Opportunity of the Place, and their newly obtained Victory, they reſolved to Adventure a Battel. The Fight was carried on with great Reſolution, and no leſs Slaughter: For the *Moravians* gave not back, till the Kings Forces, being wearied, had new Reſeif from Reſerves, ſent them. Then the *Moravians* were broken, and there was no more Fighting, but Killing. The Fury of the Soldiers ſpared no Age, nor Rank of Men. In this Fight, the old *Moravians* were almoſt all ſlain; which Puniſhment, though Cruel, ſeemed not to be undeſerved; and the Greatneſs of the Revenge was allayed, and made excuſeable, by the Savage Cruelty of that perfidious People, againſt others. Hereupon, new Co'onies were ſent into the Lands of the ſlain.

A Rebellion in *Galway* quell'd.

The *Murray*-Men under *Gildominick* riſe in Arms.

But are ſuppreſſed.

Neither

Neither did * *Sumerled*, in this hurly burly, think it fit to sit still; he, (as I said before) after his overthrow, fled into *Ireland*; and, from that time forward, exercised Pyracy upon the Coasts of *Scotland*; but now judging, that a great Part of the Military Men being slain in Battel, he might either get a rich Booty from those who would shun the hazard of Fighting; or else, an easie Victory from them who would stand to it; gathered a great Band of Roysters together, and arriving at the Firth, or Bay, of the River *Clyde*, there made a Descent; and Fortune, at first, favouring his Design, he penetrated, as far as *Renfreu*. But there, whilst he was more intent on Plunder, than on the Safety of his Men, he was surprized by a far less Number than his own, and lost all his Soldiers, he himself being saved, and brought alive to the King, for further Scorn and Punishment; though some say, That both he and his Son too were slain in the Battel. These things were acted about the Year of *Christ* 1165.

* *Somerled* stirs again, but is overthrown and slain.

The Kingdom being thus quieted from all Tumults, an Assembly of all the Estates was Indicted at *Scone*, where many things were Decreed for the Confirmation of the State of the Kingdom; and, amongst the rest, the whole Assembly unanimously made it their Request to the King, *That he would think of Marriage, in regard he was now fit for it, as being above Twenty Two years of Age, and by that means, he might beget Children to succeed him.* They told him, *It was a publick Debt, due to the Kingdom, as well as a private One to his Family, and that he ought to mind, not only the present time, but to have a prospect to the Tranquillity of future Ages too.* His Answer was, *That ever since he had been capable to Order and Direct his own Life, he had Solemnly Vowed to God, to live a Continent, and a Batchelor's Life; which Vow,* said he, *I think, was the more acceptable to God, both because he gave me the strength to perform it; and also, because he hath prepared Heirs already to succeed me; so that I am not compelled to break my Vow, neither by any Weakness of my own Spirit, nor by any other publick Necessity.* Thus dismissing the Parliament, having Peace abroad, he applied his Mind to the Arts of his Forefathers, *i. e.* Building of Churches, and Donations on Monks, wherein he would have exceeded his Ancestors, if God had given him a longer Life. For he died not long after, on the Fifth of the * *Ides* of *December*, in the Twenty Fifth Year of his Age, and a little more than the Twelfth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our *Redemption* 1165.

The Estates persuade *Malcolm* to Marry.

His Negative Answer to their Request.

* *December* 9th.

William, *The Ninety Third King.*

HIS Brother, *William*, Succeeded him; who, entred upon the Kingdom, Fifteen Days after *Malcolm*'s Death. He would Transact no Publick or Private Business of any weight, till he had craved of *Henry* of *England* the Restitution of *Northumberland*. *Henry* commanded him to come to *London*, to do him Homage, for the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Huntingdon*, according to custom; which he did, not unwillingly; yet desisted not from pressing to have * *Northumberland* restored. *Henry* gave him an Ambiguous Answer, saying, *That, in regard* Northumberland *was taken away from* Mal-

* *William* solicits *Henry* of *England*, for the restitution of *Northumberland*.

colm, *and given to him by the States of the Kingdom, he could not part from it without their Consent; but he should come to the next Parliament, and there expect Justice to be done.* *William*, though he expected no Good from the Parliament; yet, to cut off all occasions of Calumny from his Adversary, resolved to wait, in *England*, for the Convening and Opening of it; and, in the mean time, he accompanied *Henry*, though against his Will, to the War in *France*. There he profited nothing by his daily Solicitations, and foreseeing, that the King would not speedily return into *England*, with much ado, he obtained a Convoy, and returned into *Scotland*. After his Return, the first thing he did, was, to repress the Insolencies of Thieves and Robbers, by punishing and clearing the Country of the Offenders. Then, he erected Castles, and placed Garisons in convenient Places, to prevent suddain Invasions: At last, he sent Ambassadors into *England*, to demand *Northumberland*, denouncing War, in case of Refusal. *Henry*, being intangled in the *French* War, yielded up to him that Part of * *Northumberland*, which *William*'s great Grandfather held. *William* took It, but on this Condition, That he would not remit his Right in, or Claim to, the rest. The *English* King took this very heinously, and, being sorry, he had parted with any of *Northumberland*, before the Controversie was decided, he made Incursions into the *Scots* Borders, and thus sowed the Seeds of a new War; and by this means, he hoped to have taken away also the other Lands, which he would have brought into dispute. When Right was claimed by the Wardens of the Marches, according to Custom, the *English* complained, That their Borders were molested by *Scotish* Robbers; so that the Ambassadors were sent away, without obtaining the thing they came for; yea, almost without an Answer: The *Scots*, to obtain that by Force, which they could not do by fair means, levied an Army, and entred upon, and wasted, the bordering Lands of the *English*, with Fire and Sword. This being about Harvest, the *English*, in the absence of their King, were content only to stand upon the Defensive, what they could; but then levied no Army; yet, the Winter following, some Action passed, and many Incursions were made. The next Summer, * *William* lifted a great Army, and marched into the Enemies Country; the *English*, having few or no Forces ready to withstand them, send Ambassadors to their Camp, proffering a great Sum of Money for a Truce; which, if they could obtain, they gave Hopes, that all things would be accorded, to Content. *William*, being a plain-Hearted Man, and willing to preserve Peace, (if obtainable, upon reasonable Conditions) before a War, though a just one, gave Credit to their Fallacious Promises. The *English* spent all the time of the Cessation, in Preparations for War; but, in the mean time, they plied the *Scots* with Ambassadors, who made large Promises; though their true Errand, was, to discover their Enemies Camp; and finding the *Scots*, on Confidence of the Truce, re-miss and negligent, and the greatest Part of their Army scattered to get in Forage; they returned and gave their Army notice, that now was a fair opportunity for Action, which they urged them not to omit; whereupon, placing the greatest Part of their Army in Ambush, about Four Hundred nimble Horsemen, in the Third

He accompanies *Henry* into *France*.

* Part of *Northumberland* restored to the *Scots*.

* *William* enters *England*, with an Army.

Third Watch, a few hours before Sun-rising, marched directly to *Alnwick*, where the *Scots* Camp was pitcht; there, finding all things in greater Security than they expected, they set upon the King, who was riding up and down, (with Sixty Horse only, as if there had been a setled Peace) and before they could well be discerned, whether they were Friends or Enemies, (for they disguised themselves with *Scots* Arms and Ensigns, that they might pass for *Scots*) They took him Prisoner in the Nineth Year of his Reign; some few were rouzed up at the hubbub, and pursued scatteringly; divers of them rushed amongst their Enemies, as not being willing to forsake their King, and so were made Prisoners, also. *William* was carried to *Henry*, then Warring in *France*. The *English*, being elated with this unexpected Success, invaded *Cumberland*, thinking to carry it, without Blows. But *Gilchrist*, and *Rolland*, Two *Scots* Commanders, did so entertain Them, that, being repuls'd, they made a Truce, and were content to enjoy *Northumberland* only, as long as the *Scots* King was a Prisoner, and to leave *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonshire* to the free Possession of the *Scots*.

But is overthrown, taken Prisoner by the *English*, and sent to *Henry*, then in *France*.

In the mean time, *David*, the Brother of *William*, Earl of *Huntington* in *England*, and of *Garioch* in *Scotland*, who then fought under the *English* Banners, received a Convoy, and returned into *Scotland*; where, having setled things for the present, he sent Embassadors into *England* about the Redemption of his Brother, who was then kept Prisoner at *Falise*, a Town in *Normandy*. The King gave Fifteen Hostages to the *English*, and surrendred up Four Castles, *viz.* the Castle of *Roxburgh*, of *Berwick*, of *Edinburgh*, and of *Sterling*; and then he was permitted to return home in the Calends of * *February*. But then he was called upon by the *English*, to appear at *York*, with his Nobles and Bishops, on the *18th of the *Calends* of *September*. Being arrived there, he and all his Followers (who were the Chief Nobility) took an Oath of Obedience to King *Henry*, and gave up the Kingdom of *Scotland* into his Guardianship and Patronage. These Conditions, thô very hard, yet the *Scots* were willing to accept of, That so they might have the best of Kings restored to them, as the *English* Writers say. *Thomas Walsingham* of *England* writes, That this Surrender was not made at *York*, but at * *Constante*; Yet some say, That this Interview of Both Kings, was not in order to the Surrender of the Kingdom, but for the Payment of certain pecuniary Pensions; and, That the Castles were put into the hands of the *English*, as Cautionaries only, till the Money was paid. This Opinion seems to me most probable, as appears by the League renewed with *Richard*, *Henry's* Son, of which in its due place.

February 1st.
* *August* 15th.

* K. *William* Ransomed and takes an Oath to K. *Henry*.

* Not That *Constance* in *Germany*, but That in *Normandy*, now called *Coutances*.

William, at his Return, in a few Months, by *Gilchrist* his General, quelled the * Insurrections made in his absence, in *Galway*. On the Fourth of the Calends of *February*, there was an Assembly Indicted at *Norham* by *Tweed*. Thither *William* came, where the *English* laboured extreamly, That all the *Scots* Bishops should acknowledge the Bishop of *York*, for their *Metropolitan*; The Popes Legate also conburred with them, in their Desire, and earnestly pressed, That it might be so Enacted. After a long Dispute, the *Scots* Answered, That, at present, few of their Countrymen were there, and that they

Gilchrist, King *William's* General.
* *January* 23d.

they could not bind the absent to obey their Decree, if they should consent to any. Hereupon, the matter was deferred to another time; and, shortly after, the *Scots* Bishops sent Agents to *Rome*, to justify their Cause before *Alexander* the Third, by whose Decree the Bishops of *Scotland* were freed from the Yoke of the *English*; and so the Messengers returned, joyfully, home. Not long after, *Gilchrist*, whom I have often mentioned before, slew his Wife, who was the King's Sister, because she had Committed Adultery. Whereupon he was summoned to appear on a certain day, but, not coming, was Banished for ever: His Houses were Demolished, and his Goods Confiscate. About the same time, the Castle of *Edinburgh* was restored to the *Scots*; one of the Pensions having been paid, and to make the Concord between Both Kings more firm; a Law was made, *That neither King should harbour the Enemy of each other.* Upon this Law, *Gilchrist*, who lived Banished in *England*, was forced to return, and, shifting from place to place, as a Stranger, amongst Strangers, and unknown, he passed his Miserable Life, in great Penury and Want. In the interim, *William* prepared for an Expedition into *Murray*, to suppress the Thieves of the *Æbudæ*, whose Captain was *Donald Bane*, *i.e.* the *White*, who derived his Pedigree from the Kings, and had also assumed the Name of *King*: He made his Descent from his Ships, in many places, and spoiled not only the Maritime Parts, but, his Boldness increasing, by reason of Impunity, those Places also, which were very remote from the Sea. The King sent out Ships to sail about, and burn his Fleet, whilst he with a Land Army attacqued them; and, so doing, he put them almost all to the Sword. In his return, as he was near *Perth*, he found Three Countrymen, which yet seemed to be more than so, had not it been for their shabby and uncouth Habit; who seemed to avoid meeting any Company; but the King caused them to be brought to him, and viewing them intently, was very earnest to know, What manner of Creatures they were. *Gilchrist*, being the Elder of them, fell down at the King's Feet, and, making a Miserable Complaint of his Misfortunes, tells, Who he was; upon which, the Memory of his former Life, which he had passed with so much Splendour, did so passionately affect all that were present, That they could not chuse but fall a Weeping. Whereupon, the King commanded him to rise from the Ground, and restored him to his Former Dignity, and the same Degree of Favour, he had before.

The *Scots* Bishops freed from the Jurisdiction of *English* Bishops.

Gilchrist Kills his Wife for Adultery, and flys into *England*.

But is Forced to return into his own Country.

Donald Bane rises in Arms, but is quelled.

Distressed *Gilchrist* Pardon'd and Restored.

These things fell out about the Year 1190, at which time, *Richard*, who, the Year before, had succeeded *Henry* his Father, in the Realm of *England*, prepared for an Expedition into * *Syria*. He restored the Castles to the King of *Scots*, and sent back the Hostages, freeing him, and his Posterity, from all Pacts, either extorted by Force, or obtained by Fraud, made with the *English*, and suffered him to enjoy the * Realm of *Scotland*, by the same Right, and within the same Limits, as *Malcolm*, or any former Kings had held it: *Mathew Paris* makes mention of These Conditions; *William*, on the other side, That he might not be ungrateful to *Richard*, upon his going to War into a strange Country, gave him 1000 Marks of Silver, and commanded *David* his Brother, who was Declared Earl of *Huntingdon*,

* To the Holy War, for Recovery of *Jerusalem* from the *Turks*.

* The *English* quit their Claim to any part of *Scotland*.

ton, to follow him into *Syria*. This *David*, in his Return from thence, had his Navy scattered by Tempest, was taken prisoner by the *Ægyptians*, redeem'd by the *Venetians*, and at last, being known at *Constantinople* by an *English* Merchant, after Four years time, he returned into *Scotland*, and was received with the general Gratulation of all Men, especially of his Brother. *Boetius* thinks, that the Town where this *David* was landed in Safety, before-named *Alectum*, was now called * *Deidonum*, but because the Name of *Alectum* is found in no Author but only in *Hector Boetius*; I rather think, it was called *Taodunum*, a Word compounded of *Tay* and *Dun*, i. e. *Dundee*.

* *William* sends *David* his Brother, to accompany *Richard*, to the *Holy Land*. *David* returns from *Syria*.

Not long after, *Richard*, after many Hazards and Misfortunes, returned also from the same Voyage. *William* and his Brother came to congratulate him upon his Return, and gave him 2000 Marks of Silver, as a Largess, being moved thereunto, either out of Remembrance of his former Bounty to him, or on the Consideration of his present Want. Neither were ever the *Scots* and *English* more Gracious, than at that time, as many judge: There *William* fell very Sick, and a Rumour of his Death being noised abroad, caused new Combustions in *Scotland*. *Harald*, Earl of the *Orcades*, and of *Caithnes*, hated the Bishop of *Caithnes*, because (as he alledged) he was the Obstacle, that he could not obtain what he desired of the King; and therefore he took him Prisoner, cut out his Tongue, and also put out his Eyes. The King, returning home, overthrew *Harald* in several Skirmishes, and destroyed most of his Forces: * *Harald* himself was taken in his Flight, and brought back to the King, who when his Eyes also were first put out, by way of Retaliation, was afterwards hanged; his whole Male-Stock were Gelded, the rest of his Kinn, and Companions of his Wickedness, were deeply Fined. These things are thus related by *Hector Boetius*, and common Report confirms them; yea, the Hill receiving its Name from *Testicles*, gives credit to the Relation, so that it seems truer than what others Write in this matter. These things happened in the Year of our *Salvation*, 1198. in which Year the King had a Son, named *Alexander*, Born to him; and *Richard* of *England* dying, his Brother *John* succeeded him.

* So doth *Richard*.

Lex Talionis executed upon one *Harald* Earl of the *Orcades*.

Whereupon, the King of *Scots* went into *England*, to take his Oath to him, for the Lands which he held in *England*; and in the beginning of *John*'s new Reign, his Coming was not more acceptable, than his Departure displeasing; because he refused to follow *John* in his Expedition into *France*, against *Philip* his old Friend. So that, as soon as *John* returned out of *France*, he sought Occasion for a War with the *Scots*, and began to build a Fort over against *Berwick*. *William*, having, in vain, complained of the Injurie, by his Embassadors, gathered a Company together, and demolished what was built thereof. Upon which, Armies were Levied on both sides, but when their Camps were near to one another, Peace was made, by the Intervention of the Nobles, on these * Terms 'That *William*'s Two Daughters should be given in Matrimony to *John*'s 'Two Sons, assoon as ever they were Marriageable. A great Dowry was promised, and Caution made, That no Fort should be built, and Hostages also were given, in the case. *William* at his return, fell into

* K. *John* of *England* meditates a War against *Scotland*.

* But Matters are accommodated upon Terms between both Kingdoms.

into an unexpected Danger; The greatest Part of the Town of *Berth* was swept away in the Night, by an Inundation of the River *Tay*; Neither was the King's Palace exempted from the Calamity, but his Son, an Infant, with his Nurse, and 14 more, were drowned, the rest hardly escaping. Many also of the Promiscuous Multitude lost their Lives. The King, perceiving, that the Water had overwhelmed the greatest part of the Ground, on which the City stood, and that almost every House in the Town had suffered thereby, caused a new City to be built, a little below, in a more commodious place, on the same River, and, making some small variation of the Name, called it *Perth*, in Memory (as some say) of one *Perth*, a Nobleman, who gave the King the Land, on which the City was built. About the same time, the King took *Gothered Makul*, Captain of the Rebels in the *North*, who was betrayed to him by his own Men. When he was Prisoner, he constantly abstained from all Food, to prevent, as 'tis thought, a more heavy Punishment. This was in a manner, the last memorable Fact of *William*'s, which yet, in regard of his unweildy Age, was acted by his Captains. For he Dyed soon after, in the 74*th* year of his Age, and the 49*th* year of his Reign, *A. D.* 1643.

* *Berth* destroyed and new Built.

Makul a Criminal abstains from all manner of Food.

Not long before his Death, Leagues were renewed with *John* King of *England*, almost every Year; for he, being a Man desirous to enlarge his Dominions, thô he had War with the *French* abroad, with the *Romanists* at home, and moreover, was never on sure Terms of Peace with the *Irish* or *Welsh*; yet, did not break off his Inclination to invade *Scotland*, which had then an old Man for their King, and the next Heir to him, a Child. Frequent Conferences happened on this Occasion, rather to try what might be obtained, than in hopes of any good Issue; at length, the Matter broke out into open Suspicion; And, after many Leagues made between Them, at last *William* was called to *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, Whither he came, but there, falling into a dangerous Disease, he returned without doing any thing. In fine, a little before his Death, he was invited to *Norham* on the *Tweed*, and when his Sickness would not permit him to go, his Son was desired to come in his stead, which, yet, by the Advice of the Council, was refused; the Leagues, established in those Interviews, I shall not particularly mention, for they, almost all, contain the same things, having in them nothing New, save that in One of them it was Articled, That the *Scotish* Kings should not Swear, nor be Feudataries, to the Kings of *England* Themselves, for the *English* Lands they held; but their Children, only. The Mention of these things is wholly omitted by the *English* Writers, also, I believe, for this very Cause.

* Several Leagues between *John* of *England*, and *William* of *Scotland*.

Alexander,

Alexander II. *The Ninety Fourth King.*

William was ſucceeded by *Alexander*, his Son, begot on *Emergard*, who was Kinſwoman to the King of *England*, and Daughter to the Earl of *Beaumont*. He was but Sixteen years of age when he began to Reign; entring upon the Government in troubleſom Times, he compoſed and ſetled things more prudently, than could be expected from one of his years. First of all, he Indicted a Publick Convention of the Eſtates, and therein, by a Decree he confirmed all the Acts of his Father, that good and prudent Prince. His firſt Expedition was into *England*, not out of any private Ambition, but to bridle the Tyranny of *John*; and it was then ſaid, that he was ſent for in by the *Eccleſiaſticks* of that Kingdom. He left *Norham*, upon certain Conditions, when he had begun to beſiege it; and piercing further into the Kingdom, he carried it very ſeverely againſt all the Royaliſts. Upon his Return home, *John* invaded *Scotland*, quickly after. He made a mighty Devaſtation in *Dunbar*, *Hadington*, and all the Neighbouring Parts of *Lothian*; and, to ſpread the War and Ruin further, he determined to return another Way. *Alexander*, being very deſirous to decide it by a Battel, pitcht his Tents between the *Pentland* Hills, and the River *Eske*, which way, as it was bruited, he would return; but *John*, to avoid fighting, marched along by the Sea, and burnt the Monaſtery of *Coldingham*, he alſo took and burnt *Berwick*, which was then but meanly fortified. As he thus marched haſtily back, *Alexander* followed him as faſt as he could, and, making great havock all over *Northumberland*, came as far as *Richmond*: But *John*, by ſpeedy marches having retreated into the heart of *England*, *Alexander* returned by *Weſtmorland*, and laid all waſte to the very Gates of *Carliſle*; The City it ſelf he took by Force, and Fortified it. The next year, *Lewis*, the Son of *Philip*, King of *France*, was ſent for, by thoſe who favoured the *Eccleſiaſtical* Faction, to *London*, that ſo, he, upon the Proſcription of *John*, might poſſeſs the Kingdom; and ſo was King *Alexander* of *Scotland* too, who came to aid his Old Friend. But *John*, being forſaken by his Subjects, and aſſaulted alſo by Foreign Arms, upon the Payment of a great Sum of Money at preſent, and the Promiſe of a perpetual Penſion; and moreover, transferring the Right of the Kingdom of *England* to the *Pope*; ſo that the Kings of *England*, for the future, were to be His Feudataries, was received into Favour. So that he obtained Letters from *Rome* by Cardinal *Galo*, a Man of known Avarice, wherein the *Scots* and *French* were, with great Threats, forbid to meddle with a People, which were Tributaries to the *Holy See*.

* A Maritime Town in *Normandy* in *France*.

* *Alexander* enters *England* with an Army.

* *John* enters *Scotland*.

Alexander takes *Carliſle*.

* King *John* agrees with the Pope, and becomes his *Feudatary*.

Cardinal *Gale*, Avaritious.

Upon this ſudden Change of things, *Lewis* returned into *France*, and *Alexander* into *Scotland*; but his return home was not ſo quiet, as his entrance into *England* was; For the *Engliſh*, preſſing upon the Rear of his retiring Army, took many of the Stragglers, Priſoners. And beſides, *John* had broken down all the Bridges on the *Trent*, and had faſtned ſharp Pikes, or Paliſadoes, in all its Fords, removing away all Ships and Boats, ſo that it ſeemed to be ſo great an Impedi-

ment unto him, that he could not avoid it, but must certainly be destroyed. In the mean time, *John* was poysoned by an *English* Monk at * *Newark*, a Town seated on the *Trent*, and being carried in a Litter, died in two days. That Casualty opened the way for *Alexander*'s March. Then, blaming and punishing his Men for their former Carelessness, he marched on more circumspectly, but not without the great Damage of those, through whose Countrys he passed: For whatsoever could be driven away, or carried, he took with him, and so returned home with a great Booty. *Galo*, the Popes Legat, when he had setled *Henry*, the Son of *John*, in the Throne, mulct the Nobles of *England* in a great Sum of Money, and then received them into Favour. And to give them some Recompence for their Loss, by the like Calamity of their Enemies; he Excommunicates *Lewis* of *France*, and *Alexander* of *Scotland*, in hopes to obtain some Prey from them, also. The *Scots* were Interdicted all Divine Offices; for he imagined, that his Thundring Curses would prevail more amongst the simple Vulgar, than with the Kings. But at last, Peace was made between the Two Kings; the *Scots* were to restore *Carlisle*, and the *English*, *Berwick*; and the Ancient Bounds at * *Kings-Cross* were to be observed by them Both. *Alexander* and his Subjects were released from their Censures by the *English* Bishops, who were Authorized thereunto. Hereupon *Galo* was much enraged, That so great a Prey should be taken out of his Hands, so that he turned his Anger on the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of *Scotland*, as his own Peculiar, with whom Kings had nothing to do. He summoned them to appear at *Alnwick*, Whither when they came, the more fearful appeased his Wrath with Money; the more resolute were Cited to *Rome*. But they, having also received many Letters from some of the *English* Bishops and Abbats, directed to the *Pope*, concerning the sordid Spirit of the Ambassador or Legat, made grievous Complaints against him, calling him the *Firebrand of all mischief, because he studied not the Publick Good, but his own Avarice, and did chaffer for, and sell, Peace and War amongst Princes, at his own pleasure.* *Galo*, not being able to acquit himself of the Crimes laid to his charge, was Fined by the Pope in the Loss of the Money he had got; which was to be divided amongst his Accusers. Hereupon, they returned home, loaden with large Promises, but with empty Purses. A few years after, *Henry* of *England*, being now grown Ripe both in Years and Judgment, came to *York*; there he agreed with *Alexander*, in the presence of *Pandulphus*, the Popes Legat, to take *Joan*, *Henry*'s Sister, to Wife, by whom yet, because of her untimely Death, he had no Children.

From that time, there was Peace between Both Kings as long as they lived. There he also solemnly Promised and Swore before the same *Pandulphus*, That he would bestow the Two Sisters of *Alexander* in Honourable Marriages according to their Dignity, as his Father had promised, before. But one of them returned home unmarried, one only being bestowed in Marriage. The next Year, *viz.* 1220, the Cardinal of St. *Giles*, came into *England*, to fish for Money for the *Holy War*; and accordingly having scraped together a great Sum, in both Kingdoms, which, by his Impostures, he had gulled Persons, too credulous, of, he Luxuriously spent it in his Journy; so that he came

* King *John* Poysoned.
* Others say, at *Swinsted* Abby near *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*.
* The *Scots* Excommunicated.
* A Stone-Cross erected in *Stanmore* in *Cumberland*, as a Boundary between the Two Kingdoms, of *England* and *Scotland*.
* Cardinal *Galo*'s ill Character.
* *Pandulphus* the Popes Legat, a Witness of the Peace between the Two Kings.

came empty to *Rome*, falsely alleging, That he was robbed by Thieves in the way. Another Legat presently succeeded him; but Men, having been twice cheated by *Roman* Fraud, by a Publick Decree, forbad him to set his foot on Land. *Alexander* was busied to suppress Vices at home, which sprung up by the Licentiousness of War, and he travelled over the whole Kingdom, with his Queen, to do Justice, whilest *Gilespy*, a *Rossian*, spoiled *Ross*, and the Neighbour Counties; for, passing over the River *Ness*, he took and burnt the Town of *Enverness*; He cruelly slew all those, that refused to obey him. *John Cumin*, Earl of *Buchan* was sent against him, who took him and his two Sons, as they were shifting up and down, and changing their Quarters, to secure themselves; and cut off their Heads, and so sent them to the King. About this time, the *Caithnesians* entred by night into the Bedchamber of *Adam* their Bishop, and there killed a Monk, who was his usual Companion, (for he had been, before, Abbat of *Mulross*) and one of his Bedchamber; as for the Bishop himself, they grievously wounded him, and dragging him into the Kitchen, there they burnt him and the House he was in. The Cause of their great Cruelty, was, (as 'tis reported) because the Bishop was more severe than in former times, in exacting his Tithes. The Offenders were diligently sought out, and most severely punished; The Earl of *Caithnes*, though he were not present at the Fact, yet was somewhat suspected, but afterward being brought privately to the King in the *Christmas* Holy-days, which the *Scots* call *Saturnalia*, he humbly begg'd Pardon of the King, and obtained it.

* *Roman* Fraud.

* *Cumin* overthrows *Gilespy*, a Free-booter.

The Cruelty of the *Caithnesimen* against their Bishop punished.

Saturnalia.

About this time, *Alane*, of *Galway*, the powerfullest Man in *Scotland*, departed this Life. He left Three Daughters behind him, of whom I shall speak hereafter. *Thomas*, his Bastard Son, despising their Age and Sex, sets up for himself, as Lord of the Family, and, not contented herewith, he gathers 10000 Men together, kills all that oppose him, and drives Booties, far and near, from all the Neighbouring-Countries. At last, the King sent an Army against him, who slew 5000 of the Rebels with their General. The same year, * *Alexander*, with his Wife, went for *England*, to allay the Tumults, as much as he could, raised against *Henry*, and to reconcile him to the Nobility. Whilest he was busie about this, at *York*, his Wife went with the Queen of *England*, a Pilgrimage to *Canterbury*, but at her return, she fell sick, died, and was buried at *London*. Not long after her Death, the King being Childless, Married *Mary*, the Daughter of *Ingelram*, Earl of *Coucy* in *France*, in the year of *Christ* 1239, by whom he had *Alexander*, who succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. Two years after, *viz.* in 1242, whilst the King was hastening to *England*, to visit that King, newly returned from *France*, and refreshed himself a while at *Hadington*, in *Lothian*, with Horse-Races; the Lodging or Inn of *Patrick* of *Gallway*, Earl of *Athol*, was set on Fire, wherein he, and two of his Servants, were burnt; the Fire speading it self a great way further. It was not thought to have casually happened, because of the Noted Fewds between *Patrick*, and the Family of the *Bizets*. And though, *William*, the Chief of that Family, was at *Forfar*, above 60 Miles from *Hadington*, the same night, that the Fire happened, as the Queen could

* *Thomas*, the Natural Son of *Alan* of *Galway* overthrown.

* *Alexander* and his Queen Visit King *Henry*.

His Queen dies at *London*.

He marries to a *French* Lady.

testify in his behalf; yet, because the adverse Party, being the Kindred of *Patrick*, pleaded, That many of his Servants and Tenants were seen at *Hadington* at that time, *William* was Summoned to appear; He came to *Edinburgh* at the day prefixed, but, not daring to stand to his Tryal, because of the Potency of his Adversaries, which were the *Cumins*'s, he would have Tryed the matter in a Duel; but That being not accepted, he, and some of his Sept banished themselves into *Ireland*, where he left a Noble Family of his Name and House. There was also another Seditious Tumult in *Argyle*, Raised by *Sumerled* Son of the former *Sumerled*, but he was soon suppressed by *Patrick Dunbar*, and, submitting to the Kings Mercy, obtained Pardon for all his past Offences. The King, not long after, fell sick, and died in the 51 Year of his Age; the 35 of his Reign; and of our *Lord*, 1249.

Bizet offers to clear himself by a Duel. He flys to *Ireland*.

Sumerled overthrown in *Argyle*.

Alexander *the* III. *The Ninety Fifth King.*

Alexander the Third, His Son, was Crowned King at *Scone*, the same Year, a Child, not past Eight years Old. The Power of all things was mostly in the Faction of the *Cumins*'s. For they turned the Publick Revenue to the Enrichment of themselves, oppressed the Poor, and, by false Accusations, cut off some of the Nobles, who were averse to their humours and desires, and dared to speak freely of the State of the Kingdom; and being Condemned, their Goods were Confiscated, and brought into the Kings Exchequer, from whence they (who rather Commanded, than Obeyed, the King) received them back again for their Private Emolument. A Convention of the Estates being held, the chief Matter in agitation, was, to pacify the King of *England*, lest, in such a troublesome time, he should make any Attempt upon Them; and, to do it more easily, an Affinity was proposed. This Way seemed more commodious to the *Anti-Cuminian* Party, to undermine their Power, than openly to oppugn it. Whereupon, Embassadors were sent to *England*, who were kindly received, and munificently rewarded, by that King, who granted them all their Desires. The next Year, which was 1251, both Kings met at *York*, the 8th of the Calends of* *December*. There, on *Christmas* day this *Alexander* was made Knight by the King of *England*, and, the day after, the Match was concluded betwixt him and *Margarite*, *Henrys* Daughter. A Peace was also renewed betwixt them, which as long as *Henry* lived, was inviolably observed. And because *Alexander* was yet but a Child, and under Age; it was Decreed, by the advice of his Friends, *That he should consult his Father-in-Law, as a Guardian, in all Matters of Weight*: Some of the Prime men, being accused by Virtue of this Decree, secretly withdrew themselves. When the King returned home, *Robert*, Abbat of *Dumferling*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, was accused, because he had Legitimated the Wife of *Alane Durward*, who was but the Natural, or Base-born, Daughter of *Alexander* the Second, That so, if the King dyed without Issue, she might come in, as Heiress. Upon this Fear, the Chancellor, as soon as ever he returned home, surrendred up the Seal to the Nobles. *Gamelin*, afterwards Bishop of St. *Andrews*, succeeded him in his Office.

The *Cumins*'s style the Roast in *Scotland*, which disgusts the opposite Faction.

An Embassy to *England*.

An Interview between the Two Kings. *November* 24.

* *Alexander* of *Scotland* made Knight by the K. of *England*.

A Contract of Marriage between Him & *Margaret*, *Henry*'s Daughter.

The Chancellor of *Scotland* displaced.

The Three next Years, they, who were the Kings Council, did, almoſt every one of them, carry themſelves, as Kings; whatever they catched, was their own; ſo that the poor Commonalty was left deſtitute, and miſerably oppreſſed. The King of *England*, being made acquainted therewith, out of his paternal Affection to his Son in Law, came to *Werk*-Caſtle, ſcituate on the Borders of *Scotland*, and ſent for his Son in Law *Alexander*, and his Nobles, thither. There, by his Advice, many advantageous Alterations were made, eſpecially of thoſe Magiſtrates, by whoſe Defaults, Inſurrections had been made at home: And alſo many profitable Statutes were Enacted, for the Future. The King returned to *Scotland* with his Wife; and having an *Engliſh* Guard to convey him home, he reſolved to dwel in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. *Walter Cumins* Earl of *Monteath* kept the Caſtle, who was diſaffected becauſe of the Change of the Publick State, made by the King of *England*; yet, he was compelled to ſurrender it, by *Patrick Dunbar*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Forces. The greateſt Part of the Nobility, and of the Eccleſiaſticks, were offended, in regard their Power was ſomewhat abridged, by thoſe New Statutes, which they looked upon as a Yoke impoſed upon them by the *Engliſh*, and a Beginning of their Servitude: Yea, they proceeded to that height of Contumacy, that, being Summoned to give a Legal Account of their Management of Affairs in former times, they made light of the Summons; The ſame Perſons, who were the Principal Actors in diſturbing things before, were now the Chief Incouragers to Diſobedience. They were generally the *Clans* of the *Cumins*'s, *Walter* Earl of *Monteath*; *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*; *John* Earl of *Athol*; *William* Earl of *Marr*, and other Conſiderable Men of the ſame Faction. They dared not to put their Cauſe on a Legal Tryal, as being conſcious to themſelves of the many Wrongs done to the Poor, and meaner Sort, yea, to the King himſelf, and therefore they reſolved to out-face Juſtice, by their Impudent Audacity. For being informed, That the King was but lightly Guarded, and lived ſecurely at *Kinroſs*, as in a time of Peace, They immediately gathered a Band of their Vaſſals about them, Seized him as he was aſleep, and carried him to *Sterling*; and, as if there were no Force in the Caſe, but they had been rightfully Elected, they diſcharged and expelled his Servants, took New, and managed all things at their own Will and Pleaſure; ſo that now, the Terror and Conſternation was turned upon the Former Counſellors.

* *Werk* Caſtle ſtanding upon *Tweed*, a Mile above *Coldſtream* on *Northumberland* ſide.

A Sedition of the Nobles againſt *Alexander*.

But this Sedition was allay'd by the Death of *Walter Cumins*, who was Poyſoned, as it is thought, by his Wife, an *Engliſh* Woman; The Suſpicion thereof was encreaſed on her, becauſe, tho' ſhe were Wooed by many Nobles, yet ſhe Married *John Ruſſel* her Gallant, a Young *Engliſh* Spark; She was accuſed of Witchcraft too and caſt into Priſon, but ſhe bought out her Liberty. *Ruſſel* and his Wife obtained Letters from the Pope, permitting them to commence an Action of the Caſe againſt their Adverſaries, for the Wrong done them, before the Popes Legate. But it was to no purpoſe, becauſe the *Scots* urged an Ancient Privilege, exempting them from going out of the Kingdom, when they were to plead their Cauſes.

An Ancient Privilege of the *Scots*, not to be cited to *Rome*.

When the King was of Age, upon the humble Petition of the

Cumins's

Cumins's, he Pardoned, them as if all their offences had been expiated by the Death of *Walter*. He was induced ſo to do, (as ſome ſay) by reaſon of the Greatneſs of their Family; and alſo, becauſe he feared Foreign Wars, when Matters were ſo unſetled at home: But that War began not ſo ſoon, as Men thought it would.

Auguſt 1. * *Acho* King of *Norwey*, lands with an Army in *Scotland*.

In the Year of *Chriſt* 1263. in the Calends of * *Auguſt*, *Acho*, King of *Norwey*, with a Fleet of 160 Sail, came to *Air*, a Maritime Town of *Coil*, where he Landed 20000 Men. The Cauſe of the War, as he pretended, was, that ſome Iſlands, which were promiſed to his Anceſtors by *Mackbeth*, were not yet put into his Hands, *viz. Bote*, *Aran*, and both the *Cumbras*'s, which were never reckoned amongſt the *Ebudæ*. But it was enough for him, who ſought a pretence for a War, that they were called *Iſlands*. *Acho* took two of the greateſt of them, and reduced their Caſtles, before he could meet with any Oppoſition; being lifted up by this ſucceſs, he makes a deſcent into *Cuningham*, the next Continent, over againſt *Bote*, in that part of it which they call the* *Largs*. There he met with Two Misfortunes, almoſt at one and the ſame: Firſt, he was overcome in Fight by *Alexander Stuart*, the Great Grandfather of him, who, firſt of that Name, was King of *Scotland*; and being almoſt taken by the Multitude of his Enemies, he hardly eſcaped in great Fear, to his Ships. The other was, That his Ships, being toſſed in a mighty Tempeſt, hardly carried him, with a few of his followers, who eſcaped, into the *Orcades*. There were ſlain in that Battel, Sixteen Thouſand of the *Norwegians*, and Five Thouſand of the *Scots*; ſome Writers ſay, that King *Alexander* himſelf was in this Fight: Yet, they alſo make Honourable mention of the Name of this *Alexander Stuart*. *Acho*, died of Grief, for the Loſs of his Army, and of his Kinſman too, a Valiant Youth, whoſe Name is not mentioned by Writers.

* A Town in *Cuningham*, ſtanding on the *Clyde*. But is overthrown by *Alexander Stuart*.

And dies of Grief.

His Son *Magnus*, who was lately come to him, perceiving Things in a deſperater Poſture, than he ever thought they would be brought to; eſpecially, having no hopes of Recruit from home, before the Spring; and alſo, finding the Minds of the *Iſlanders* alienated from him, and that he was forſaken of the *Scots* too, in Confidence of whoſe Aid, his Father had undertaken that War; theſe things conſidered, he eaſily inclined to Terms of Peace: The Spirit of the young Man was quailed, both by the unlucky Fight; and alſo, by his Fear of the *Iſlanders*. For *Alexander* had then recovered, by ſending about ſome Ships, the Iſle of *Man*, ſituate almoſt in the midſt between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, upon theſe Conditions, That the King thereof ſhould ſend in Ten Gallies to the *Scots*, as oft as there was occaſion; and that the *Scots* ſhould defend him from a Foreign Enemy. When *Magnus* ſaw, That the reſt of the Iſlands inclined to follow the Example of the *Manks-Men*; he ſent Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace, which *Alexander* refuſed to make, unleſs the *Ebudæ* were reſtored; at laſt, by the diligence of the Commiſſioners, it was agreed, that the *Scots* ſhould have the *Ebudæ*; for which, at preſent, they were to pay 1000 Marks of Silver, and 100 Marks an Year. And moreover, That *Margarite*, *Alexanders* Daughter, being then but Four years old, ſhould Marry *Hangonan*, the Son of *Magnus*, aſſoon as ſhe was fit for Marriage.

Iſle of *Man* recovered by the *Scots*.

* *Magnus*, *Acho*'s Son, makes Peace with *Alexander*.

About

About this time, the King of *England*, being infeſted with Civil War, had Five Thouſand *Scots* ſent him for his Aſſiſtance, under the Command of *Robert Bruce*, and *Alexander Cumins*, whom the *Engliſh* Writers call *John*, the greateſt part of them were ſlain in Fight; and *Cumins*, with the *Engliſh* King himſelf, and his Son, and a great part of the *Engliſh* Nobility, of the Kings Party, were taken Priſoners.

* *Alexander* aſſiſts the King of *England*.

Moreover, the *Scots* King was much troubled at the Arrogance of the Prieſts and Monks in his Kingdom; who, being enriched by former Kings, began to grow wanton in a continued Peace: Yea, they endeavoured to be equal, if not ſuperior, to the Nobility, whom they excelled in Wealth. The young Nobility, repining at it, and taking it in great diſdain, uſed them courſly; whereupon complaints were made, by them, to the King; who, imagining, either that their Wrongs were not ſo great, as they repreſented them; or elſe, that they ſuffered them deſervedly, neglected their pretended Grievances; whereupon they Excommunicated All, but the King, and in great Wrath, determined to go to *Rome*. But the King, remembring, what great Commotions, *Thomas Becket*, the prime promoter of Eccleſiaſtical Ambition, had lately made in *England*, called them back from their Journy, and cauſed the Nobility to ſatisfie, not only their Avarice, but even their Arrogance, too: And indeed, they were the more inclinable to an Accord with the King, becauſe he had lately undertaken the Patronage of the Eccleſiaſtical Orders, againſt the Avarice of the *Romaniſts*: For a little before, *Ottobon*, the Popes Legate, was come into *England*, to appeaſe the Civil Diſcords, but not being able to effect the thing he came for, he omitted the publick Care, and ſtudied his own private Gain and Lucre; he Indicted an Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly of the Engliſh, Procters from *Scotland* being alſo called thereunto; in the mean time, he endeavoured to exact Four Marks of Silver, from every Pariſh in *Scotland*, and Six from all *Cathedrals*, for the Expence of Procurations. This Contribution, or Tax, was ſcarce refuſed, when News was brought, That another Legate was arrived in *England*, intending alſo for *Scotland*, on pretence to gather up Money, for the *Holy War*; and beſides that procurable by Indulgences, and other Lime-Twigs, to catch Money, he endeavoured to wreſt from all Biſhops, Abbats, and Pariſh Prieſts (as judging them to be immediately under Papal Juriſdiction) the Tenth part of their yearly Revenues; that ſo, *Edward* and *Edmond*, Sons to the King of *England*, might go more Nobly and Numerouſly attended to the War in *Syria*. The *Scots* judged this Tax to be very grievous and unjuſt, eſpecially, becauſe the *Engliſh* ſeemed to be ſo forward to have it granted, as if *Scotland* were not *ſui Juris*, or, an abſolute Kingdom, but Dependent on *England*. Moreover, they were afraid, leſt the Legat ſhould riotouſly miſpend the Money, deſigned for the War, as was done ſome Years before; whereupon, they forbad him to enter their Borders, but ſent him Word, That they themſelves, without his Preſence, would gather Money for, and ſend Souldiers to, the *Syrian War*; and indeed, they ſent Souldiers, under the Command of the Earls of *Carick* and *Athol*, Two of the Chief Nobility, to *Lewis* King of *France*;

* The *Scots* Excommunicated by their Eccleſiaſticks.

Thomas Becket a promoter of Eccleſiaſtical Ambition in *England*.

* *Ottobon* the Popes Legate.

Another Legate, from *Rome*.

But is forbidden to Land.

and

and to the *Pope*, leſt he might think himſelf altogether diſeſteemed, they ſent 1000 Marks of Silver.

The Year after, *Henry*, King of *England*, died, and his Son *Edward* the Firſt ſucceeded him; at whoſe Coronation, *Alexander* and his Wife were preſent; ſhe returning, died ſoon after; yea, *David* the Kings Son, and alſo *Alexander*, being newly Married to the Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*, followed her a little time after, by their continued Funerals; *Margarite* alſo, the Kings Daughter departed this Life; who left a Daughter behind her, begot by *Hargonanus*, King of *Norwey*. *Alexander* being thus, in a few years, deprived both of his Wife and Children too, took to Wife *Joleta*, the Daughter of the Earl of * *Dreux*; and within a Year, he fell from his Horſe, and broke his Neck, not far from *Kinghorn* in the Year of our *Lord* 1285. and the Fourteenth of the * *Calends* of *April*, he lived Forty Five years, and Reigned Thirty Seven.

* A Town in *France*.

* A Borough over againſt *Leith* in *Lothian*.

* *March* the 19th.

He was more miſſed, than any King of *Scotland* had been before him, not ſo much for the eminent Virtues of his Mind, and the Accompliſhments of his Body; as, that People foreſaw, what great Calamities would befal the Kingdom, upon his Deceaſe. Thoſe wholſome Laws, which he made are antiquated by the Negligence of Men, and the Length of Time, and their Utility is rather celebrated by Report, than experienced by Trial. He divided the Kingdom into Four Parts, and, almoſt every year, he Travelled them all over, ſtaying well near Three Months in each of them, to do Juſtice; and to hear the complaints of the Poor, who had free Acceſs to him, all that time. Aſſoon as he went to an Aſſize or Seſſions, he Commanded the Prefect, or Sheriff, of that Precinct, to meet him with a ſelect number of Men, and alſo to accompany him at his departure to the end of his Bailywick, till the next Precinct, where he was Guarded by another like Company. By this means, he became acquainted with all the Nobility, and was as well known to them; and the People, as he went, were not burthen'd with a Troop of Courtiers, who are commonly Imperious, and given to Avarice, where they come. He commanded the Magiſtrates to puniſh all Idle Perſons, who followed no Trade, nor had any Eſtates to maintain them; for his Opinion was, *That Idleneſs was the Source and Fountain of all Wickedneſs*. He reduced the Horſe-Train of the Nobles, when they travelled, to a certain number; becauſe, he thought, that the Multitude of Horſes, which were unfit for War, would ſpend too much Proviſion. And whereas, by reaſon of Unskilfulneſs in Navigation; or elſe, by Mens Avarice, in committing themſelves raſhly to Sea, many Shipwracks had happened; and, the Violence of Pyrates making an Acceſſion thereto, the Company of Merchants were almoſt undone, he commanded they ſhould Traffick no more by Sea. That Order laſted about an Year; but being accounted by many, of a publick Prejudice, at length, ſo great a Quantity of Foreign Commodities were imported, that, in *Scotland*, they were never in the Memory of Man, more, or leſs cheap: In this Caſe, that he might ſtudy the good of the Merchants-Company, he forbad, that any but Merchants ſhould buy what was imported, by whole Sale; but what every Man wanted, he was to buy it at ſecond Hand, or by Retail, from them.

Alexanders Death, and Commendable Character.

Idle Perſons puniſhed.

THE

The Eighth BOOK.

ALEXANDER, and his whole Lineage (beſides one [redacted] by his Daughter) being extinct, a Convention of the Eſtates was held at *Scone*, to Treat about Creating a new King, and ſetling the State of the Kingdom; whither, when moſt of the Nobility were come, in the firſt place they appointed Vicegerents, to govern Matters at preſent; ſo dividing the Provinces, That *Duncan Mackduff*, ſhould preſide over *Fife*, of which he was Earl; *John Cumins*, Earl of *Buchan*, over *Buchan*; *William Frazer*, *Archbiſhop* of *St. Andrews*, over that Part of the Kingdom, which lay *Northward*. And that *Robert* Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, Another *John Cumins*, and *John Stuart*, ſhould Govern the *Southern* Countries; and that the Boundary in the midſt, ſhould be the River *Forth*. *Edward* King of *England*, knowing, that his Sifters [redacted] Daughter of the King of *Norway*, was the only ſurviving Perſon of all the Poſterity of *Alexander*; and that She was the Lawful Heireſs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſent Ambaſſadors into *Scotland*, to deſire Her, as a Wife for his Son.

Edward of *England*, deſires *Margarite* of *Norway*, Heireſs of *Scotland*, as a Wife for his Son, which is yielded to.

The Embaſſadors, in the Seſſion, diſcourſed much of the publick Utility, like to accrue to both Kingdoms, by this Marriage; neither did they find the *Scots* averſe therefrom. For *Edward* was a Man of great Courage, and Power, yet he deſired to increaſe it; and his Valour highly appeared in the *Holy War*, in his Fathers Life time, and, after his Death, in his ſubduing of *Wales*; neither were there ever more Endearments paſſed betwixt the *Scots* and the *Engliſh*, than under the laſt Kings; Yea, the Ancient Hatred ſeemed no way more likely to be aboliſhed, than if both Nations, on Juſt and Equal Terms, might be united into One.

For theſe Reaſons, the Marriage was eaſily aſſented to; other Conditions were alſo added, by the conſent of both Parties; as, That the *Scots* ſhould uſe their own Laws and Magiſtrates, until Children were begot out of that Marriage, which might Govern the Kingdom; or, if no ſuch were begot, or being born, if they dyed, before they came to the Crown; then the Kingdom of *Scotland* was to paſs to the next Kinſman of the Blood-Royal. Matters being thus ſetled, Embaſſadors were ſent into *Norway*. *Michael*, or as others call him, *David Weems*, and *Michael Scot*, Two eminent Knights of *Fife*, and much Famed for their Prudence in thoſe days. But *Margarite*, (for that was the Name of the young *Princeſs*) dyed before they came thither, ſo that they returned home in a ſorrowful poſture, without their errand.

But She dyes before their Marriage.

By reaſon of the untimely death of this young Lady, a Controverſie aroſe concerning the Kingdom, which mightily ſhook *England*, but almoſt quite ruined *Scotland*. The Competitors were Men of great Power, *John Baliol*, and *Robert Bruce*, of which *Baliol* had Lands

in *France*; *Bruce* in *England*, but both of them, great Poſſeſſions and Allies in *Scotland*. But before I enter upon their Diſputes, that all things may be more clear to the Reader, I muſt fetch them down a little higher.

Contests for the Crown of *Scotland*.

The Three laſt Kings of *Scotland*, *William*, and the Two *Alexanders*, The *Second* and the *Third*, and their whole Off-ſpring being extinct, there remained none who could lawfully claim the Kingdom, but the Poſterity of *David*, Earl of *Huntington*. This *David* was Brother to King *William*, and Great Uncle to *Alexander* the *Third*. He Married *Maud* in *England*, Daughter to the Earl of *Cheſter*, by whom he had Three Daughters. The Eldeſt, Named *Margarite*, Married *Alan* of *Galway*, a Man very powerful amongſt the *Scots*. The Second was matched to *Robert Bruce*, Sirnamed the *Noble*, of High *Engliſh* Deſcent, and of a large Eſtate; The Third was Married to *Henry Haſtings*, an *Engliſhman* alſo, whoſe Poſterity do deſervedly enjoy the Earldom of *Huntington*, at this day. But to let him paſs, (becauſe he never put in for the Kingdom) I ſhall confine my Diſcourſe to the Stock, Cauſe, and Anceſtry of *Baliol* and *Bruce*, only. Whilſt *William* was King of *Scotland* * *Fergus*, Prince of *Galway*, left Two Sons, *Gilbert* and *Ethred*; *William*, to prevent the Seeds of Diſcord betwixt the Two Brothers, divided their Fathers Inheritance equally betwixt them; *Gilbert*, the Eldeſt, took this highly amiſs, and thereupon, conceived an Hatred againſt his Brother, as his Rival, and againſt the King too, for his unequal Diſtribution. Thereupon, when the King was Priſoner in *England*, being then freed from fear of the Law, he diſcovered his long-concealed Hatred againſt them both: As for his Brother, he took him unawares, pulled out his Eyes, cut out his Tongue, and ſo, (not content with a ſingle Death) he put him to grievous and exceſſive Tortures, before he dyed; and he himſelf joyned with the *Engliſh*, and preyed upon his Neighbors and Country-men, as if they had been in an Enemies Country, for he waſted all with Fire and Sword. And, except *Rolland*, the Son of *Ethred*, had gathered a Band of Countrymen, who remained firm to the King, together, to reſiſt his Attempts, he had either waſted the neighbour Countries; or drawn them all over to his Party. This *Rolland* was a forward young Man, of great Abilities both of Body and Mind, he not only abated the Fury of his Uncle, but many times fought valiantly, and ſometimes ſucceſsfully, with the *Engliſh*, as he met them, whilſt he repreſſed their Plunderings; or, as he himſelf ſpoiled their Lands. At laſt, when the King was reſtored, *Gilbert*, by the Mediation of his Friends, got a Pardon, upon promiſe of a ſum of Money for the Wrongs he had done, and giving Pledges to that purpoſe; But *Gilbert* dying a few days after, thoſe who were accuſtomed to Blood and Prey under him, and who had given up themſelves into the Protection of the King of *England*, either out of the Inconſtancy of their Diſpoſitions; or, for fear of Puniſhment, being ſtirr'd on by Gripes from an accuſing Conſcience for what they had formerly done, took up Arms again, under the Command of *Gilpatrick*, *Henry Kennedy*, and *Samuel*; who, before, had been the Aſſiſtors and Companions to *Gilbert*, in his Wickedneſs. *Rolland* was ſent with an Army againſt them, and after a great

* The Original of the Controverſie between the *Baliols*, and the *Bruces*, in *Scotland*.

The Story of the Diſcords between *Fergus* of *Galway* his Children, after his Deceaſe.

Rolland's Valour and Genealogy.

great Fight he ſlew their chief Leaders, and a great Part of the common Soldiers. They, who eſcaped, fled to one *Gilcolumb*, a Captain of the Freebooters and Robbers, who had made a great ſpoil in *Lothian*, and much endamaged the Nobles and Richer ſort, of whom alſo he killed ſome. Thence, marching into *Galway*, he undertook *Gilbert*'s Cauſe, when all others looked upon it, as deſperate. He not only claimed his Lands, as his Own, but carried himſelf as the Lord of all *Galway*. At laſt, *Rolland* fought with him in the *Calends* of *October*, about Three Months after *Gilbert*'s Forces were defeated, and ſlew him, with the greateſt part of his Army, with very little loſs of his own ſide; amongſt the ſlain, there was found his own Brother, a ſtout young Man. *October* 1.

The *Engliſh*, being troubled at the overthrow of theſe Men, who had put themſelves under their Protection, the Year before, march'd with an Army to *Carliſle*; thither alſo came *Rolland*, being Reconciled to the King of *England*, by the Mediation of *William*, where he refuted the *Calumnies* of his Enemies, and ſhewed, That he had done nothing Maliciouſly or Cauſeleſly, againſt his own and the Publicks Enemy, upon which he was honourably diſmiſſed by the King. *William* alſo returned home, and, calling to Mind the Conſtancy of his Father *Ethred*, and how many Noble Exploits he had performed for the Good of the Publick, he gave him all *Galway*: And beſides, he beſtowed *Carrick* on the Son of *Gilbert*, though his Father had not deſerved ſo well of him. *William* of *Newberry*, the *Engliſh* Writer, Records theſe things, as done *Anno* 1183. *Rolland* took to Wife, the Siſter of *William Morvill*, who was * Lord High Conſtable in *Scotland*, who dying without Iſſue, *Rolland* enjoyed that Office, as Hereditary to him and his Family. He had a Son called *Alan*; who, for his Aſſiſtance, afforded to *John*, King of *England*, in his *Iriſh* War, was rewarded by him with large Poſſeſſions; on which accompt, by the permiſſion of *William* of *Scotland*, he was a Feudatary to the *Engliſh* King, and ſwore Fealty to him: This *Alan* took to Wife *Margarite*, the Eldeſt Daughter of *David*, Earl of *Huntington*. By her, he had Three Daughters, the Eldeſt, *Dornadilla*, he Married to *John Baliol*, who was King of *Scotland* (for ſome years.) But *Robert Bruce*, Married *Iſabella*, *Davids* Second Daughter, he came to be Earl of *Carrick*, upon this Occaſion: *Martha*, Counteſs of *Carrick*, being Marriageable, and the only Heireſs of her Father, who died in the *Holy War*, as ſhe was a Hunting, caſt her Eye on *Robert Bruce*, the Beautifulleſt Young Man of all her Train; whereupon, ſhe Courteouſly invited him, and in a manner, compelled him into her Caſtle, which was near at Hand. Being come thither, his Age, Beauty, Kindred, and Manners, eaſily procuring mutual Love, they were quickly Married, in a private way. When the King was informed thereof, he was much offended with them Both, becauſe the Right of beſtowing the Lady in Marriage, lay in him; yet, by the Mediation of Friends, he was afterwards Reconciled to them. Out of this Marriage, *Robert Bruce* was Born; who afterwards, was King of *Scotland*.

* *Comes Stabuli.*

Martha, Counteſs of *Carrick*, falls in Love with *Robert Bruce*.

Thus having enlarged my ſelf in this Prologue, I come now to the Matter in Hand, and to the Competitors of the Kingdom: They

were, *Dornadilla*, the Grand-child of *David* of *Huntingdon*, by his Eldeſt Daughter; and *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, Grand-ſon of the ſaid *David*, by his youngeſt Daughter. *Dornadilla*'s Pretenſions were grounded on the Cuſtom of the Country; whereby, he, or ſhe, that was nearer in Degree, had a better Right: *Robert Bruce* inſiſted on the Sex; that, in a like degree of Propinquity, *Males* ought to be preferred before *Females*; ſo that he denied it to be juſt, that as long as a Grand-ſon was alive, a Grand-daughter ſhould inherit her Anceſtors Eſtate. And though ſometimes the contrary may be practiſed in the Inheritances of private Men; yet, the matter is far otherwiſe in thoſe Eſtates, which are called *Feuds*, and in the Succeſſion of Kingdoms. And of this, there was urged a late Example in the Controverſie, concerning the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*; which, the Earl of *Nevers*, who Married the Grand-child of the laſt Duke, by his Eldeſt Son, Claimed; yet, the Inheritance was adjudged to the Son of the Duke's younger Brother; ſo that *Robert* contended, That he was nearer in Degree, as being a Grand-ſon, than *John Baliol*, who was but a Great Grand-ſon: As for *Dornadilla*, with whom he ſtood in equal Degree; yet, he was to be preferred before her, as a *Male* before a *Female*.

The ſeveral Pretenſions of the Competitors to the Crown.

The *Scots* Nobles could not decide this Controverſie at home; for, by reaſon of the Power of both Parties, the Land was divided into Two Factions. For *Baliol*, by his Mother, held all *Galway*, a very large Country; and beſides, he was allied to the *Cumin*'s Family, which was the moſt Powerful, next the Kings; for *Mary*, the Siſter of *Dornadilla*, had Married *John Cumins*. *Robert*, on the other ſide, in *England*, poſſeſſed *Cleveland*; in *Scotland*, *Annandale*, and *Garioch*; and by his Son, Earl of *Carrick*, (who was afterwards King) was related to many Noble Families, and he was alſo very Gracious with his own People; ſo that for theſe Reaſons, the Controverſie was not able to be decided at home; yea, if it ſhould have been equitably determined, yet, there was not a ſufficient Party in *Scotland* to compel both ſides to ſtand to the Award; and therefore *Edward* of *England*, was, almoſt, unanimouſly choſen to be the Decider thereof. Neither was there any doubt made of his Fidelity, as being Born of ſuch a Father, as the late King of *Scotland* had Experienced to be, both a Loving Father in Law, to him, and a juſt Guardian, too; and on the contrary, the *Engliſh* King had received a late and memorable Teſtimony of the *Scots* Good-Will towards him, in that they ſo readily conſented to the Marriage of his Son with their Queen.

Which difference could not be decided by the *Scots*.

But was referred to the Umpirage of *Edward* of *England*.

Whereupon, *Edward*, as ſoon as he came to *Berwick*, ſent Letters to the Peers and Governors of *Scotland*, to come to him, proteſting, That he Summoned them to appear before him, not as Subjects before their Lord or Supreme Magiſtrate, but as Friends before an Arbitrator, choſen by themſelves. Firſt of all, he required an Oath of the Competitors, to ſtand to his Award; in the next place, he required the ſame Oath of the Nobles and Commiſſioners, to obey Him, as King, whom he, upon his Oath, ſhould declare ſo to be; and for this, he deſired a publick Scrol, or Record, ſigned by all the States, and each ones Seal affixed thereto, to be given to him. This being done,

done, he choſe, of the moſt prudent of all the Eſtates, 12 *Engliſh*, and adjoyned 12 *Scots* to them, from them alſo he exacted an Oath, to Judge Rightly and Truly, according to their Conſciences, in the Caſe. Theſe things were managed openly and above board, which, in appearance, were honeſt and taking with the People, but his private Deſign was ſecretly agitated amongſt a few, only; how he might bring *Scotland* under his Subjection; The Thing was thought feaſable enough, in regard the Kingdom was divided into Two Factions, but to make the Way more Intricate, and the Fraud more Covert, he raiſed up Three other Competitors, beſides *Bruce* and *Baliol*, that, out of ſo great a Number, he might more eaſily bring over One, or More, to his Party.

And, leſt ſo great a Matter might ſeem to be determined unadviſedly, he conſulted with Thoſe, who were moſt eminent in *France*, for Piety, Prudence, and the Knowledge of the Law. Neither did he doubt, but that (as that ſort of Men are never always of One Opinion) he ſhould fiſh ſomething out of their Anſwers, which might make for his purpoſe; The New Competitors, ſeeing no Grounds for their Pretenſions, of their own accord quickly deſiſted; but to the Lawyers, whom he Governed and Influenced, as he pleaſed, a falſe, or made, Caſe was Stated and Propounded, Thus, *A certain King, that was never wont to be Crowned, nor Anointed, but only to be placed in a kind of Seat, and declared King by his Subjects, yet not a King ſo free, but that he was under the Patronage of another King, whoſe Homage or Beneficiary he profeſſed himſelf to be; Such a King died without Children: Two of his Kinſmen begat by* Sempronius, *Great Uncle of the deceaſed King, claim the Inheritance, to wit,* Titius, *Great Grand-ſon by the Eldeſt Daughter of* Sempronius, *and* Seius, *Grand-ſon by his Younger Daughter; now Which of Theſe is to be preferred, in an undividable Eſtate?* The Caſe being propounded well near, in thoſe very Words, They all Generally anſwered, 'That, if any Law or Cuſtom did obtain in the Kingdom, which was ſued for, they were to 'be Guided by, and ſtand to it; if not, then they muſt be Guided 'by him, under whoſe Patronage they were, becauſe, in Judging 'of Freehold, Cuſtom doth not aſcend, *i. e.* The uſage and award of 'the Superior, is to be a Law to the Inferiour, but not on the contrary. It would be too prolix a Task, to reckon up particularly all the Opinions, but, in brief, almoſt all of them anſwered very doubtfully and uncertainly, as to the Right of the Competitors; but, as the Caſe was falſely put, they all gave the Supreme Power of Judgment in the Controverſie, to *Edward*. Hereby, the Matter was made more intricate and involved, than before; ſo that, the next Year, they met again at *Norham*. There, *Edward*, by Agents, fit for his purpoſe, gently tried the Minds of the *Scots*, Whether they would willingly put Themſelves under the Power and Juriſdiction of the *Engliſh*, which (as was alleged) their Anceſtors had often done: But, when they all unanimouſly refuſed ſo to do, he called to him the Competitors, whom he himſelf had ſet up; and, by great Promiſes, extorted from them, to Swear Homage to him; and he perſuades the reſt, to remove the Aſſembly to *Berwick*, as a more convenient Place. There he ſhut up the 24 Judges, Elected as before, in a Church, without any

* The Scots Caſe as propounded to Lawyers by K. Edward.

The Lawyers differ in their Opinions about it.

any Body elſe amongſt them, commanding them to give their Judgments in the Caſe, and till they did ſo, no Man was to have Acceſs to them. But they, being ſlow in their Proceedings, he, ever and anon, went in alone to them, and by diſcourſing ſometimes One, and ſometimes Another, finding that moſt were of Opinion, That the Right lay on *Baliol*'s ſide, tho' he were inferiour in Favour and Popularity; he went to *Bruce*, who, becauſe he was Legally caſt by their Votes, he thought, he might more eaſily perſuade to aſſent to his Deſign, and promiſed him the Crown of *Scotland*, if he would put himſelf under the Patronage of the King of *England*, and be Subject to his Authority. *Bruce* anſwered him ingeniouſly, *That he was not ſo eager of a Crown, as to accept of it, by abridging the Liberty, his Anceſtors had left him*; Hereupon he was diſmiſſed, and he ſends for *John Baliol*, who, being more deſirous of a Kingdom, than of honeſt Methods to come by it, greedily accepted the Condition, offered him by *Edward*.

Edward decides for *Baliol*.

John Baliol, *The Ninety Sixth King.*

WHereupon, *John Baliol* was declared King of *Scotland*, 6 Years and 9 Months after the Death of *Alexander*. The reſt of the *Scots*, being ſtudious of the publick Tranquillity, led him to *Scone*, and there Crowned him, according to Cuſtom, and all Swore Fealty to him, except *Bruce*; He, being thus made King by the *Engliſh*, and accepted by the *Scots*, being now ſecure of the Kingdom, came to *Edward*, who was at *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, and, according to his Promiſe, Swore Fealty to him, ſo did the Nobles alſo, who were of his Train, as not daring to contradict Two Kings; eſpecially, they being ſo far from home: As ſoon as the reſt of the Nobility heard of it, they were grievouſly offended, but, being conſcious of their want of Power, they diſſembled their Anger, for the preſent.

* *Baliol* ſwears Fealty to *Edward*.

* At which many of the *Scots* Nobles are offended.

But ſoon after, an Occaſion was offered them to ſhew it, *Mackduff*, Earl of *Fife*, (who, in the Time of the * *Interregnum*, was One of the ſix Governors of the Land) was ſlain by the *Abernethians*, which was then a rich and potent Family, in *Scotland*; and the Earls Brother, being accuſed, by them, and brought to his Anſwer before the Aſſembly of the States, the King gave Sentence in Favour of the *Abernethians*. So that *Mackduff* was diſpoſſeſſed of the Land, which was in Controverſie betwixt them; whereupon he conceived a double Diſpleaſure againſt the King, One, on the Account of his own Wrong; and Another, becauſe he had not ſeverely puniſhed the Murderers of his Brother. So that he appealed to the King of *England*; and deſired, that *Baliol* might anſwer the Matter before Him. Hereupon, the Cauſe was removed to *London*; and as *Baliol* was caſually ſitting by *Edward*, in the Parliament Houſe, and, when he was called, would have anſwered by a Proctor, it was denied him, ſo that he was enforced to ariſe from his Seat, and to plead his Cauſe from a lower Place. He bore the Affront ſilently for the preſent, not daring to do otherwiſe; but as ſoon as ever he was diſpatched from thence, ſuch Flames of Anger burnt in his Breaſt, that his Thoughts were wholly taken up, how to reconcile his own Subjects, and how to offend *Edward*.

* An *Interregnum* in *Scotland*, before *Baliol* was made King.

Young *Mackduff* complains to K. *Edward* againſt *Baliol*.

Baliol diſguſts *Edward*.

Edward. As he was thus muſing, it happened commodiouſly for him, That a new Diſcord aroſe betwixt the *French* and *Engliſh*, which, preſently after, broke out into a War. Whereupon, Embaſſadors were ſent to the Aſſembly of Eſtates in *Scotland*, from Both Kings, The *French*'s Errand, was, to renew the Old League with their New King. And the *Engliſh*, was, upon the Account of their late Oath to *Edward*, to receive Aid from them in the War he had undertaken; Both Embaſſys were referred to the Council of the Eſtates, where the Nobles, prone to Rebellion, were of Opinion, That the Requeſt of the *French*, was Juſt; of the *Engliſh*, Unjuſt; For the League made, by univerſal Conſent, with the *French*, more than 500 Years before, had been kept Sacred and Inviolable to that very Day, in regard of the Juſtneſs and Utility thereof, but this late Subjection and ſurrendring themſelves to the *Engliſh*, was extorted from the King, againſt his Will; and thô (as they proceeded to allege) he had been willing, yet, it did oblige neither King nor Kingdom; it being made by the King alone, without the Conſent of the Eſtates, whereas the *King might not act any Thing, relating to the Publick ſtate of the Kingdom, without, much leſs, againſt, the Advice of the States.* So a Decree was made, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent into *France* to renew the Ancient League; and that a Wife ſhould be deſired for *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John*, out of the Kings Royal ſtem. Another Embaſſy was alſo ſent into *England*, to ſignify, that the King of *Scots* did revoke the Reddition of the Kingdom and Himſelf, which he had forceably and unjuſtly made; and renouncing his Friendſhip, both for that Cauſe, and alſo for the many and innumerable other Wrongs, which he had done to Him and His, he was reſolved to aſſert his Ancient Liberty. No man of any Eminencie would carry this Meſſage to *Edward*, becauſe he was of a fierce Nature, and was rendred more ſo, by reaſon of the Indulgence of Fortune, which made him even almoſt to forget himſelf; At laſt, a certain Monk, or, as ſome ſay, the Abbat of *Aberbrothoc* carried Letters, of that Import, to him, who was grievouſly affronted for his Pains, and had much ado to eſcape home, being protected more by his, undervalued, Tenuity, than the Reverence of his Embaſſadorſhip.

He ſides with the *French*.

And withdraws his Subjection from *England*.

In the mean time, *Edward*, had made a Truce with the *French* for ſome Months, hoping, That, before they were ended, he might ſubdue the *Scots*, taking them unprovided; and therefore, he ſent his Fleet, deſigned for *France*, againſt *Scotland*, commanding them to ſtop all Proviſions from being carried into *Berwick*, wherein, he heard, there was a very ſtrong Gariſon. The *Scots* fought with this Fleet in the Mouth of the River, they deſtroyed and took 18 of their Ships, and put the reſt to flight. *Edward*, out of Fierceneſs of Mind, by this Loſs, was highly enraged to Revenge. He Summons *Baliol*, once and again, to appear; And he himſelf Levies a great Army, and comes to *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*. There alſo he gave forth an Edict for *John* to appear, Legally to purge himſelf from the Crimes objected againſt him. But neither He nor any for him, appearing ar the day appointed, he added Policy to Force, and ſent for *Bruce*, and promiſes him the Kingdom, if, he would do his endeavour faithfully to Depoſe and drive out *Baliol*. To do which, ſaid

Whereupon *Edward* Warr againſt *Scotland*.

He ſides with *Bruce*.

(said he) you need be at little Labour or Cost, only write Letters to your Friends, that, either they would desert the Kings Party; or, not be hearty or forward, if it came to a Battel. He, by great Marches, came to *Berwick*, but not being able to carry it, by reason of the strength of the Garison, he pretended to raise his Siege, and caused a Rumour to be spread abroad by some *Scots*, of *Bruce* his Party, that he despaired of Taking it; and that *Baliol* was coming, with a great Army, to raise the Siege, and was now near at hand, whereupon, all the Chief Men of the Garison made haste out to receive him Honourably, in promiscuous Multitudes, Horse and Foot together; so that *Edward* sent in some Horse amongst them, some they trod down and killed, others they divided from their Company, and, seizing on the neareſt Gate, they entred the Town. *Edward* followed with his Foot, and made a miserable Slaughter of all sorts of People. Above 7000 of the *Scots* are reported to have been there slain, amongst Them were the Flower of the *Lothian* and *Fife* Nobility.

Overthrows the *Scots*, and takes *Berwick*.

Though I love not to interrupt the continued Series of my History (as having resolved against it, at first) with any unnecessary Digression, yet I cannot forbear to expose that unbridled Liberty of Evil speaking, which *Richard Grafton*, who lately compiled the History of *England*, assumes to himself; that so, they who read what I here write, may judge, what Credit is to be given to him. For, (he says) that *Hector Boetius* writes in his 14th Book, and 2d Chapter, That so much Blood was spilt there, that Rivers of it running through the City, might have driven a Water-Mill for two days: To which, I say, First, That *Boetius* never divided his Book into Chapters; and besides, what he affirms is no where found in his Writings; but to leave this unlearned and shameless Relator, I return to *Edward*; who, by reason of the abounding Multitude of his Army, sent Part of it to besiege *Dunbar*; and a few days after, the Castle of *Berwick*, despairing of any Relief, was surrendred to him. Afterwards, he joined all his Forces together at *Dunbar*, to fight the *Scots* Army, who came to relieve it; The Battel was fierce; and the Victory inclining to the *English*, the chief of the Nobility fled into the Castle, but the Castle was soon taken, either by the Perfidiousness of *Richard Stuart*, the Governor, or else, because he had not Provisions for so great a Multitude, as were shut up in so narrow a Compass: *Edward* was very cruel to all the Prisoners: Some cast the Blame of this Overthrow upon *Robert Bruce* the Elder, in that his Friends giving back in the Battel, it strook a Terrour into the rest. But our Writers do constantly affirm, That when *Bruce* demanded of *Edward* the Kingdom of *Scotland*, according to his Promise, (as a Reward of his Pains that day,) That *Edward* should answer in *French*, of which Language he was Master, *What, have I nothing else to do, but to win Kingdoms, for you?* When *Dunbar*, and some other Castles, near the Borders of *England*, were taken, the surrender of * *Edinburgh* and *Sterlin* followed soon after. Then *Edward* passing over the *Forth*, directed his March where *Baliol* then was. When he was come as far as *Montross*, without any to oppose him, *Baliol*, by the Persuasion of *John Cumins* of *Strabogy*, came to him

Grafton Censured by This Author.

* *Edinburgh* and *Sterlin*.

him and surrendred to him, Himself and the Kingdom. *Baliol* was sent into *England*, by Sea, and *Edward*, returning to *Berwick*, sent a strict and severe Summons to all the *Scots* Nobles, to attend him there; after they came, he compelled them to Swear Fealty to him. But *William Douglas*, an eminent Man, both on the account of his Family, and also his own famous Exploits, obstinately refusing to do it, was cast into Prison, where, in a few years, he died.

Baliol yields to *Edward*, and is sent Prisoner to *England*.

Thus *Edward*, having succeeded in his Expedition according to his Mind, left *John Warren*, Earl of *Surry*, as Proxy behind him; and *Hugh Cressingham*, Lord Chief Justice, or Treasurer, and so returned to *London*. There he committed *John Baliol* to Prison, in the 4th year of his Reign; but, a while after, at the Entreaty of the *Pope*, and his Promise, that he would raise no Tumults in *Scotland*, he was sent back into *France*, his Son *Edward* being retained as an Hostage. *Edward*, having prepared all things for the *French* War, (which, by reason of the Commotions in *Scotland*, he had deferred) now Sails thither, with great Forces; The *Scots*, by reason of his Absence, being erected to some hopes of their Liberty, chose 12 Men to Govern the State. By whose unanimous Consent, *John Cumins*, Earl of *Buchan*, was sent into *England*, with a good Force; and in regard the *English*, who were scattered in Garisons over *Scotland*, dared not to stir, he spoiled *Northumberland* without controul, and laid Siege to *Carlisle*; but to no purpose: Though this Expedition did somewhat encourage the, before, crest-fallen *Scots*, and hindred the *English* from doing them further Mischief, yet it contributed little or nothing to the Main Chance, in regard, that all the Places of Strength were possessed by the Enemies Garisons; But when the Nobility had neither Strength nor Courage to undertake great Matters, there presently started up one *William Wallace*, a Man of an Ancient and Noble Family, but one that had lived poorly and meanly, as having little or no Estate; yet, this Man performed in this War, not only beyond the Expectation, but even the Belief, of all the Common People; For he was bold-spirited, and strong-bodied, and, when he was but a Youth, had slain a young *English* Nobleman, who proudly domineered over him. For this Fact, he was fain to run away, and to skulk up and down in several places, for some years, to save his Life, and, by this Course of Life his Body was hardned against Wind and Weather, and his Mind also fortified to undergo greater hazards, when time should serve. At length, growing weary of such an Erratick Life, he resolved to attempt something, though never so hazardous; and therefore gathered a Band of Men together, of like Fortune with himself, and did not only assault single Persons, but even greater Companies, though with an inferior Number, and accordingly he slew several Persons, in divers Places. He played his Pranks with as much Celerity as Boldness, and never gave his Enemy opportunity to fight him, so that in a short time, his Fame was spread over Both Nations, by which means many came in to him, moved by the likeness of their Cause, or, with the like Love of their Country; thus he made up a considerable Army. And seeing the Nobles were sluggish in their Management of Affairs, either out of Fear or Dulness, this *Wallace* was proclaimed *Regent*, by the Tumul-

But is released by Mediation of the *Pope*.

A Duodecemvirat in *Scotland*.

John Cumins marches into *England*.

The Story of *Wallis*, *Wallas*, or *Wallace*, and his famous Exploits, against the *English*.

He is made Regent;

Tumultuous Band that followed him, and so he managed Things as a Lawful Magistrate, and the Substitute of *Baliol*. He accepted of this Name, not out of any Ambition, or Desire to Rule, but because it was cast upon him by the Love and Good Will of his Countrymen. With this Army, the first visible Exploit he performed was at * *Lanerick*, where he slew the Major General of that Precinct, being an *Englishman*, of good Descent. Afterwards he took and demolished many Castles, which were either slenderly Fortified, or meanly Garisoned; or else, guarded negligently; which petty Attempts so encouraged his Soldiers, that they shunned no Service, no not the most hazardous, under his Conduct, as having experienced, That his Boldness was guided by Counsel; and That Counsel seconded by good Success.

The chief Town of *Clydsdale*.

When the Report of these Things was spread abroad, and perhaps, somewhat enlarged, beyond the Bounds of Truth, out of Mens Respect and Favour to him; All that wished well to their Country, or were afraid of their own particular Conditions, flocked in to him, as judging it fit, to take Opportunity by the Forelock; so that, in a short time, he reduced all the Castles, which the *English* held on the other side of the *Forth*, though never so well fortified, and, for fear of him, carefully Guarded. He took and demolished the Castles of *Dundee*, *Forfar*, *Brechin*, and *Montross*; he seized on *Dunoter*, unawares, and Garisoned it; he entred *Aberdene*, (which the Enemy, for fear of his coming, had plundered and burnt) even whilst it was in Flames; but, a Rumour, being scattered abroad, concerning the coming of the *English* Army, prevented his Taking the Castle; for, he determined to meet them at the *Forth*, not being willing to hazard a Battel, but in a Place, he himself should choose. *Edward* of *England*, when he went into *France*, (as I said before) put *English* Garisons into all the Strong Holds of *Scotland*, and besides, having many of the *Scots* faithful to him, and unfaithful to their Country, he banished and sent the *Scots* Nobility, whom he most suspected, into the heart of *England*, till his return. Amongst which was *John Cumins*, Lord, or Petty King, of *Badenach*; and *Alan Longan*, a Man fit both for Advice and Action; and having settled Matters, after this sort, he was so far from fearing any Insurrection in *Scotland*, that he carried all his Army over along with him. But, hearing of the many Exploits of *Wallace*, he thought there was need of a greater Force to suppress him; yet, that the Expedition was not worthy of a King, neither, (as being only against a Roving Thief, for so the *English* called *Wallace*) and therefore he writes to *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *William Latimer*, That they should speedily Levy what Forces they could out of the Neighbouring Parts, and join themselves with *Cressingham*, who as yet remained in *Scotland*, to subdue the Rebellious *Scots*. *Thomas Walsingham* writes, that the Earl of *Warren* was General in this Expedition. But *Wallace*, who was then besieging the Castle of *Cowper* in *Fife*, left his Army, which he had increased against the coming of the *English*, should be idle, the *English* being near at hand, marched directly to *Sterlin*. The River *Forth*, no where, almost, fordable, may be there passed over by a Bridge of Wood, though it be increased by the Addition of

And takes many Places from the *English*.

* Or *Logan*.

other

*

other Rivers, and by the coming in of the Tide, too. There *Cressingham* passed over with the greatest part of his Army, but the Bridge, either having its Beams loosned and disjointed, on purpose, by the Skill of the Architect, (as our Writers say, it was) that so it might not be able to bear any great Weight; or else, being overladen with the heavy burden of so many Horse, Foot, and Carriages, as passed over, was broken, and so the March of the rest of the *English* was precluded, and hindred; The *Scots* set upon Those, who were passed over, before they could put themselves into a Posture; and, having slain their General, drove the rest back into the River, the Slaughter was so great, that they were all either killed or drowned; *Wallace* returned, from this Fight, to the besieging of Castles; and, in a short time, he so changed the Scene of Affairs, that he left none of the *English* in *Scotland*, but such as were made Prisoners. This Victory (wherein none of any eminency, among the *Scots* fell, save *Andrew Murray*, whose Son, some years, was Regent of *Scotland*) was obtained in the *Ides* of *September*, in the year of *Christ* 1297. Some say, that *Wallis* was called off to this Fight, not from the Siege of *Cowper*, but of *Dundee*, whither he also returned after the Fight; so *John Major*, and some Books found in Monasteries, do relate.

He overthrows *Cressingham* the *English* General at *Sterlin* Bridge.

September 15.

By means of these Combustions, the Fields lay untilled, insomuch, that, after that Overthrow, a Famine ensued, and a Pestilence after the Famine; from whence a greater Fear was apprehended, than from the War: *Wallis*, to prevent this Mischief as much as he could, called together all those, who were fit for Service, to appear at a certain day, with whom he marched into *England*, thinking with himself, that their Bodies, being exercised with Labour, would be more healthy; and, that Wintring in an Enemies Country, Provisions might be spared at home; and the Soldiers, who were in much want, might reap some Fruit of their Labours in a rich Country, and flourishing by reason of its continued Peace: When he was entred into *England*, no Man dared to attack him, so that he staid there from the *Calends* of *November*, to the *Calends* of *February*, and having refreshed and inriched his Soldiers, with the Fruits and Spoils of the Enemy, he returned home, with great Renown. This Expedition, as it increased the Fame and Authority of *Wallis* amongst the Vulgar sort, so it heightned the envy of Nobles against him, mightily. For his Praise seemed a tacite Exprobration to them, who being Men of great Power and Wealth, either out of Slothfulness durst not, or out of Perfidiousness would not, attempt, what He, that was a Mean Man, and destitute of all the Advantages of Fortune, had not only valiantly undertook, but also successfully performed. Moreover, the King of *England*, finding the Business to be greater than could well be managed by his Deputies, made some settlement of things in *France*, and returned home; and gathering together a great Army, but hastily levied, (for he brought not back his Veteran Soldiers, from beyond Sea) and, for the most part, raw and unexperienced Men, he marches toward *Scotland*; supposing he had only to do with a disorderly Band of Robbers. But when he saw both Armies in Battel array, about 500 Paces, one from another in the Plains of *Stanmore*, he admired the Discipline, Order, and Confidence of his Enemies.

He enters with an Army into *England*.

1 *November*.

1 *February*.

Edward returns from *France* to subdue *Wallace*.

But retreats from the North without Fighting.

Enemies. So that, thô he himself had much the greater Force, yet he durst not put it to the hazard of a Battel, against such a Veteran and Experienced a Captain, and against Soldiers inured to all hardships, but turned his Ensigns, and marched slowly back: *Wallace* also durst not follow him, for fear of Ambushes, but kept his Army within their Trenches. Having thus got the Victory, thô Bloodless, over so puissant a King, his Enemies were so much the more enraged against him, and caused Rumours to be scattered up and down, *That* * Wallis *did openly affect a Supream or Tyrannical Power*; at which, the Nobles, especially *Bruce* and the *Cumin*'s, of the Royal Stock, did mightily disdain; for they said thus within themselves, *That if they must be Slaves, they had rather be so, under a Great and Potent King, than under an Upstart, whose Domination was like to be not only base, but also dangerous*; And therefore they determined, by all means, to undermine the Authority of *Wallis*. *Edward* was not ignorant of these Disgusts, and therefore, the next Summer he Levies a Great Army, consisting partly of *English*, partly of *Scots*, who had remained Faithful to him, and came to *Falkirk*, which is a Village built in the very Tract of the Wall of *Severus*, and is distant from *Sterling*, little more than 6 Miles. The *Scots* Army were not far from them, of sufficient strength, for they were 30000. if the Generals and Leaders had agreed amongst themselves; Their Generals were *John Cumins*, *John Stuart*, and *William Wallace*, the most flourishing Persons amongst the *Scots*; the Two former, for their high Descent and Opulency; the Later, for the glory of his former Exploits.

The *Scots* Nobles envy *Wallace* for his Success.

* Or *Wallace*

When the Three Armies were ready to fight, a new Dispute arose, besides their former Envy, Who should lead the Van of the Army; and when all Three stood upon their Terms, the *English* decided the Controversie, who, with Banners displaid, marched with a swift pace towards them; *Cumins* and his Forces retreated, without striking a stroke; *Stuart*, being beset before and behind, was slain, with all that followed him. *Wallace* was sorely pressed upon in the Front; and *Bruce* had fetched a compass about an Hill, and fell on his Rear, yet, he was as little disturbed, as, in such circumstances, he could possibly be, but retreated beyond the River *Carront*, where, by the Interposal of the River, he had Opportunity to defend himself, and also, to gather up the straggling Run-aways; and *Bruce* desiring to speak with him, he assented thereunto. They Two alone stood over against one another, where the River hath the narrowest Chanel, and the highest Banks; And, First *Bruce* began, and told *Wallace*, 'He 'wondred what was in his Mind, that, being hurried on by the uncertain Favour of the Vulgar, he should expose himself to such assiduous and imminent Danger, against a King, the most potent of 'that Time, and who was also assisted by a great Number of the 'Scots; and that to no purpose neither, for, if he overcame *Edward*, 'the *Scots* would never Grant him the Kingdom; and, if himself 'were overcome, he had no Refuge but in the Mercy of his Enemy. 'To whom *Wallas* replyed, I never proposed that Scope to my Designs and Labours, as to obtain the Kingdom, of which my Fortune is not capable, neither doth my Mind aspire thereunto: But 'when I saw my Countrymen, by your slothfulness (to whom the

Edward gives the *Scots* a great overthrow at *Falkirk*.

A Conference betwixt *Bruce* and *Wallace* in the Field.

'Kingdom

'Kingdom doth rightly appertain) deſtitute of Governors, and ex-
'poſed not to the Slavery only, but even to the Butchery of a cruel
'Enemy, I had pity on them, and undertook the Cauſe, which you
'deſerted; neither will I forſake the Liberty, Good, and Safety of
'my Countrymen, till Life forſake me: You, who had rather chuſe
'baſe Servitude with Security, than honeſt Liberty with Hazard,
'follow, and hug the Fortune, which you ſo highly eſteem; As for
'me, I will willingly Dye in my Country, which I have often de-
'fended; and my Love to it ſhall remain, as long as my Life conti-
'nues. Thus the Conference was broken off, and each of them retired to their Forces. This Battel was fought the 11*th* of the *Calends* of *Auguſt*, wherein there fell of the *Scots* 10000, amongſt whom, of the Nobles, were *John Stuart*, *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*: and of *Wallis* his Army, *John Grame*, the valianteſt Perſon of the *Scots*, next to *Wallis* himſelf. Of the *Engliſh*, were ſlain *Frere Briangy*, highly Fam'd and Notic'd for Military Skill. After this unhappy Fight, *Wallis* came to *Perth*, and diſmiſſed his Army, giving Place to that Envy, which, he knew, he could not reſiſt; and, from that day forward, he never acted as a General; yet he ceaſed not, with a few of his Friends, who ſtill ſtuck to him, thô he renounced the Name of a *General*, as often as a convenient Opportunity was offered, to preſs upon the *Engliſh*.

July 22.

Wallace diſmiſſes the remainder of his Army.

Edward alſo, after he had waſted all the Country beyond the *Forth*, even unto *Perth*, receiving into his Obedience all thoſe who durſt not, as long as he was preſent, make any Inſurrection, drew back his Army. Thoſe of the *Scots*, who, after the Enemies departure, did moſt ſtudy the Liberty of their Country, being a little heartned, made *John Cumins*, *Junior*, their Regent. He, according to the Advice of the Council, ſent Embaſſadors to *Philip Valois*, King of *France*, to deſire him, that, by the Mediation of his Siſter, who was then betrothed to *Edward*, they might obtain, at leaſt, a Truce. By her Endeavours, a Truce was obtained for Seven Months, which yet was not faithfully obſerved. For the *Engliſh* detained the Embaſſadors, which were ſent to *Boniface* the 8*th*, and committed them to Priſon. In the mean time, the *Scots*, who could neither bear the Tyranny of the *Engliſh*, nor ſatisfie the cruel Mind of *Edward*, by their Puniſhments, nor yet obtain an equal Peace from him; with obſtinate Minds, and in deſpair of Pardon, reſolved to Fight it out to the utmoſt. Firſt of all, they expel all *Edward*'s Governors, who were *Engliſh*, from all Towns and Caſtles; next, they afflict the *Scots* of their Faction, as much as ever they could. Things remained in this poſture almoſt Two years, and then *Edward* ſent *Ralph Confray*, with great Forces to ſubdue the Robbers, (as he called them) and to make an end of the War. They met with no Oppoſition, but Preyed far and near, till they came to *Roſlin*, a place in *Lothian*, about 5 Miles diſtant from *Edinburgh*, and there they divided their Army into Three parts, to make the greater Havock, and ſo pitched their Tents. *John Cumins*, with the aſſiſtance of *John Frazer*, the moſt potent Man in all *Tivedale*, gathered 8000 Men together, and marched towards the Enemy, thinking to abridge the Limits of their plundering Excurſions, or, otherwiſe, if an happy Opportunity offered

The Scots, by the mediation of the King of *France*, obtain a Truce from *Edward*.

The Scots riſe in Arms again.

itſelf

itself for Action, not to be wanting to Fortune. And indeed, he met with a fairer Occasion, than he hoped for. For the *English*, little expecting an Assault, from an Enemy that they had so often Conquered, and brought so low, lived more straglingly than they ought to have done in an Enemies Country; so that their first Camp was soon taken, by the suddain coming of the *Scots*, and a great Slaughter made; They, who escaped, carried the Noise into the next Camp; They in a great Fear, cryed out, *Arm, Arm*, and they all exhorted one another, to succor their fellow-Soldiers; but perceiving, That the designed Succor was too late, they prepared for Revenge. A fierce Fight was commenced betwixt them, as Men, eager, and desirous of Victory and Revenge; at last, the *English* were routed, and put to Flight, and the Victory, thô a bloody one, remained to the *Scots*: In the mean time, the third Camp, who was farther off, came, and occasioned some terror to the *Scots*. For, in regard, many of them were wounded, and the greatest Part wearied with the toil of a double Fight, they saw, that there was imminent Danger in Fighting, and assured Destruction in flying away. At length, by the Command of their Leaders, they slew all the Prisoners, lest, while they were busied with their Enemies, they should rise up and set upon them in the Rear; and arming their Servants with the Spoils of the Slain, they made a Show of a greater Army than indeed they were. Hereupon, the Battel was begun, and fiercely carried on by both Parties. The Fight being a long time doubtful, the *Scots* by the encouragement of their Leaders, putting them in mind of their double Victory, took fresh Courage, and charged the Enemy with such Violence, that they broke their Ranks, and put them to flight. This Fight was at *Roslin*, the *6th* of the *Calends* of *March*, in the Year 1302.

And overthrow the *English* at *Roslin* in *Mid-lothian*.

Feb. 24.

As the Victory was the more Famous, being obtained by but One Army, over Three, in one and the same day, so it mightily incensed the Mind of *Edward*. To blot out the Ignominy, and to put an end, at length, to a long lasting War, he therefore Levies an Army bigger than ever he had before, and assaulted *Scotland* both by Sea and Land, and made spoil of it, even unto the uttermost Borders of *Ross*, no Man daring to oppose so great a Force. Only *Wallis* and his Men, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the Rear, sometimes in the Flanks, would snap, either those that rashly went before, or that loitered after; or, that, in Plundering, straggled too far from their Fellows, neither did he suffer them to Stray, far from their Colours. *Edward* sought, by great Promises, to bring * him over to his Party; but his constant Tone, was, *That he had Devoted his Life to his Country, to which it was due, and if he could do it no other Service, yet he would dye in its Defence.* There were some Castles yet remaining, not surrendred to the *English*, as *Urchart* in *Murray*, which was taken by Storm, and all the Defendants put to the Sword; whereupon, the rest surrendred themselves, for fear. After these Exploits, the *English* King joyned his Son *Edward*, whom he had left at *Perth*; and, by the Accession of his Forces, he besieged *Sterling*, which, after a Months Siege, he took; the Garison therein being reduced to the want of all things; the Conditions were only Life and Liberty.

Edward, in revenge, enters into *Scotland* with a vast Army, and subdues all the Country.

Wallace courted by King *Edward*, to come over to his Party, with his stout Answer, in the Negative. Three Miles *East* of *Elgin*.

Liberty. And yet, *William Oliver*, against the tenor of his Articles of Surrender, was detain'd, and sent Prisoner into *England*. When all *Scotland* was reduced, an Assembly of the States was Indicted, by *Edward*, to be held at *St. Andrews*, where all, out of Fear, took an Oath of Allegiance to him, except *Wallis* alone; and, fearing he should be given up by the Nobility (who were much disgusted at him,) to *Edward* his Mortal Enemy, he retired himself into his old Fastnesses, and Lurking holes.

All the Scots Swear Allegiance to K. *Edmund*, except *Wallace*.

Edward, having appointed Governours and Magistrates over all *Scotland*, returned into *England*; but, at his departure, he shewed an evident Demonstration of his great Hatred against the *Scotish* Race, for he was not content only with the taking with him all those, whom he feared would raise new Seditions, but he endeavoured, as much as he could, to abolish the very Memory of the Nation. For, he repealed their Old Laws, and set up the Ecclesiastical State and Ceremonies, according to the Manner of *England*: He caused all Histories, Leagues, and Ancient Monuments, either left by the *Romans*, or, erected by the *Scots*, to be destroyed: He carried all the Books, and all that were Teachers of Learning, into *England*: He sent also to *London*, an un-polished *Marble Stone*; wherein, it was vulgarly Reported and Believed, that the *Fate* of the Kingdom was contained; neither did he leave any thing behind him, which, either upon the account of its Memory, might excite Generous Spirits to the Remembrance of their Ancient *Fortune*, and Condition; or, indeed, which could excite them to any True Greatness of Mind; so that, having broken their Spirits, (as he thought) as well as their Force, and cast them into a servile Dejection; he promised himself a perpetual Peace from *Scotland*. At his Return, he left *Ailmer Valentine*, as his *Regent*, or *Vice-King*, who was to nip all Seditious Attempts, if any did break forth, in the very Bud. Yet, a new War sprang up against him, from whence he little thought.

Edward appoints Magistrates all over *Scotland*.

Edwards Severity Censured.

He carries the Marble Stone into *England*, on which the *Scots* Kings used to be Crowned.

There were some of the Prime Nobility in *Scotland* with *Edward*, as *Robert Bruce*, the Son of him, who contended with *Baliol* for the Kingdom, and *John Cumins*, Sirnamed *Red*, from the colour of his Face, Cousin German to *John Baliol* the last King of *Scotland*. *Edward* called them often to him a-part, and put them severally in a vain hope of the Kingdom, and so he made use of their Assistance in the Conquering of *Scotland*. But, at the last, they discovered the Mockery and Cheat, so that each of them desired nothing more, than a fit Occasion to Revenge the Perfidiousness of that King. But, in regard, they were Corrivals, their mutual Suspicion kept them back from Communicating their Counsels, one to another. At last, *Cumins*, perceiving, that Matters, as managed by *Edward*, were distastful to *Bruce*, he spake to him, and, taking his Rise from the Beginning of their Miseries, deplored much the lamentable Condition of their Country, and greatly inveighed against the Falseness of *Edward*; withal grievously accusing himself and *Bruce* too, that they had, by their Labour and Assistance, helped to cast their Country-Men into this Abyss of Misery. After this first Discourse, they proceeded further, and, each of them promising Silence, they agreed, That *Bruce* should enjoy the Kingdom, and *Cumins* should wave his Right there-

Seeds of new Troubles in *Scotland*.

A formal Agreement between *Cumins* and *Bruce*.

to;

to; but, instead thereof, that he should enjoy all those large and fruitful Possessions, which *Bruce* had in *Scotland*; and, in a Word, that he should be the Second Man in the Kingdom: Those Covenants were Writ down, Sealed and Sworn, betwixt Themselves. Hereupon, *Bruce*, watching an Opportunity to rise in Arms, left his Wife and Children in *Scotland*, and went to the Court in *England*. After his Departure, *Cumins*, (as 'tis reported) either repenting himself of his Agreement; or else, endeavouring fraudulently to remove his Corrival, and so obtain an easier Way to the Kingdom, betrayed their secret Combination to *Edward*; and, in verification thereof, he sent him the Covenants, signed by them Both. Hereupon, *Bruce* was impleaded, as Guilty of *High Treason*, he was forbid to depart the Court, and a Privy Guard set over him, to inspect his Words and Actions. The Kings delay to punish him, in a Crime so manifest, proceeded from a Desire he had to take his Brethren too, before they had heard any bruit of his Execution. In the mean time, *Bruce* was informed by the Earl of *Mountgomery*, his Grandfathers old Friend, of his sudden Danger, who dared not to commit his Advice for his Flight to Writing, being discouraged by *Bruce* his Example, but he sent him a pair of Guilt Spurs, and some Pieces of Gold, as if he had borrowed them of him, the day before. *Robert*, upon the Receipt of the Gift, *as Dangers make Men sagacious*, soon smelt out, what his Meaning was, so that he sent for a Smith in the Night, and commanded him to set on Shoos on Three Horses, the backward way, that so his Flight might not be traced by the Mark of the Horses Feet; and, the same Night, he and Two other Companions, began their Journy, and, Man and Horse being extreamly tired, in Seven days he came to his Castle, situate by *Loch Maban*: There he joyned *David* his Brother, and *Robert Fleming*; to whom he had scarce declared the Cause of his Flight, before he lighted upon a flying Post, who was conveighing Letters from *Cumins*, to *Edward*; The Contents were, *That* Robert *should speedily be put to Death; that there was danger in delay, lest a Man so Nobly Descended, and so Popular as He, adding Boldness to his Wisdom too, should raise New Commotions.* The Perfidiousness of *Cumins* being thus (as well as otherwise,) plainly detected, *Robert* was inflamed with Anger, and rode presently to *Dumfreiz*, where his Adversary, *John Cumins*, was, in the *Franciscans* Church, whom he confronted with his own Letters, which he then shewed him; he very impudently denied them to be His; but *Robert*, no longer able to bridle his Wrath, run him into the Belly with his Dagger, and so left him for Dead. As he was Mounting his Horse, *James Lindsay*, and *Roger Kirkpatrick*, one his Kinsman, the other his old Friend, perceiving by his Countenance, that he was troubled, asked him the Cause; he told them in breif the whole Business, adding withal, That, he *thought*, he had killed *Cumins*. What, says *Lindsay*, will you leave a Matter of that Consequence upon an, I *thought*, and assoon as he had spoke the Word, he ran into the Church and dispatched him quite, and also his Kinsman, *Robert Cumins*, who, endeavoured to save him. This Murder was committed in the Year 1305. on the * Fourth of the *Ides* of *February*. About the same time also, *Wallis* was betrayed

Which *Cumins* discovers to K. *Edward*.

Bruce like to suffer for Treason, but is informed of his danger by a Wife, and flies by Night into *Scotland*.

Bruce's Horses shod backward, to secure his Flight.

Bruce kills *Cumins*, for betraying him.

* *Febr.* 10.

in the County of *Glaſcow*, (where he then hid himſelf) by his own Familiar Friend *John Menteith*, whom the *Engliſh* had Corrupted with Money, and ſo was ſent to *London*; where, by *Edwards* Command, he was wofully Butchered, and his Limbs, for the terrour of others, Hanged up in the moſt noted Places of *London* and *Scotland*. Such an End had this Perſon, the famouſeſt Man of his Time, who deſerved to be compared with the moſt Renowned Captains of Ancient Times, both for his Greatneſs of Mind in undertaking Dangers, and for his Wiſdom and Valour in overcoming Them: For Love to his Country, he was Second to none; who, when others were Slaves, he alone was Free, neither could be induced by Rewards, or Threats, to forſake the Publick Cauſe, which he had once undertaken: His Death was the more to be Lamented, becauſe he was not conquered by his Enemy, but betrayed by his Friend, who had little Reaſon ſo to do.

Wallis, unworthily betrayed by his Friend, is Hang'd and Quartered by *Edward*.

His Character.

Bruce, *The Ninety Seventh King.*

BRUCE ſtayed ſo long, till he had obtained Pardon from the Pope, for killing a Man in *Holy Church*, and then in *April* following, *Anno Domini* 1306. he went to *Scone* and was Crowned King.

The firſt thing he did, knowing, that he had to do with a Powerful Enemy, was, to levy all the Force he could make; but, in regard, the whole Family of the *Cumins*'s (whoſe Greatneſs was never equalled by any in *Scotland*, either before, or ſince) was againſt him, and alſo the Minds of many were offended with him, for his former aſſiſting of the *Engliſh*; and moreover, moſt of the *Scots* were, out of Fear, willing to be quiet under the *Engliſh* Power; yet, he adventured with a ſmall Army, to try his Fortune at * *Methven*, where he was overthrown by *Ailmer*, *Edwards* General, but with little Slaughter, becauſe his Men, ſeeing their own weakneſs, fled away entire, almoſt at the firſt Charge; this was done * on the 13th of the *Calends* of *Auguſt*. And not long after, coming to *Athol*, and deſigning for *Argyle*, his deſign was diſcovered by the *Cumins*'s, and he was forced in his very march, at a place called *Dalree*, i. e. *Kings-land*, to try his Fortune in a Battel, where he was overthrown alſo, but loſt few, in regard every one fled ſeveral ways, as they thought fit: After that time, he had but Two or Three in his Company, for he thought himſelf more ſecure with a few, and thus he wandred up and down in ſecret places, living moſtly a Foreſters Life, and in deſpair of any Aid, if he had a mind again to try his Fortune. For the Vulgar, upon his double Diſcomfiture, drew thence diſcouraging *Omens*, and ſo they all left him, only Two of his old Friends *Malcolm* Earl of *Lennox*, and *Gilbert Hay*, never forſook him, but remained conſtant to him, in all Misfortunes. The *Engliſh*, not yet ſatiated with his Miſeries, ſend about through all Parts of the Kingdom, to apprehend his Allies and Kindred; and beſides, they Commanded all the Wives and Children of thoſe who were baniſhed, to depart the Kingdom, at a time prefixed. The Wife of *Robert* himſelf, was taken by *William* Earl of *Roſs*, and ſent into *England*; and

Lying upon the River *Amon* near *Perth*.

* *July* the 20.

* *Bruce* overthrown, and retires in a diſguiſe, to ſave his Life.

Neile, his Brother, with his Wife and Children, came into the Hands and Power of the *Engliſh*; his Caſtle of *Kildrummy* being betrayed, by the Governor thereof, to them. Moreover, his Brethren, *Thomas* and *Alexander*, endeavouring to paſs out of *Galway* to *Carick*, were taken at the *Loch Ryan*, (which *Ptolemy* calls, the Bay *Rerigonius*,) and ſent into *England*. Theſe Three were put to Death in ſeveral Places; the reſt of the *Brucian* Party were diligently ſought after, and put alſo to Death, and their Eſtates Confiſcate. The King himſelf, with one or two, and ſometimes alone, wandred up and down, through uncouth Places, daily; yea, hourly, changing his Receſſes; and yet, even thus, not thinking himſelf ſafe enough, from the Cruelty of his Enemies, and the Perfidiouſneſs of his Subjects, he paſſed over to another Friend of his, into the *Æbudæ*; where he lurked for ſome Months: And, in regard, he did no where appear, he was thought to be Dead, and ſo they left ſearching for him. This Report, as it made for his Safety, ſo, if it had continued long, it would have taken away all Hopes from his Friends, of his ever obtaining and recovering the Kingdom. Whereupon, he judged it fit to attempt ſomething, and receiving a ſmall Force from his Friends, where he had hid himſelf, he ſailed over into *Carick*; and, by Means of his ſudden coming, he there ſurprized a Caſtle, which was his own Inheritance, but Gariſoned by a ſtrong party of *Engliſh*, whom he put all to the Sword; and, leſt his Paſſage might be ſtopped by the Enemy, he paſſed over by the Bay of *Clyde*, and came to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Ennerneſs*, ſituate on a pretty high Hill, by the River *Neſs*, which, as being in a remote Country, and negligently Guarded, he alſo happily took.

Bruce, thought to be Dead, ſtarts out from his Retirement, and takes ſome Caſtles.

The Report hereof being divulged, occaſioned great Thoughts of Heart all over *Scotland*. For, beſides his *Old* Friends, who came to him, from all Places, out of their Lurking Holes, the Pride of the *Engliſh* had raiſed him up many *New* ones; for They, thinking that he had been dead, began to Lord it more imperiouſly, and cruelly, than ever they had done, before. So that his Forces being conſiderably encreaſed, and that with very good Soldiers, whom either Labour had hardned, or Deſpair urged to the moſt deſperate Attempts, he took all the Caſtles in the North of *Scotland*, and demoliſhed them, as they were taken; partly, That he might not weaken his Forces by dividing them into Gariſons; and partly, That the Enemy might have no Harbour there. Thus, overcoming all as he went, he came into the very Heart of the Kingdom: *John Cumins*, Earl of *Buchan*, being informed thereof, gathered together a ſuddain Company of *Scots* and *Engliſh*, even as many as were able to bear Arms; when he was come to the Foreſt, through which the River *Esk* falls down into the Plains of *Mern*, he overtook him at a Place, called * *Glenesk*. *Bruce*, perceiving that the Narrowneſs of the Paſſages was advantageous for his Men, ſtood ready to Fight, expecting his Enemy. *Cumins* drew out his Army in length, imagining, that *Bruce* would be aſtoniſhed at the ſight of ſuch a Multitude. But when he ſaw, that he ſtirred not from the Place, and being alſo Conſcious of the Weakneſs of his Men, he durſt not draw them forth into a Place of greater Diſadvantage. Hereupon, he firſt ſent an *Herald* to *Bruce* for a Truce; wherein,

* In the *Braes* of *Angus*, on the Head of the North-Water *Esk*.

Cumins of *Buchan* Arms againſt *Bruce*, but dares not fight him.

wherein, they might Treat of Terms of Peace: The Truce being obtained, *Cumins* made no more Mention of Peace, but encreas'd his Forces as much as ever he could; neither would he truſt the *Scots* that were with him, (the Favour of many of them inclining to *Robert*,) but craved Aid from *England*. In the mean time, *Bruce*, to remove the Contemptible Opinion, which the Engliſh might conceive of him; and to encourage the Spirits of his Friends, was always nibbling at his Enemies Heels; here taking *ſome*, there *others*; and, ſurprizing their weakeſt Gariſons, he never ſtaid long in a Place, neither gave he Opportunity to the Enemy to fight him.

But about this time, *Simon Frazer* and *Walter Longan*, brave Soldiers Both, and Lovers of their Country, were taken by ſome of the *Cuminian* Faction, delivered over to the *Engliſh*, and put to Death at *London*. And almoſt about the ſame time, *James Douglas* joined himſelf with *Bruce* his Party. He was the Son of *William*, a young Man, paſſing well inſtructed in all the Liberal Arts; who, when he was ſtudying at *Paris*, hearing that his Father was caſt into Priſon, by the *Engliſh*, where he ſoon after Died, returned home to receive the Advice of his Friends, how he might Order the Reſidue of his Life: But, being deprived of his Patrimony, and all his Friends variouſly diſperſed, in great Want he repaired to *William Lambert*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews*; by whom he was admitted, as one of his Family, and kindly entertained, until King *Edward* came to Beſiege *Sterlin*, after he had Conquered almoſt all *Scotland*, beſides. *Lambert*, going thither to Salute the King, carried *Douglas* along with him, and having gotten a fit Opportunity, he ſpake to the King to reſtore his Patrimony, to take him into his Protection, and to make Uſe of his Faithful Endeavours in his Service; ſome other things he alſo added, in Praiſe of the young Man; the King, hearing of his Name and Family, ſpake very roughly concerning the ſtubbornneſs of *William* his Father, with that adding, That he intended not to make any uſe of his Son, nor of any Aſſiſtance of his; and, as for his Paternal Eſtate, he could not reſtore it, if he would, becauſe he had gratified his Friends with it, who had merited well of him. *James*, being thus diſmiſſed by the King, ſtayed with *Lambert*, till *Bruce* came to *Merne*. And then, that might he omit no Occaſion to prejudice *Edward* (whoſe Mind, he found was implacably bent againſt him) he took away *Lamberts* Horſes, and ſome Money, not without his Privity, and came to *Bruce*; and his Service was of great uſe to him, in many ſharp Storms, afterwards.

James Douglas joyns with Bruce.

Not long after, Both Kings, almoſt in the ſame Moment of time, fell grievouſly Sick; *Edward*, being buſie in Preparations for War againſt *Scotland*, died within a few days at *Lancaſter*, leaving his Second Son, *Edward*, for his Heir, who was called *Edward* of *Carnarvon*, from the Place where he was Born; he, marching into his Enemies Country, with the Army, which his Father had recruited, ſent a Proclamation before to *Dumfreiz*, *That all the* Scots *ſhould meet him there*, but there came in but a Few, and thoſe out of the Neighbouring Parts, and very heavily too. He being alſo informed, That his Matters beyond Sea went not well on, left a Force, ſuch as he thought ſufficient, to quell the Inſurrection in *Scotland*, and ſettling things as ſoon as he could, he paſſed over into *France*. In the interim, *Robert*,

Burgh. de Sand.

hearing of *Edward*'s Death, was somewhat relieved, and began to hope better of his Affairs; and so the strength of his Mind, supported his weak Body. But, not being ignorant, how much the sole Conduct of a General might contribute to a Victory, he so prepared himself for the extreme Push of Fortune, that he expected his Enemy and a Battel. On the other side, the *English* King coming back more slowly than his Friends hoped; *John Cumins*, being greedy of the Glory, That the War was ended by him, hoping also, that *Robert* was dead, by reason of his sore Disease added to his other Hardships; or, at least, that his Sickness would hinder him from being present in the Army, gathered together all the Forces he could make, and marched directly towards his Enemy. On the other side, *Robert*, to encourage his Men, caused himself to be set on Horseback. His very Sight, tho' he was supported by Two Men, and could not stay long, yet gave such Heart to his Men, that they never began any Fight more Courageously, than they did That. *Cumins*, who had placed the Hope of his Victory in the Sickness of his Enemy, being not able to keep his Men together, neither by Persuasions nor Punishments, was forced to fly away in their Company, many were taken in the pursuit, and all courteously used. This Victory gotten at * *Ennerury*, as it recovered the King from his Disease, so it was the *Omen* of his future prosperous Proceedings; for, from that day forward, he succeeded in All that he attempted. A while after, he marched into the Country of *Argyle*, which he pillaged, and forced *Alexander*, the Lord of it, to a Surrender, who, retiring into *England*, in a little time, there ended his miserable Life, in great Want. The same Year, the Day before the Calends of * *July*, *Edward Bruce* also had prosperous success at a Battel fought at *Die*, a River of *Galway*; *Rolland*, a Noble Knight of *Galway* was slain in the Fight; *Donald*, the *Islander*, was taken Prisoner, as he was flying away; and the whole Country of *Galway* was wasted, far and near. These Tumults rouz'd up *Edward* (who was rather desirous to live in Peace) to a War, even against his Will; for, perceiving that his Affairs were ill-managed, he, the next Year, with a great Army of *English*, entred *Scotland*, and there joyned a numerous Body of *Scots*, who had not yet revolted from the *English*. With those Forces he pierced as far as *Ranfrow*, and then retreated, having performed no Memorable Act, in his Expedition; either, because he himself was of a dull and unactive Nature; or else, because *Robert* (besides the scarcity which did then generally afflict all *Scotland*) had caused all the Provisions to be carried away from those Places, thrô which his Army was to march, and had laid them up, more out of the way. After his Departure, *Robert* spent the rest of the Year in recovering those Castles which the *English* yet held, of which Many surrendred before they were Besieged, as despairing of any help from *England*.

Bruce causes himself to be carried, sick, into his Army, and overthrows *John Cumins*.

* A Town in *Garioch*.

* *June* 30th. *Bruce* conquers all *Galway*.

Edward enters *Scotland* against *Bruce*, but retreats again.

The next Year, which was 1310. *Bruce*, to cry quits with the *English* for the damage they had done in *Scotland*, marched twice into *England* with his Army, and returned back, laden with spoils, without any Encounter at all. The Two next Years, he recovered almost all the strong Garisons, which yet remained in the hands of the *English*. He took *Perth* by Storm, and put all the Garison Soldiers,

Bruce invades *England*.

Soldiers, both *Engliſh* and *Scots*, promiſcuouſly to the Sword; and, that others might be deterred from the like Obſtinacy by their Example, he razed their Walls, and filled up their Trenches. The Terror of that Example cauſed *Dumfriez*, *Lanerick*, *Air*, and *Bote*, and many other weaker Forts to Surrender. At the beginning of the Spring, *Roxburgh* was taken by *James Douglas*, when the Gariſon was intent upon their Sports and Paſtimes, in thoſe Revels which were wont to be celebrated at the beginning of Lent. And not long after, *Thomas Randolph* recovered the Strong Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; The Iſle of *Man* was alſo ſurrendred, and the Caſtles thereof demoliſhed, that they might not, again, be a Receptacle to the Enemy. In the mean time, *Edward Bruce* cloſely beſieged the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, ſcituate on a Rock, ſteep every way but one, where the Paſſage to it lay. It was defended by *Philip Mowbray*, a vigilant Commander, who, perceiving the Succeſs of the *Brucians* in *Scotland*; and, foreſeeing a Siege, had mightily ſtored and fortified it with Arms and Proviſions, before hand. And therefore, when *Edward* had fruitleſsly ſpent many days in beſieging it, and had no hopes to carry it, by force, That he might not ſeem to be repulſed without doing any thing, he enters into Conditions with *Mowbray*, 'That, if he was not relieved in an Year, to 'commence from that very Day, by the *Engliſh*, then the Caſtle was 'to be ſurrendred, and the Gariſon ſhould have Liberty, Bag and 'Baggage, to march whither they pleaſed. Theſe Conditions did much diſpleaſe the King, yet, that he might not detract from his Brothers Credit, he reſolved to obſerve them. Yet, in regard he did not doubt, but the *Engliſh* would come at the time appointed, he prepares, as much, as, in ſo great a ſcarcity of things, he was able, to manage his laſt Encounter with his potent Enemy. And indeed, *Edward*, conſidering, that he was not only diſpoſſeſſed of *Scotland*, whoſe People his Father had left to him conquered and broken; but that *England* was alſo in danger, had a deſire to root out ſo Rebellious, Diſobedient and Unquiet a Nation. In order whereunto, he levied an Army, not only of *Engliſh* and ſuch *Scots* who adhered to them, but he increaſed it by ſupplys from his Tranſmarine Dominions, (which *then* were many, great, and opulent) ſo that his Army was bigger, than ever any King of *England* had, before. Yea, he received alſo an Acceſſion of Force from his Allyes beyond the Seas, eſpecially from *Flanders* and *Holland*, whom his Father had ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted againſt *Philip*, King of *France*. They ſay, it conſiſted of above 100000 Fighting men. There followed alſo his Army, a Multitude of Baggagers, Attendants, and Sutlers, who carried Proviſion both by Sea and Land, becauſe they were to come into a Country not very fruitful of it ſelf; and beſides, which had, ſo many years before, been haraſſed with all the Miſeries of War. Moreover, there was a Multitude of Such, as were to ſet out, or deſcribe, Colonies, and to receive Dividends of Land, who brought their Wives and Children along with them; ſo that the Force of ſo Rich, Powerful and Flouriſhing a Kingdom, as *England* was, being thus, as it were, abridged and epitomized into one Army, the Conſideration thereof produced ſuch a Confidence in them all, That, now, all the Diſcourſe was, not of Fighting, but rather of Dividing the Spoil. *Bruce*, hearing

He takes *Perth*, *Dumfriez*, &c. with *Edinburgh* and the Iſle of *Man*, from the *Engliſh*.

Sterlin-Caſtle capitulates with *Edward Bruce*.

Edward of *England* enters *Scotland* with a vaſt Army.

of this great Preparation of the Enemy, prepares alſo his Forces, far inferiour in Number to ſo great a Multitude, as being Thirty Thouſand only, but ſuch, as were inured to Hardſhips, and the Toyl of a Civil War; and who now carried the Hopes of their Lives, Fortunes, and of all that is dear to Men, as it were, on the Point of their Swords. With this Army, he ſate down on the left Bank of the River *Bannock*. This River hath ſteep Banks on Both ſides, and it had but a few, and thoſe too, narrow, Paſſages, or Fords; it is about Two Miles from *Sterlin*; Below the Hills, before it makes its influxe into the *Forth*, it paſſeth thrô a little leveller Ground, yet, here and there, it is Marſhy. In the Winter it uſually runs with a rapid Torrent; but, in that hot Time of the Year, the Water was but Low and Fordable, in many Places. *Bruce*, by how much the Weaker in Force, was ſo much the more Circumſpect, and therefore he uſed Art and Policy to make the Paſſage over the River more difficult, to the *Engliſh*, who poſſeſſed the right-hand Bank thereof. In order whereunto, he cauſed deep Trenches to be dug in level Places, wherein he faſtened ſharp Stakes, or Spikes, and covered them with ſome light Turffs a top, that ſo his Stratagem might not be diſcovered; and moreover, he cauſed * *Calthrops* of Iron to be thrown up and down on the Ground, in Places moſt convenient.

Bruce his Policy in a Fight.

* Small Engins, ordinarily round, with ſharp Iron Spikes, ſtanding out on each ſide of Them, ſo that, throw them which way ſoever you will upon the Ground, one Spike or other turns upward, and wounds, or pierces the Horſes Foot, that treads upon it, and thus makes him Lame and unfit for Service.

Wherefore, when Camp was almoſt joyned to Camp, as being on different Hills, only a ſmall River between them: *Edward* ſent 800 Horſe a little before to *Sterlin*, who marched a little off from the Camp; *Robert*, imagining, that they were ſent to plunder in the Neighbourhood, gave command to *Thomas Randolph* to follow them, with 500 Horſe, either to prevent the ſtragglers in waſting the Country, or, if a fit Occaſion were offered, to fight them. The *Engliſh*, ſeeing them, deſiſted from their intended March to *Sterlin*, and faced about. The Fight was ſharp, and continued long, the Victory inclining, for a time, to neither Party, ſo that *James Douglas*, being concerned for the *Scots*, who were the fewer in Number, earneſtly deſired *Bruce*, That he might go and relieve them. *Bruce* peremptorily denied him, whereupon, tho', at preſent, a Spectator only from an Hill, yet he reſolved, if the *Scots* were further diſtreſſed, to ſuccour them; but, perceiving the *Engliſh* to give back, and the *Scots* to get Ground, he ſtopped his March, that ſo he might detract nothing from another mans Praiſe. The *Engliſh*, having loſt but thoſe Few out of ſo numerous an Army, were not diſcouraged in their Spirits, and alſo the *Scots* prepared themſelves for the Encounter, the next day, as if they had already received an *Omen* of a compleat Victory.

The Night, thô very ſhort, (for the Battel was fought on the 9*th* of the *Calends* of * *July*) yet ſeemed long to both Parties, for the Eagerneſs they had to Fight. All the *Scots* were divided into Three Brigades, The King led the Middle, or Main Battel; His Brother Commanded the Right Wing; and *Randolf*, the Left. The *Engliſh*, beſides

* June 23.

beſides a multitude of Archers, which they placed on the outſide of Both their Wings, had alſo Curiaſſiers, out of *France*. They ſpeeding towards *Randolf*, who ſtood on the Lower Ground, and endeavouring to fall obliquely on his Flank, fell ſuddainly into the Ditches made by *Bruce*, where they tumbled one upon another, with great Slaughter, both of Man and Horſe. They that firſt fell in, were Slain by the preſſure of Thoſe that fell upon them, and the laſt Ranks being diſcouraged at the loſs of the Firſt, retreated back. This Terror did alſo ſomewhat retard the Foot, for they were afraid of falling into the like Snares. There alſo did happen another Accident, which, thô little in itſelf, yet contributed very much (as ſuch Nicetiesare wont to do in War) to the main Chance. *Robert* rode up and down before his Army, to keep them in their Ranks, having a Batoon in his Hand, a certain *Engliſhman* knew him, and ran at him with his Spear. The King avoided the blow, and, as the Horſe, in his Carrier, ran a little beyond him, ſtruck his Rider dead with his Batoon, and down he tumbled from his Horſe, to the ground. The Common Soldiers highly commended the perillous Audacity of the King; and were hardly kept in by their Commanders, but hand over head, would ruſh upon the Enemy, with ſuch an eagerneſs of Mind, that they were likely to break their Enemies Ranks, unleſs the *Engliſh* Archers, who were placed in their Wings, had repulſed them with great Loſs; and *Bruce* alſo ſent in ſome Troops of Horſe, who drove them back; Yet, in this Action, a Miſtake did more prejudice to the *Engliſh*, than their Enemy did. The Rabble-Rout, which followed the Camp, cauſed the Baggage-men to mount their Draught-horſes and to hang out ſome Linen Cloth inſtead of Enſigns, thus they ſtood on an Hill, where they might eaſily be ſeen, and made an Appearance of a new Army. The *Engliſh*, who ſtood neareſt, were ſurprized with a double Fear, and betook themſelves to their Heels. Their Fear diſordered the reſt of the Army. A Multitude of common Soldiers were ſlain the purſuit; ſome of our Writers ſay, *That Fifty Thouſand* Engliſh *fell at that Fight*. *Caxton*, an *Engliſhman*, doth not ſet down the preciſe Number, but, he ſays, it was a mighty Overthrow, an innumerable Multitude being ſlain; and he did well in not being poſitive in the Number, for it was hard to compute it, in regard the Flight was ſo ſcattered, wherein more periſhed than in the Battel. This is certain, the Slaughter was ſo great, that the *Engliſh*, thô they had many Provocations from the *Scots*, yet did not ſtir for Two or Three Years, after. Of the *Engliſh* Nobility, there fell about Two hundred, and almoſt an equal Number were taken Priſoners. The Priſoners related, That the King himſelf began to fly firſt, and if he had not been received into the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, by the Earl of *March*, and ſo ſent in a Skiff by Water to *Berwick*, he had not eſcaped the hands of *Douglaſs*, who, with 400 Horſe, purſued him Forty Miles. Amongſt the Priſoners, there was taken a Monk, One of thoſe who are called *Carmelites*, from Mount *Carmel* in *Syria*, he was accounted a good Poet for that Age, and was brought into the Army to celebrate the Victory of the *Engliſh*, in a Poem; but, they being beaten, he Sung their Overthrow in a *Canto*, (for which he had his Liberty.) His Verſe was rude and barbarous, yet, it did not altogether

The *Engliſh* receive a great overthrow at *Bannokk*, near *Sterling*.

altogether displease the Ears of the Men of that Age. Neither was the Victory unbloody to the *Scots*; they lost above Four thousand Men, amongst whom, there were but Two Knights: Hereupon, *Sterlin* Castle was surrendred, according to Compact, and the Garison sent away.

About these times there happened a Passage, not unworthy to be related, in regard of the variety of Providences, in a narrow compass of time. *John* * *Menthet*, who betrayed his Friend *Wallis* to the *English*, and was therefore worthily hated by the *Scots*, received, amongst other Rewards, the Government of the Castle of *Dumbritton* from the *English*. When other Forts were recovered, That only, or, but very few with it, held out for the *English*. And because it was naturally impregnable, the King dealt with the Governor, by his Friends and Kindred, to Surrender it. He demanded the Country, or Earldom of *Lennox*, as the Price of his Treachery, and Surrender. Neither would he ever so much as hear of any other Terms. In this Case, the King did waver and fluctuate in his Mind, what to do; on the One side, he earnestly desired to have the Castle; yet, on the Other, he did not so much prize it, as, for its sake, to disoblige the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been his Fast, and almost his only, Friend, in all his Calamities. But the Earl of *Lennox*, hearing of it, and coming in, soon decided the Controversie, and persuaded the King, by all means, to accept the Condition. Hereupon, the Bargain was made, as *John Menteith* would have it, and Solemnly confirmed; But when the King was going to take Possession of the Castle, a Carpenter, one *Rolland*, met him in the Wood of *Cholcon*, about a Mile from it, and having obtained Liberty to speak with the King, concerning a matter of great importance, he told him, what Treachery the Governor did intend against him; Yea, and had prepared to execute it; It was This, In a Wine-Cellar, concealed, and under Ground, a sufficient number of *Englishmen* were hid, who, when the rest of the Castle was given up, and the King secure, were to issue forth upon him as he was at Dinner, and either to kill, or take him Prisoner. Hereupon, the King, upon the Surrender of the other Parts of the Castle by *John*, being kindly invited to a Feast, refused to eat; till, as he had searched all other parts of the Castle, so he had viewed that Wine-Cellar, also. The Governor excused it, pretending, That the Smith, who had the Key, was out of the way; but that he would come again anon; the King, not satisfied therewith, caused the Door to be broken open, and so the Plot was discovered; The *English* were brought forth in their Armour, and being severally examined, confessed the whole Matter; and they added also another discovery, *viz.* That a Ship rode ready in the next Bay to carry the King into *England*. The Complices in this wicked Design were put to death; but *John* was kept in Prison; because the King was loth to offend his Kindred, and especially his Sons in Law, in so dangerous a time. For he had many Daughters, all of them very beautiful, and Married to Men, rich enough, but Factious. Therefore, in a time of such imminent Danger, the Battel drawing near, wherein All was at stake, lest the Mind of any powerful Man might be rendred averse from him, and thereby inclined to practise against him.

* Or *Menteith*

* Or *Calhound* in the Country of *Lennox*.

The Treachery of *Menteith*, who before betrayed *Wallace*, against the King, discovered.

him, *John* was releaſed out of Priſon, upon this Condition, (for the performance whereof, his Sons in Law undertook) That he ſhould be placed in the Front of the Battel, and there, by his Valour, ſhould wait the Deciſion of Providence. And indeed, the Man, otherwiſe fraudulent, was, in this, as good as his Word, for he behaved himſelf ſo Valiantly, that that days Work procured him, not only Pardon for what was paſt, but large Rewards for the future.

Menthet Rewarded for his Valour in *Bannock* Fight.

The Fame of this Victory, being divulged over all *Britain*, did not only abate the Fierceneſs of the *Engliſh*, but raiſed up the *Scots* even from extream Deſperation; ſupplying them not only with Money, but with Glory, with Arms and other Furniture for War. Neither did they only releaſe their own Men, who were made Priſoners, either in Fight, or upon Surrenders, but alſo they raiſed great Sums, by the Redemption of the *Engliſh*, they had taken. And, out of the Spoils, many recompenſed and made up the Loſſes they had received in former Times, yea, and got great Eſtates too, for the future. For the *Engliſh* came with all their Precious Things about them, not as to a War, but as to an aſſured Victory. The King, having thus proſperouſly ſucceeded in the War, ſpent the following Winter in ſettling the State of the Kingdom, which was much weakened by ſo long a War, and alſo in beſtowing Rewards on the well-deſerving. The next Spring, *Berwick* was taken from the *Engliſh*, after they had enjoyed it 20 Years. In the next place, he Convened an Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Air*, a Town of *Kyle*. 'There, in a full Aſſembly, by 'the Suffrages of all the Orders, the Kingdom was confirmed to '*Bruce*; and afterwards, becauſe the King had but one only Daughter, 'left by his former Wife; The States, remembring what publick Miſ-'chiefs had happened by the Diſpute, which in former times had been 'managed concerning the Right of Succeſſion, made a Decree, That 'if the King left no Iſſue Male, his Brother *Edward* ſhould ſucceed 'him in the Kingdom, and his Sons, in order, after him. But, if he 'alſo ſhould deceaſe without Iſſue Male, then the Crown was to 'deſcend to *Mary*, the Daughter of *Robert*, and to her Poſterity; 'yet ſo, that the Nobility were to provide her an Husband fit for her 'Royal Eſtate, and for the Succeſſion in the Kingdom. For it was 'lookt upon, as far more juſt, That an Husband ſhould be choſen for 'the young Lady, than that ſhe ſhould chuſe an Husband for her ſelf, 'and a King for the whole Land. It was alſo Decreed, That, in the 'Minority of the King, *Thomas Randolfe*, or, if he ſhould miſcarry, '*James Douglas*, ſhould be Tutors to the King, and Governors of the 'Kingdom. The Fame of *Robert*'s noble Exploits, both at home and abroad, excited the *Iriſh* to ſend Ambaſſadors to him, To put themſelves, and their Kingdom, under his Protection. And, if his Domeſtick Affairs ſhould not ſuffer him to accept of the Kingdom, himſelf; yet, that he would permit his Brother *Edward* to do it, that ſo a Nation, allied to him, might no longer ſuffer under the cruel, inſulting, and intolerable Domination and Servitude of the *Engliſh*. The *Iriſh* wrote alſo to the *Pope*, to the ſame purpoſe; and he, by his Miſſives, deſired the *Engliſh* to forbear wronging and oppreſſing the *Iriſh*; but in vain, ſo that *Edward Bruce* went thither with a great Army, and, by univerſal conſent, was ſaluted, King. In the firſt

Berwick taken by *Bruce*.

The Kingdom confirmed to *Bruce*.

Bruce deſired, to accept the Crown of *Ireland*:

He drives the *English* out of *Ulster*.

year of his Arrival he drove the *English* out of all *Ulster*, and reduced it to his Obedience; yea, he passed over all the rest of the Island with his Victorious Army. The next year, a new Army was sent over from *England*; *Robert*, perceiving, that the War would grow hotter, levied new Forces, and made haste over to his Brother. He suffered much in that Expedition, by his want of Provision, and when he was but about one days March from him, he heard, That he, and all his Men were defeated, the Third of the *Nones* of *October*. The report is, That *Edward*, edged on by too much desire of Glory, did precipitate the Fight, lest his Brother should share with him in the Glory of the Victory.

Edward Bruce overthrown in *Ireland* by the *English*. *October* 5.

The King of *England*, being informed, that the Flower of the Militia of *Scotland* did attend *Bruce* in a Foreign Country, and thinking This a fit opportunity offered him to Revenge the Losses of former times, sent a great Army, under select Commanders, into *Scotland*. *Douglas*, Governor of the Borders, fought with them thrice in several places, and slew almost all their Commanders, and a great part of the Souldiers. The *English* having sped ill with their Land Army, came into the *Forth* with a Naval Force, and infested all the Sea Coasts by their Excursions: The Earl of *Fife* sent 500 Horse to restrain the Plunderers; but they, not daring to encounter so great a Multitude, in their Retreat, met with *William Sinclare*, Bishop of the *Caledonians*, accompanied with about 60 Horse, who, perceiving the Cause of their Retreat, did most grievously reproach them for their Cowardize, and cried out, *All you, that wish well to* Scotland, *follow me*; and thereupon, catching up a Lance, they all cheerfully followed him, and he made so brisk an Assault on the scattered Plunderers, that they fled hastily to their Ships; and whilst they all endeavoured to get aboard, one Ship, overladen with Passengers, was sunk, and all, that were in it, drowned. This Attempt of *Sinclare*'s was so grateful to the King, That, ever after, he called him, *His Bishop*. That Summer, when all the *English* Counties, bordering on the *Scots*, lay desolate and unmanured, by reason of want of Provision, (Diseases also abounding amongst all sorts of tame Animals and Cattle) as also by frequent Invasions; To remedy this Inconvenience, *Edward* came to *York*, but there he was not able to compleat an Army, by reason of the Paucity of the Inhabitants; so that the *Londoners*, and the Parts adjoining were fain to supply him with Soldiers, thô many of them had their Passes and Discharges from all Military Services, before. At length he made up an Army, and marches to besiege *Berwick*, he was scarce arrived there, when *Thomas Randolfe* passed over the River *Solway*, and marched another way into *England*; where he wasted all with Fire and Sword, no Man resisting him; yea, in some Places, he could hardly meet with any Man, at all. For a Plague, which Reigned the former year, had made such a Devastation, that the Face of things seemed very piteous, even to their very Enemies. When the *Scots* * had marched above 100 Miles, and had fired all, especially about *York*, the Archbishop thereof, more for the Indignity of the Thing, than the Confidence in his Force, took Arms. He gathered together an Army numerous enough, but raw and undisciplined, consisting of a promiscuous Company of

An *English* Army worsted in *Scotland*.

Bishop *Sinclar*'s Valour against the *English*.

Edward besieges *Berwick*.

Randolfe invades *England*, and overthrows the Arch-Bishop of *York*.

(Priests,

Prieſts, Artificers, and Country-Labourers, whom he led, with more Boldneſs, than Conduct, againſt his Invaders; but, being overcome by them, he loſt many of his Men, and He, with ſome few, ſaved themſelves by Flight. There was ſo great a Slaughter of Prieſts made there, That the *Engliſh*, for a long time after, called that Battel, *The White Battel.*

The *White Battel*, What?

Edward, hearing of this Overthrow, leſt his Conquering Enemy ſhould make further and greater Attempts, brake up his Siege, and retreats to *York*, (the *Scots* having withdrawn themſelves) and from thence into the heart of his Kingdom. The *Engliſh* were buſied with Domeſtick Tumults, ſo that a ſhort Truce was made, rather becauſe both Kings were tired with the War, than, otherwiſe, any whit deſirous of a Pacification. In this Calm, *Robert* Indicts a Convention of all the Eſtates and Nobility. And, becauſe the Changes, happening in ſo long a War, had confounded the Right of Mens Poſſeſſions, he commanded every one to produce and ſhew, By what Title he held his Eſtate. This Matter was equally grievous to the Old Poſſeſſors, as well as the New. Valiant Men thought, they enjoyed That by a good Right, which they had taken from their Enemies; and they took it much amiſs, That what they had got, as the Price of their Military Toil, yea, of their Blood too, ſhould be rent from them, in Times of Peace. As for the old Owners of Eſtates, ſeeing there was no one Houſe almoſt, but had ſuffered in the War, They had loſt their Deeds, (by which, they held their Lands) as well as their other Goods. Whereupon, they all entred upon a Project, valiant in appearance, but bold and temerarious in the event. For when the King, in the Parliament, commanded them to produce their Titles, every one drew his Sword, and cried out, *We carry our Titles in our Right Hands*; The King, being amazed at this ſudden and ſurpriſing Spectacle, though he took the Matter very heinouſly, yet he ſtifled his Indignation for the preſent, until a fit Time of Revenge. And it was not long, before an Occaſion was offered him, to ſhew it; Divers of the Nobles, being conſcious to themſelves of the Audacity of their late Attempt, and fearing to be puniſhed for it, conſpire together to betray the Kingdom to the *Engliſh*. The Fact was diſcovered to the King, and that ſo plainly, that the Letters, declaring the Manner, Time, and Place, were intercepted, and their Crime made evident. Whereupon they were all taken, and brought to the King, without any Tumult at all raiſed at their Apprehenſion. And becauſe it was much feared, That *William Souls*, Governor of *Berwick*, would deliver up both Town and Caſtle to the *Engliſh*, before the Conſpiracy was publickly divulged, he made a Journy thither, as it were, by the by. A Convention was made at *Perth*, to try the Priſoners, where the Letters were produced, and every ones Seal known; being convicted of *High-Treaſon*, by their own Confeſſion, they were put to Death. The Chief were *David Brechin*, and *William* Lord *Souls*, of the Nobility; alſo *Gilbert Mayler*, *Richard Brown*, and *John Logie*; beſides, there were many others of all Orders accuſed, but there being only Suſpicion againſt them, they were diſmiſſed. The Death of *David Brechin* only, did diverſly affect Mens minds; for, beſides that he was the Son of the Kings Siſter, he was accounted the

Edward retreats upon a Truce with the *Scots*.

Robert calls for the Deeds of Mens Lands.

Whereupon he receives an Affront.

A Conſpiracy againſt *Bruce* diſcovered, and the Actors put to death.

Prime young man of his Age, for all Arts both of Peace and War. He had given given evident Proofs of his Valour in *Syria*, in the *Holy War*. He, being ſummoned in by the Popular Conſpirators, never gave his Conſent to the Treaſon, only his Crime was, That, being made acquainted with ſo foul a Machination, he did not Diſcover it. The Body of *Roger Mowbray*, who dyed before Conviction, was Condemned to all kind of Ignominy, but the King remitted that Puniſhment, and cauſed it to be buried.

Some ſome few Months before this Proceſs was had, the Popes Legates, who, at the requeſt of the *Engliſh*, came to compoſe the Diſſenſions betwixt the Kingdoms, not being able to do any thing therein, leſt they might ſeem to have done nothing for the *Engliſh* in their Legation, Excommunicated the *Scots*, and forbad them the Uſe of Publick Divine Service, (the Popes Thunderbolts being terrible, in Thoſe days.) *Bruce*, to ſhew how little he valued the Popes Curſes in an unjuſt Cauſe, gathered an Army and invaded *England*, following the Legate at his Departure, almoſt at his very heels. There he made a foul havock with Fire and Sword, and came as far as the *Croſs* at *Stanmore*. The *Engliſh*, not to ſuffer ſo great Ignominy to paſs unrevenged, levied ſo numerous an Army, that they promiſed themſelves an eaſy Victory, even without Blood. *Robert* thought it dangerous to run the Hazard of All in a Battel againſt the mighty Army of ſo great a King, but rather he reſolved to help out the matter with Policy, rather than by Force. He drave all the Cattle into the Mountains, whither Armies could not, but with great Difficulty, aſcend; and all other things of uſe for an Army, he cauſed, either to be repoſited in Fortify'd Places, or to be wholly ſpoiled.

The *Scots* Excommunicated

Bruce invades *England*.

The *Engliſh*, who came thither in hopes of a ſpeedy Battel, and had not Proviſions for a long March; when they perceived, what Devaſtation was made in their own Country, were inflamed with Anger, Hatred, and Deſire of Revenge, and reſolved to pierce into the middſt of *Scotland*, and to ferret the King out of his boroughs; yea, and force him to a Fight, tho' againſt his Will. For the Greatneſs of his Forces did encourage him to hope, that, either he ſhould blot out his former Ignominy by an Eminent Victory, or elſe, ſhould recompenſe his Loſs lately received, by an enlarged Depopulation; With this Reſolution he came in all haſt to *Edinburgh*; he ſpared Churches only in his March, but the further he was to go, the more ſcarcity he was like to find; So that, in five days time, he was forced to retreat. At his return, he ſpoiled all things, both Sacred and Profane. He burnt the Monaſteries of *Driburgh* and *Mulroſs*, and killed thoſe old Monks, whom either Weakneſs, or Confidence in their Old Age, had cauſed to ſtay there. As ſoon as *Bruce* was informed, that *Edward* was returned, for want of Proviſion, and that Diſeaſes did rage in his Army, ſo that he had loſt more Men than if he had been overcome in Battel, he almoſt trod upon his Heels, with an Army, noted more for the Goodneſs, than the Number, of Soldiers, and came as far as *York*, making grievous havock as he went. He had almoſt taken the King Himſelf by an unexpected Aſſault at the Monaſtery of * *Biland*, where *Edward*, in a tumultuary Battel, was put to Flight, all his Houſehold-ſtuff, Money, Bag and Baggage being

Edward enters *Scotland*, but ſoon retreats.

In *Tevioidale*.

Bruce follows him and had almoſt taken him in a Skirmiſh.

* Not far from *Malton* in *York-ſhire*.

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ing taken. To blot out the Ignominy of this Infamous Flight, *Andrew Berkley*, Earl of *Carliſle*, was a while after accuſed, as if he had been bribed to betray the *Engliſh*, and ſo he loſt his Life, in Puniſhment for the Cowardize of another Man. *And ex Berkly put to Death.*

The next Year, a double Embaſſy was ſent, One to the Pope, to reconcile him to the *Scots*, from whom he had been alienated by the Calumnies of the *Engliſh*; and Another to renew the Ancient League with the *French*. They Both eaſily obtained what they deſired: For, when the Pope underſtood, That the Controverſy aroſe by the Injury and Default of *Edward* the Firſt, who affirmed, 'That the King of *Scots* 'ought to obey, as a Feudatary, the King of *England*; and, That 'the *Engliſh* had nothing to defend their Claim by, but old Fables, and 'late Injuries; and beſides, That, in Proſperity, being Summoned 'by the Pope, they always avoided an equal Deciſion of Things, 'tho, in their Adverſity, they were always humble ſuiters to him 'for his Aid; and, on the other ſide, the *Scots* always were willing 'to have their Cauſe heard, and never ſhunned the Determination 'of an Equal Judge, nor the Arbitration of any Good men; and 'moreover, when they produced many Grants and Summons of For-'mer Popes, which made for them, and againſt their Enemies, the '*Scots* were always preſent at the day, and the *Engliſh*, tho' they 'had Notice given, never came. Hereupon, the Pope was eaſily reconciled to the *Scots*; and the *French* as eaſily induced to renew the Ancient League, only one Article was added to the old Conditions, 'That if any Controverſy did hereafter ariſe amongſt the *Scots*, con-'cerning him who was to ſucceed in the Kingdom, the ſame ſhould 'be decided by the Council of the States; and the *French*, if there 'were need, were to aſſiſt Him by his Authority, and with his Arms, 'who, by Lawful Suffrages, was by them declared King. Our Writers caſt the Riſe of the *Hamiltons*, now a powerful Family in *Scotland*, upon theſe Times. *The Scots abſolved by the Pope.* *And make a League with the French.*

There was a certain Nobleman in the Court of *England*, who ſpake Honourably of the Fortune and Valour of *Bruce*; whereupon, one of the *Spencers*, Bed-Chamber Man to the King, either thinking, That his Speech was Reproachful to the *Engliſh*; or elſe, to curry Favour with the looſer ſort of the Nobility, drew forth his Faucheon, and, making at him, gave him a ſlight wound in the Body. The Man, being of a great Spirit, was more concerned at the Contumely, than at the Damage; and, being hindered by the coming in of many, to part the Fray, from taking preſent Revenge; the day after, finding his Enemy in a fit Poſture, in the ſame place, he run him thorough: And fearing the Puniſhment of the Law, and the great Power of the *Spencers* at Court, he fled preſently into *Scotland*, to King *Robert*, by whom he was courteouſly received, and ſome Lands, near the River *Clyde*, were beſtowed upon him. His Poſterity, not long after, were admitted to the Degree of Noblemen; and the Opulent Family of the *Hamiltons* was Sirnamed from him, and alſo the Name of *Hamilton* was impoſed on the Lands, which the King gave him. *The Riſe of the Family of the Hamiltons; with the Occaſion thereof.*

Not long after, *Edward* had great Combuſtions at home, inſomuch, that he put many of the Nobles to Death, and advanced the *Spencers*, the Authors of all Evil Counſel, higher than his own Kindred could bear;

Edward of *England* slain by a strange kind of Death, not without the Privity of his Relations.

bear; so that, he was apprehended by his Son, and by his Wife, (who had received a small Force from beyond the Seas,) and kept close Prisoner; and not long after, he was slain by a course sort of Death, an hot Iron was thrust into his Fundament, through a Pipe of Horn, by which his Bowels were burnt up, and yet no Sign of so terrible a Fact appeared on the outside of his Body. His Wife and Son were thought Privy to the Parricide, either, because his Keepers would never have dared to commit such a Deed, so openly, unless they had had Great Authors; or else, because they were never called in Question for so Immane a Butchery.

Bruce settles the Succession in his Family.

These Disturbances in *England*, which were followed by the Kings Death, *Bruce* also growing old and weak in Body, were the Occasions, that Peace for some Years did intercede between the Two Neighbour Nations. For *Bruce*, being freed from the Fear of the *English*, and being also called upon by his Age, converted his Thoughts to settle his Domestick Affairs. And first, he made haste to confirm the Kingdom, (which was not yet quite recovered, nor fully setled, from the Commotions of former Times) to his only Son, yet but a Child, by the Consent and Decree of the Estates. And, if he died without Issue, then he appointed *Robert Stuart*, his Nephew by his Daughter, to be his Successor: He caused the Nobles to take an Oath, for the Performance of this Decree. But afterwards, fearing, That, after his Death, *Baliol* would begin his old Dispute, about the Kingdom; especially seeing his Heirs, because of their Minority, might be liable to be injured by others; he sent *James Douglas* to *John Baliol*, being in *France*, with large Gifts and Promises, That he would cease his Claim to the Kingdom: This he did, not so much to acquire a new Right, (because, according to the *Scotish* Custom, *The King is made by the Decree of the Estates, who have the Supream Power in their Hands*;) but, that he might cut off all Occasion from Wicked Men, to Calumniate his Posterity; and also, that he might Eradicate the very Seeds of Sedition. *Douglas* found *Baliol* far more placable, than he, or others, thought, he would be; for he was now surrounded with the Miseries of Extream Old Age. He ingenuously Confessed,

And agrees with *Baliol* then in *France*, who consents thereto.

'That his Peccant Exorbitance was justly restrained, and that he 'was deservedly driven out of the Kingdom, as unworthy to Reign. 'And therefore, he was very willing, That his Kinsman *Robert* should 'enjoy the Crown, by whose high Valour, singular Felicity, and 'great Pains-taking, 'twas Vindicated into its Ancient Splendour: 'In one thing, he rejoyced, That they, by whom he was deceived, 'did not enjoy the Reward of their Perfidiousness.

When *Robert* had setled these Matters, according to his own desire, the same Year, which was 1327. our Writers say, That Ambassadors were sent into *Scotland*, by *Edward* the Third, for a Pacification; in which Matter, they seemed to act Treacherously, and instead of Peace, they carried home War, but what the particular Fraud, was, is not expressed, and the *English* say, That the War was openly denounced by *Robert*, but they describe not the Cause of it; surely, it must needs be some great and mighty One; or else, a valetudinary old Man, when Peace was scarce setled at home; and, who might have been sated with his former Victories, rather than with War,

War, would not ſo ſoon have been provoked to reaſſume his Arms. This is certain, That the King, by reaſon of his Age, could not manage the War himſelf in Perſon; ſo that *Thomas Randolfe*, and *James Douglas*, the Valianteſt and Wiſeſt of all that Age, were ſent by him into *England*, with Twenty Thouſand brave nimble Horſe, but no Foot at all. The Reaſon was, That they might fly up and down ſwiftly, and not abide in one place; nor, be forced to Fight the *Engliſh*, unleſs they themſelves pleaſed. For they knew, that the *Engliſh* would make Head againſt them in their firſt Expedition, with a far more numerous Army: Neither were they deceived in their Opinions, for the King of *England*, beſides his Domeſtick Forces, had procured great Aſſiſtance of Horſe, from *Belgium*; but, in regard they and the *Engliſh* fell out at *York*, ſome *Engliſh* Writers ſay, That they returned home again. But *Froſſard*, a *French* Writer of the ſame Age, ſays, That they accompanied the *Engliſh* during the whole Expedition; and that, not only for Honours ſake, but alſo for Fear of Sedition, they had the next Place to the Kings Regiment, always aſſigned to them, in the Camp. The King, having made a Conjunction of all his Forces, (which were clearly above Sixty Thouſand Men) marched againſt the *Scots*, who had already paſſed over the *Tine*. Now, there were Two Fortified Towns on the *Tine*. One nearer *Wales*, which was *Carliſle*; and the other, about Fifty Miles lower, called *Newcaſtle*. The *Engliſh* had ſtrongly Gariſoned Both of them, to hinder the Enemies Paſſage over the River; but the *Scots*, knowing, where the River was fordable, paſſed over without any noiſe, and ſo deceived both the Gariſons. When the *Engliſh* were come into the *Biſhoprick* of *Durham*, from the Tops of the Hills, they might ſee Fires afar off, and then beginning to underſtand, how near their Enemy was, they tumultuouſly cryed, *Arm, Arm*, as if they were preſently to fall to it.

Bruce's Army enters *England*.

Edward makes Head againſt them.

They drew forth their Army into a Threefold Order of Battel, and marched directly to the Place, where they ſaw the Smoak of the Fire; the General denouncing a great Penalty on him, that without his leave, ſhould ſtir from his Colours. Thus they wearied themſelves till the Evening, and then mark'd out a Place for their Camp, in a Wood, near a certain River, and there they placed their Baggage and Carriages, which could not ſo ſwiftly follow the Flying Army.

The *Scots* flying Army of Horſe weary the *Engliſh* to follow them.

The next day, they marched in the ſame Order, and towards Evening, they were forced to abide in their Tents, which they had pitched, as conveniently as the Place would afford, that ſo the Draught-Horſes, and the Foot, might receive a little Refreſhment. There the Nobles came to the King, and deliberated, How they ſhould bring the *Scots* to a Battel. The moſt Part were of Opinion, That the *Engliſh* Foot were never able to overtake the flying Horſe of the *Scots*, and if they did, yet they could not compel them to Fight, but in thoſe Places, which they themſelves judged moſt Convenient: But becauſe there was ſuch a general Devaſtation, that they could not ſtay long in an Enemies Country; they judged it beſt, to paſs over the *Tine*, with all their Forces, and to intercept the Enemy in his Return home. And beſides, the Country beyond the *Tine* was plainer

and

and fitter to draw up an Army in, that ſo the whole Body of the Army might be put upon Service. This Opinion was approved, and a Command given to refreſh Themſelves, and to do it as ſilently as ever they could, That they might more eaſily hear the word of Command, and the ſound of the Trumpets; That ſo, leaving the Baggage behind, every one ſhould carry a Loaf a piece; and, as if the next day they were to fight the Enemy, they were to await the Event of Fortune; ſo that their Bodies being refreſhed from the wearineſs of the day before, a little after Midnight, they took up their Arms, and, in good order, begun their March; But the Mariſhes and Hills, by which they were to paſs, quickly made them to break their Ranks, and he, that could, led the Van; the Reſt followed their Steps, and their March was in ſuch Diſorder, that many Horſe, and Carriage-Beaſts, did either ſtick in the Mud, or elſe, did tumble down from ſteep Places, and oft times they cryed, *To your Arms*, and then all of them, in great Trepidation, ran to the Place from whence the Noiſe and Cry came, without any Order at all. But when they came to thoſe that led the Van, they underſtood, That the Tumult was occaſioned by a Multitude of Stags; who, being rouzed out of the Heath, by the Noiſe of Men, and afraid to ſee them, ran up and down in great Confuſion, amongſt the *Brigades*. At laſt, about Evening, the Horſe, but without the Foot, came to the Fords of *Tine*, over which the *Scots* had paſſed, and by which, they would return (as they hoped) and, at Sun-ſet, they Forded over; the round and ſlippery Stones, which the River roles up and down, much incommoding their Horſe. And beſides, they were afflicted with another Inconvenience, They had, few or none of them, any Iron Tools to cut down Wood with; ſo that, after they had marched Twenty Eight Miles, they were fain to lie in their Arms, that Night, on the bare Ground, holding their Horſes Bridles, in one of their Hands; for, they could not cut down Wood to make Tents, (having brought none with them) nor Huts, nor ſo much as Stakes to tye their Horſes to. Early in the Morning, aſſoon as it was light, there fell ſuch mighty ſhowres of Rain, that even ſmall Brooks were hardly paſſable, by Man or Horſe; and alſo, they were inform'd by ſome Country Men, which they took, That the Neighbouring Country was ſo Barren and Deſolate, That no Proviſion was to be had, nearer than *Newcaſtle* and *Carliſle*; of which, one was Twenty Four, the other Thirty, Miles off. Thither they ſent their Draught-Horſes and Servants; in the mean time, they made uſe of their Swords, to cut down Stakes to tye their Horſes to; and ſome Shrubs and ſmall Trees to build them Huts, with the Leaves whereof they fed their Horſes, and ſo, that Night, they were fain to Faſt.

Stags, ſuddenly rouzed, affright the *Engliſh*.

* The *Engliſh* Army highly incommoded in their march.

Three Days after, they, that were ſent to the Towns, returned with ſome ſmall Proviſions, which they brought along with them; ſome Sutlers came alſo with them, with Bread and Wine, to make a Gain of; but it was but little, and alſo, not Good; yet, ſuch as it was, the Soldiers were ready to fall out, Who ſhould have it, firſt. Having thus paſſed Seven days, in great Want, and being alſo much moleſted with continual Showres, ſo that their Horſe-Furniture was wet, and their Horſes Backs did Ulcerate, and they themſelves

ſtood

ſtood (many of them) Armed, Day and Night, in their wet Cloaths; neither could they make any Fire, by reaſon, that the Wood was Green; and beſides, it was wetted by the Rain water; The Eighth day, they reſolved to repaſs the River at a more commodious Ford, Seven miles above the Place, where they were; but there alſo the River was ſwoln by reaſon of the Showres, ſo that they were much incommoded, and ſome were drowned, in their paſſage. As ſoon as they had landed their Army upon the other ſide, a great Reward was propoſed to him, Who could bring the firſt certain Tidings, Where the *Scots* were. The Two next Days, their March lying thrô deſolate places, and ruined by late Fires, they had Forage enough for their Horſes, but little Proviſion for Themſelves. On the Fourth Day, One of the Fifteen young Men, who ſcouted out to bring News where the *Scots* lay, returned back, and informed them, That the *Scots* Army was about Three Miles diſtance from Theirs; and that, for Eight Days laſt paſt, They had been as uncertain what became of the *Engliſh*, as the *Engliſh* had been what became of Them. This he affirmed for Truth, as having been taken Priſoner by the *Scots*, and freed without Ranſom, upon Condition, he would go tell his King, *That, they would wait for his Coming in that Place; and, That they were as willing to Fight, as He.*

Upon the Receipt of this Meſſage, the King Commanded the Army to make an Halt, that Man and Horſe might take ſome Refreſhment, and ſo be ready for the laſt Encounter; and thus, in Three Brigades, he marched ſlowly towards the Enemy. Aſſoon as they came in ſight one of another, the *Scots* had ſo divided their Men into Three Batailions upon an Hill, that the Rocks and Precipices thereof ſecured them on the Right and Left, from whence, they might caſt down Stones on the Enemy, if they endeavoured to come up to them. At the Foot of the Hill, the *Engliſh* had a rapid Torrent to paſs, ſo full of Great and Round Stones, that they could not Ford over to their Enemy; or, if they had ſo done, they could not Retreat without certain Ruin. The *Engliſh*, perceiving that they could not come at the Enemy, but with great diſadvantage, pitched their Tents; and ſent an Herald at Arms to the *Scots*, adviſing them to *come down into the Champion Country, to Fight for Glory and Empire by true Valour, in an open Plain*: The *Scots* anſwered, *That they would Fight for no bodies pleaſure, but their own*; *That they marched into* England, *to revenge the Injuries they had received*; *if they had done any thing which did offend them, they had free Liberty to take their own Revenge. As for Themſelves, they reſolved to abide There, as long as they pleaſed*; *and if their Enemy did attaque them, at his Peril be it.* The next Three Days, their Camps being near, and Parties placed at the Fords, ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt them; the Fourth Day, aſſoon as it was Light, the Watch brought Word, That the *Scots* had forſaken the Hill, on which they were; whereupon, Scouts were ſent out to bring certain News, and to follow them, if they had Retreated; who brought word, That the *Scots* had pitched their Tents on another Hill by the ſame River, much more convenient for them than the Firſt, where they had a Wood which ſecured their Ingreſs and Egreſs. The *Engliſh*, who hoped that they ſhould Famiſh

Reparties between both Armies.

the *Scots*, (who avoided Fighting) in a Foreign Soil, being frustrated of their Expectation, followed them, and pitched their Tents on an oppoſite Hill. After they had abode there ſome Days, it was obſerved, That they grew more Negligent than formerly in their Night-watches; either, becauſe they undervalued the *Scots*, becauſe of their Paucity, or elſe, becauſe they meditated nothing, but Flight. *Douglas* took hold of the Opportunity, to attempt ſomething, and paſſing over the River with 200 Select Horſe, he entred the Enemies Camp, where, he ſaw, it was but ſlenderly Guarded. He had almoſt pierced to the King's own Tent, where, cutting off the Cords, the Alarm being taken, he killed near 300 *Engliſh* in his Retreat, and brought his Men ſafely off; After this, no Memorable Action happened, ſave, that the *Engliſh*, inſtructed by their own Loſs, placed more careful Watches, in convenient Places. At laſt, it was told them by a *Scot*, whom they had taken Priſoner, That there was a Proclamation in that Camp, That, at the Third Watch, all ſhould be ready to follow *Douglas*, whither-ſoever he ſhould lead them. This Relation ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the *Engliſh*, That, dividing their Army into Three Batailions, at a moderate Diſtance one from another, they ſtood all that Night in their Arms; and their Servants held their Horſes, Bridled, Sadled, and ready prepared, for whatever ſhould happen in their Camp. And moreover, they placed ſtrong Guards at all the Fords of the River. At laſt, towards Day, Two *Scots* Trumpeters were brought to the King, who told him, *That the* Scots *were Commanded to returned home; and if the* Engliſh *had a mind to revenge the Loſs they had ſuſtained, they muſt Follow them.* Hereupon, the *Engliſh* called a Council of War, where it was reſolved, That it was better to march back with the Army at preſent, than to follow ſuch flying Stragglers, to the great vexation both of Horſe and Man; conſidering, they had loſt more Men in this Expedition by Famine and Sickneſs, than might have fallen in a Set-Battel. When their Retreat was reſolved upon, many of the *Engliſh*, either in hopes of Prey, which might be left behind in their haſty Retreat; or elſe, deſirous to underſtand ſomething of their Enemies Affairs, went into their Camp, where they found about Five Hundred Deer, and eſpecially Stags, already killed, (of which ſort, the *Engliſh* keep many, not only their Kings, but even many private Perſons alſo,) and alſo great Budgets, made of raw Skins, in which they boiled their Meat, and about Ten Thouſand Snapſacks. Moreover, there were Two *Engliſh* Men, whoſe Legs were broken, but they were yet alive. All theſe things being Evidences of great Hardineſs and Poverty, did confirm the goodneſs of their Advice, who were for marching the Army back.

Douglas breaks in upon the *Engliſh* Camp, and does Execution.

The *Engliſh* Army Retreats.

Cruelty to Priſoners.

This Year, *Walter Stuart*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, died, one the Son in Law, the other, Wife to the King: Beſides, the Caſtles of *Alnewick* and *Norham* were beſieged by the *Scots*, but without Succeſs: Preys were alſo driven out of *Northumberland*. In *March*, Ambaſſadors came from *England*, to treat of a perpetual Peace, and a Truce was made for Three Years. The next Year, which was 1328. the *Engliſh* held a Parliament at *Northampton*, the Eighth of the *Calends* of *July*, wherein all the Orders of Eſtates agreed to a Peace

June, 24.

with the *Scots* upon these Terms; 'That the *English* should renounce 'all Right, which they, or their Ancestors, pretended to have to the 'Crown of *Scotland*; and, That they should leave That Kingdom as 'Free, as it was at the Death of *Alexander* the Third; and, 'That they should be Subject to no External Yoke of Servitude; 'and, on the other side, the *Scots* were to surrender up all the Lands, 'they sometimes held in *England*, as Feudataries; That *Cumberland* 'and *Northumberland*, as far as *Stanmore*, should be Boundaries to the '*Scots*; That *David*, the Son of *Robert*, should take to Wife *Joan*, 'the Sister of *Henry*; That the *English* should faithfully return all 'Pacts, Bonds, and Writings, or any other Monuments of Subjection, 'into the Hands of the *Scots*, and should disanul them, for the fu-'ture; That the *Scots*, for the Damage which they had lately done 'the *English* King, and for the Lands which his Father and Grand-'father had given to his Favourites in *Scotland*, should pay him Thirty 'thousand Marks of Silver.

A Peace concluded between the *Scots* and *English*, with the Conditions thereof.

Both Kings had their proper Reasons, why they consented, so easily, to these Conditions. The *English* King, having wasted his Treasure, and having been put to an Ignominious Flight, and thereby lessened in the Eyes of his own Subjects, as well as of his Enemies, thereupon was afraid, That some Domestick Sedition would arise, and then a Warlike Enemy, pufft up with his late Success, should come on his Flank, and thereby mightily endamage his Kingdom. And *Robert*, being broken with Old Age, Toil, and Diseases, (for, a little before his death, he fell into a Leprosy) having also been long exercised with the events of both Fortunes, good and bad, resolved, if he could, to give up himself to his Ease; and not only so, but to provide for the Tranquillity of his Heirs, in regard of their infirm and tender Age. And therefore, having settled Peace abroad, he turned himself wholly to settle Matters at home. When the Marriage of his Son was magnificently celebrated, he, perceiving the end of his Life to be near at hand, composed himself almost into the Habit of a private Man, (for some years before, all the Grand Affairs of State had been managed by *Thomas Randolph*, and *James Douglas*) and lived in a small House at *Cardross*, (a place divided from *Dumbritton* by the River *Levin*) and kept himself, but in case of great Necessity, from the Concourse of People. Thither he called some of his Friends, a little before his Death, and made his Will. He confirmed those to be his Heirs, which were so declared by the Convention of Estates. First, *David* his Son, being eight year old; next, *Robert* his Nephew by his Daughter; he commended them to his Nobles, and especially to *Thomas Randolph*, his Sisters Son, and *James Douglas*. Afterward, he settled his Houshold Affairs, and exhorted them all to Concord amongst themselves, and to observance of Allegiance to their King; if they did so, he would assure them to be unconquerable by a Foreign Power. Moreover, he is reported to have added Three Commands, or, if you will, Counsels; First, *That they should never make any one Man, Lord of the* Æbudæ Islands; *Next, That they should never fight the* English, *with all their Force, at one time*; *and Thirdly, That they should never make with them a Perpetual League*. In Explicating his First Advice, he discoursed much concerning

Bruce's last Will and Testament.

His Three Advices to his Successors, with the Reasons upon which they were grounded respectively.

cerning the Number, Bigneſs, and Power of the Iſlands, and concerning the Multitude, Fierceneſs, and Hardineſs of their Inhabitants; They, with Ships, Such as they were, yet not inconvenient for thoſe Coaſts, coping with Men unskill'd in Marine Affairs, might do a great deal of Miſchief to others, but receive little Damage, themſelves: And therefore, Governors were Yearly to be ſent thither, to adminiſter Juſtice amongſt them, by Officers, who ſhould not be continued long in their Places, neither. His Second Advice concerning the *Engliſh*, ſtood upon this Foot, Becauſe the *Engliſh*, as inhabiting a better Country, did exceed the *Scots* in Number of Men, Money, and all other Warlike Preparations; and by reaſon of theſe Conveniencies, they were more accuſtomed to their Eaſe, and not ſo patient of Labour or Hardſhip: On the other ſide, the *Scots* were bred in an hardier Soil, and were, by reaſon of their Parſimony and continual Exerciſe, of a more healthy Conſtitution of Body; and, by the very manner of their Education, made more capable to endure all Military Toil; and therefore, That they were fitter for ſuddain and occaſional Aſſaults, ſo to weaken and weary out their Enemy, by degrees, than to venture all at once in a pitch'd Battel. His Third Advice was grounded upon this Reaſon, Becauſe, if the *Scots* ſhould have a long Peace with the *Engliſh*, (having no other Enemy beſides them to exerciſe their Arms upon) they would grow Lazy, Luxurious, and ſo eaſily become Slothful, Voluptuous, Effeminate, and Weak. As for the *Engliſh*, though they had Peace with the *Scots*, yet *France* was near them, which kept their Arms in ure; If then, thoſe who are skilful in Warlike Affairs ſhould cope with the *Scots*, thus grown unskilful and ſluggiſh, they might promiſe to themſelves an aſſured Victory. Moreover, he commended to *James Douglas* the Performance of the Vow, which he had made, which was, to go over into *Syria*, and to undertake the Cauſe of Chriſtendom in the *Holy War*, againſt the Common Enemy thereof. And, becauſe he himſelf, by reaſon of his Home-bred Seditions; or elſe, being broken with Age and Diſeaſes, could not perform the Vow himſelf, he earneſtly deſired, *That* Douglas *would carry his Heart, after he was deceaſed, to* Jeruſalem, *that it might be buried there.* *Douglas* looked upon This as an Honourable Imployment, and as an eminent Teſtimony of the Kings Favour towards him; and, therefore, the next Year, after the Kings Death, with a good Brigade of Noble young Men, he prepared for his Voyage. But, being upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, he heard, That the King of *Arragon* managed a fierce War againſt the ſame Enemy, with which he was to fight in *Syria*; and, thinking with himſelf, that it mattered not in what Place he aſſiſted in the Cauſe of Chriſtianity, he Landed his Men, and joined himſelf with the *Spaniard*; where, after many proſperous Fights, at laſt, deſpiſing the Enemy as a weak and fugitive one, he thought to attempt ſomething againſt him with his own Men, and ſo ruſhing unadviſedly on the Army of the *Sarazens*, he was, by them, drawn into an Ambuſh, wherein he and moſt part of his Men were ſlain. His chief Friends that periſhed with him, were, *William Sinclare*, and *Robert Logan*. This happened the next year after the Kings Death, which was 1330.

Robert Bruce's Vow to aſſiſt in the *Holy War* recommended to *Douglas* to perform.

Bruce would have his Heart buried at *Jeruſalem.*

Douglas in his Voyage to *Jeruſalem* aſſiſts the *Spaniards* againſt the *Moors*, and was there ſlain.

To

To be ſhort, *Robert Bruce*, was, certainly, a moſt Illuſtrious Perſon, every way, and he can hardly be parallelled for his Virtues and Valour, even in the moſt Heroick Times; for, as he was very Valiant in War, ſo, he was moſt Juſt and Temperate, in Peace; and, though his unhoped for Succeſſes, and (after that Fortune was once ſatiated, or rather wearied, with his Miſeries) a continual courſe of perpetuated Victory did highly Ennoble him; yet, to me, he ſeemed to have been more Glorious in his Adverſities. For, What a ſtrong Heart was That, which was not broken, no, nor yet weakened, by ſo many Miſeries as brake in upon him, all at once? Whoſe Conſtancy would it not have tried, to have his Wife a Priſoner, and to have his Four Valiant Brothers, cruelly put to Death? And his Friends, at the ſame time, vexed with all kind of Calamities; and they, which eſcaped with their Lives, were Exiled, and loſt all their Eſtates: As for himſelf, he was outed not only of a large Patrimony, but of a Kingdom too, by the powerfulleſt King of thoſe Times, and one, who was moſt ready, both for Advice and Action. Though he were beſet with all theſe Evils, at one time; yea, and brought into the extreameſt Want; yet, he never doubted of recovering the Kingdom. Neither did he ever do, or ſay, any thing, which was unbecoming a Royal Spirit. He did not do, as *Cato* the Younger, and *Marcus Brutus*, who laid violent Hands on themſelves; neither did he, as *Marius*, incenſed by his Sufferings, let looſe the Reins of Hatred and Paſſion, againſt his Enemies; but when he had recovered his Ancient State and Kingdom, he ſo carried it towards them, who had put him to ſo much Hardſhip and Trouble, That he ſeemed rather to Remember, that he was now their King, than that he had been ſometimes their Enemy. And even, a little before his Death, though a great Diſeaſe made an addition to the Trouble of his Old Age; yet, he was ſo much Himſelf, as to confirm the Preſent State of the Kingdom; yea, and to conſult the quiet of his Poſterity. So that, when he died, all Men bewailed him, as being deprived, not only of a Juſt King, but of a Loving Father, too. He departed this Life, the * Seventh of the *Ides* of *July*, in the Year of *Chriſt* 1329. and of his Reign the Twenty Fourth.

Bruce his high Encomium.

* July 9th.

THE

The Ninth BOOK.

THE Nobles of *Scotland*, having performed the Funeral Obsequies for the late King, assoon as they could conveniently, did Indict a Convention of the Estates, for the Electing of a Regent; where the Inclinations of the Publick easily pitched on *Thomas Randolf*, Earl of *Murray*; for, even in the Kings Life Time, he had, for some Years, managed that Office, and the King at his Death had also Recommended him to the People, by his last Will and Testament.

Randolf made *Regent*, or *Guardian*.

David II. *The Ninety Eighth King.*

THE Coronation of the King was deferred till the * Eighth of the *Calends* of *December*, the next Year following; that so, by the Permission of the Pope, he might be Anointed, and that new Ceremony be performed more Augustly, amongst the *Scots*. Assoon as the Regent was chosen, he first of all ratified the Peace, made with the *English*; afterward, he applied his Mind to settle quiet at home, and to suppress publick Robberies. In order whereto, he kept a strong Guard of Armed Men about him, which were ready on all Occasions; so that when News was brought him, as he was going to * *Wigton*, (which is a Town in *Galway*) that there was a strong Band of Thieves, who beset the Highways, and robbed Travellers in that Country; he sent out his Guard against them, even as he was in his Progress, who took them every Man; whom he caused to be put to Death. He was Inexorable against all Murderers, so that he caused a certain Man to be apprehended, who had obtained the *Popes Bull* of Pardon for his Offence, and thereupon thought himself secure, to be apprehended, alledging, *That the Pope might Pardon the Soul-Guilt, but the Body-Punishment belonged to the King.*

November 24.

* Situate near the *Irish* Sea.

He executes a Murderer, though he had the *Popes* Pardon.

To prevent Robberies, which were yet too frequently committed, by reason of the remaining Contagion of the Wars, he made a Law, *That the Country Men should leave their Iron Tools, and Plough-Gear, in the Field, all Night, and that they should not shut their Houses, nor Stalls. If any thing were stollen, the Loss was to be repaired by the Sheriff of the County; and the Sheriff was to be reimbursed by the King; and the King was to be satisfied out of the Estates of the Thieves, when they were taken.* There was one Country Man, either over-greedy of Gain; or else, judging that Caution to be Vain and Frivolous, who hid his Plough Iron in the Field, and came to the Sheriff to demand Satisfaction, as if it had been stollen; the Sheriff paid him presently, but inquiring further into the Matter, and finding, that he was the Author of the Theft, himself; he caused him to be Hanged, and his Goods to be Confiscate: He restrained the loose Pack of Drolling Vagabonds

A notable Law, made by the Regent, to prevent Thieving.

The Collusive Cheat of a Country Man, punished.

Vagabonds and Minſtrellers, from wandring up and down the Country, under moſt grievous Penalties. If any one aſſaulted a Travellor, or any Publick Officer in performing his Office, he made it Lawful for any Body to Kill him. So that when Thirty Aſſailants had been ſlain by the Companions of a certain Publick Miniſter at a Village called * *Halydon*, he pronounced, That the Fact was juſt, and Indemnified the Committers of it. This Domeſtick Severity made him Formidable to flagitious Perſons, at home; as his Valour did to his Enemies, abroad. And therefore the *Engliſh*, who, upon *Roberts* death, watched all Occaſions to revenge themſelves, perceiving, That they could attempt nothing by open Force, as long as *Randolph* was living, turned their Thoughts to ſecret Fraud and Stratagem.

Strict Laws made by the *Regent*.

* In *Tiveotdale*.

The ſpeedieſt Way to be rid of their Enemy ſeemed to be, by Poyſoning him; Neither wanted there a fit Miniſter to attempt it; which was a certain Monk, of that Claſs, which are idly brought up, and, for want of Maſters to teach them better, they do many times pervert Good Wits to Evil Arts and Practices: There were Two Profeſſions joyned in him, *viz. Monkſhip*, and the Profeſſion of *Phyſick*; the *Firſt* ſeemed proper to gain him Admittance; the *Second* rendred him fit to perpetrate the Wickedneſs. Hereupon, he comes into *Scotland*, giving out in all Places, That, as he had Skil in all other Parts of *Phyſick*, ſo eſpecially in curing the *Stone*; by which means, he obtained an eaſy Acceſs to the Regent; and, being employed to cure him, he mixed a Slow-working Poyſon with his Medicine; and then, taking a few Days Proviſion with him, he returned again into *England*, as if he had gone only to get and prepare more Drugs and Medicines. There he makes a Solemn Aſſeveration before *Edward*, *That* Randolf *would dye, by ſuch a certain day.* In Hopes whereof, *Edward* levied a great Army, and marching to the Borders, found there as great an Army of *Scots*, ready to receive him, not far from his Camp; whereupon, he ſent a Trumpeter to them, upon Pretence to demand Reparation for Damages; but, he was enjoyned to inquire, Who commanded the *Scots* Forces? *Randolph*, his Diſeaſe growing on, and the *Monk* not returning at the Day appointed, ſuſpected all things for the worſe, and therefore, diſſembling his Grief, as much as he could, he ſate in a Chair before his Tent, Royally apparelled, and gave Anſwer to the Demands of the Herald of Arms, as if he had been a man perfectly Healthy and Sound. The Herald, at his Return acquainted the King with what he had ſeen and heard; ſo that the Monk was puniſhed, as a Lying Cheat; and *Edward* marched back his Army, only leaving a Guard on the Borders, to prevent Incurſions. *Randolph* alſo was hindred from marching forward, by the Violence of his Diſeaſe, but returning he disbanded his Army, and at *Muſſelborough*, about Four Miles from *Edinburgh*, departed this Life, in the year of our *Salvation* 1331. and the 13th of the Calends of * *Auguſt*, having managed the Regency Two years after *Robert*'s death. He was a Man no whit Inferiour to any of our *Scotiſh* Kings in Valour and Skill in Military Affairs, but far Superiour to them in the Arts and Knacks of Peace. He left Two Sons behind him, *Thomas* and *John*, Both worthy of ſo great a Father.

A *Monk* Poyſons *Randolf* with a ſlow-working-doſe.

Edward marches for *Scotland*.

Edward puniſhes the Monk, becauſe his Poyſon did not kill *Randolf* as ſoon as he ſaid it would.

Edward retreats.

July 20.

Randolf's death and Character.

When

Duncan Earl of *Marr*, made Guardian in *Randolf's* Place. *August.* 2. *July* 31.

When *Randolf*, Guardian of the Kingdom (for so they *then* called him) was dead, *Duncan* Earl of *Marr* was chosen in his Place, the 4th of the *Nones* of * *August*. The King being then Ten year old, on which very Day a sad Message was brought to Court, That the day before the Calends of that Month, *Edward Baliol* was seen in the *Firth* of *Forth*, with a Navy very Numerous. To make all things more plain concerning his coming, I must go a little back. When King *Robert* died, there was one * *Laurence Twine*, an *English* man, of the Number of Those, who, having received Lands in *Scotland*, as a Reward of their Military Service, dwelt there. He was of a Good Family, but of a Wicked Life: He, conceiving Hope of greater Liberty, upon the Death of *One* King, and the Immature Age of *Another*, gave himself up, more licentiously, to unlawful Pleasures; so that, being often found in Adultery, and admonished by the Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court; yet, not desisting, he was at last Excommunicated by the Official (as they call him) of the Bishop of *Glasgow*. Whereupon, he, as if he had received a grat deal of Wrong, way-laid the Judge, as he was going to *Air*, and kept him so long a Prisoner, until, upon the Payment of a Sum of Money, he had absolved him. *Twine*, being informed, That *James Douglas* was extremely angry with him for this Fact, and that he sought for him to have him punished; for Fear of his Power, he fled into *France*, and there he addressed himself to *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John*, (who had been King of *Scotland*, some few years) informing him of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*; and withal, advising him, by no means, to omit so fair an Opportunity of recovering his Fathers Kingdom. 'For, (said he) Their King was now but a Child, and he had many 'Enemies about him, and readier to be Avengers of the hatred to-'wards his Father, than his Friends; The Fathers of some were slain 'in a publick Convention at *Perth*, others were banished, and lost 'their Estates; others were mulct with the Loss of a great part of 'of their Lands; and besides, many of the *English* race, who were 'deprived of the Lands given them by his Father, would be his Com-'panions in the Expedition; yea, that there were Men enough, needy 'and criminal, who, either for hope of gain, or to avoid the punish-'ment of the Law, being desirous of Change and Innovation, wanted 'nothing but a Leader to begin a Disturbance. And moreover, '*James Douglas* being killed in *Spain*, and *Randolf* by reason of his 'Sickness, being unfit for the Government, there was not a Man be-'sides, to whose Authority the giddy and disagreeing Multitude 'would as soon submit, as to His.

Edward Baliol appears on the *Scots* Coast.

* The Story of *Twine*, or *Tuenam Loresin.*

He stirs up Edward Baliol then in France to invade Scotland.

Baliol knew, That what he had spoken was, for the most part, true, and hearing also, that *Edward* of *England* was sending great Forces into *Scotland*; Thereupon the crafty Impostor easily persuaded Him, who of himself was desirous of Empire and Glory, to get what Ships he could together, and so to bear a Part in that Expedition. But, before the coming of *Baliol* into *England*, *Edward* had disbanded his Army. Nevertheless, the exiled *Scots*, and those *English*, who had been dispossessed of their Lands in *Scotland* flocked in to him, and so he made up no inconsiderable Army. Some say, That he had but 600 men accompanying him in so great an Attempt, which seems

Edward Baliol Lands in *Scotland.*

ſeems not very probable. I rather think, Their Speech is more agreeable to Truth, who write, That the *Engliſh* aſſiſted him with 6000 Foot. And they were all more encouraged in their deſigned Expedition, when they heard, That *Randolf* was dead, whilſt they were making their Preparations; for that mightily erected their Minds, as a good *Omen* of their Future Succeſs. With this Navy, he came to * *Kinghorn* and there Landed his Naval Forces in the Calends of *Auguſt*. The Land Forces were led by *David Cumins*, heretofore, Earl of *Athol*, as alſo by *Mowbray* and *Beaumont*; and the Forces of the *Engliſh*, by *Talbot*. At the News of the arrival of this Fleet, *Alexander Seaton*, a Nobleman, who happened to be in thoſe Parts at that time, ſtrove to oppoſe them, thinking, that, upon their diſorderly Landing, ſome Opportunity of Service might be Offered; but, in regard few of the Country came in to him, he and moſt of his men were cut off. *Baliol* allowed ſome Few Days to his Soldiers to refreſh themſelves after their troubleſome Voyage; and then marched directly towards *Perth*, and pitched his Tents by the Water-Mills, not far from the Water of *Earn*. The Regent was beyond, and *Patrick Dunbar* on this ſide, the River, each of them with Great Forces, their Camps being five miles diſtant one from another. *Baliol*, thô, upon the Coming in of Many to him on the bruit of his good Succeſs, he made up an Army of above Ten thouſand men; yet, being between Two Armies of his Enemies, and fearing to be cruſhed in the midſt, he thought it beſt to attack them ſeverally, and that on a ſudden, when they leaſt expected any ſuch thing; and he reſolved to ſet upon *Marr*, the Regent, firſt; becauſe, it was likely, That he, being moſt remote from his Enemy, would be leſs watchful, and ſo more liable to a ſurprize. He got *Andrew Murray* of *Tullibardin* to be his Guide, who, not daring to joyn himſelf openly with the *Engliſh*, in the Night, faſtned and ſtuck up a Pole, or Stake, in the River where it was Fordable, to ſhew *Baliol's* men the Way over: They, being covered with the Woods, which grew on the other Side the River, came near the Enemy before they were aware; where they underſtood, That they kept but a thin Watch, and ſlender Guard, and paſſed the Night as in no Expectation of an Enemy at all; upon the Account of this their Negligence, they marched by their Camp, in great Silence, thinking to make an Aſſault on the adverſe part thereof, where, they ſuppoſed, they ſhould find them more ſecure. But it happened, That, in that Part where they preſumed the greateſt negligence was, That *Thomas Randolf*, Earl of *Murray*; *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*; *Murdo*, Earl of *Monteath*; and *Alexander Frazer* kept the Guard, and Watch. They, gathering a luſty Band of their Friends together, received the Firſt Charge and Onſet of the Enemy very Valiantly, upon the Edge of a Ditch, which the falling down of the Rain-Water had made. In the mean time, a great Noiſe and Tumult was made in the Camp, each one haſtening to his Arms, and running in to the Conflict, but ruſhing in raſhly in no Order, and without their Colours, firſt they broke the Ranks of their own men, who bore the Brunt of the *Baliolans*, and ſo the Laſt puſh'd on the Firſt, who falling into the Ditch, they alſo, in a ruinous manner, fell down upon them; There many were ſlain by

* A Burgh on the North ſide of *Firth* in *Fife*, over againſt *Leith* in *Lothian*. *Auguſt* 11th.

He overthrows *Alexander Seaton*.

In *Strathern*.

And afterwards beats the Regent Himſelf, making great ſlaughter of his men, and himſelf being alſo ſlain.

the Enemy, but more, both of Horſe and Men, preſſed to death by their Fall; and the moſt part were ſo weakened, that they had hardly ſtrength enough left, either to Fight or Fly. There fell of the *Scots* 3000; many of thoſe, that eſcaped, fled to *Perth*, but they being few, and generally without Arms, or Guides, were eaſily taken by the purſuing *Engliſh*, together with the City itſelf.

The next Day, *Dumbar*, hearing of the overthrow of the other Army, and that *Perth* was taken, and being informed alſo, of the Paucity of the *Engliſh*, marched directly towards the Town, with an intent to Beſiege it, and deſtroy the Enemy whilſt they were yet in want of all things; but the Matter being debated amongſt his Chief Commanders, each one excuſed himſelf, and ſo they departed, without effecting any thing. *Baliol*, having performed ſo great Matters in ſo ſhort a time, even beyond his Hope, was encouraged to attempt the reſt of the *Scots*, either to win them by Favour, or to conquer them by Force. And there being ſuch a mighty concourſe of People made to him, he now thought it ſeaſonable to Declare Himſelf, *King*. That Advice was ſafer to him, becauſe the greateſt part of the Slaughter had fallen upon the Families, adjoyning to *Perth*. For there were ſlain in the Battel, beſides the Regent, *Robert Keith*, with a great number of his Kindred and Tenants. There fell Eighty of the Family of the *Lindſeys*, and amongſt them, *Alexander* the chief of the Sept. The Name of the *Hays* would have been quite extinguiſhed in this Fight, if *William*, the Chief of the Family, had not left his Wife big with Child, behind him. Moreover, *Thomas Randolfe*, *Robert Bruce*, *Murdo*, Earl of *Monteath*, *William Sinclare*, Biſhop of the *Caledonians*, and *Duncan Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, made Priſoners by him, and being thus in ſuch a deſperate Poſture, were enforced to take an Oath of Obedience to him.

Edward Baliol Declared King.

Baliol, *The Eighty Ninth King.*

HEreupon *Baliol*, truſting to his preſent Fortune, went to the Neighbouring Abby of *Scone*, and there entred upon the Kingdom, in the Year of our Lord, 1332. the Eighth of the *Calends* of *September*. By this Wound and Loſs, the Power of *David Bruce* was much weakened in *Scotland*; yet his Friends, not broken in their Spirits, by this Calamity, took care to ſecure him from the danger of War; he not being yet fit to manage the Government; and therefore they ſent him and his Wife to his Fathers Friend, *Philip*, King of *France*, to be there out of Harms way; In the mean time, they prepare themſelves for all hazards, being reſolved to Dye Honourably, or elſe to reſtore their Country to its former State. And Firſt of all, they ſet up *Andrew Murray*, an Eminent Perſon, Son of the Siſter of *Robert Bruce*, as Regent, in the place of *Duncan*, then they ſent Meſſengers into all parts of the Kingdom, partly to confirm and fix their old Friends, and partly to ſpur up the more Remiſs to Thoughts of Revenging their wrongs. The Firſt, who took Arms, as being excited by their Grief for the loſs of their Parents and Kindred at *Duplin*, were *Robert Keith*, *James* and *Simon Frazer*, who, about the Autumnal Æquinox, beſieged *Perth*; the Siege laſted longer

Aug. 25.

K. David Bruce, in his Minority, to ſecure him, ſent to *France*.

Murray made Regent by K. *David's* Party.

A Caſtle ſtanding on the North Bank of the River *Ern* in *Strathern*.

longer than they expected, yet in Three Months they took it. *Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, who held the Town for *Baliol*, was ſent Priſoner with his Wife and Children to *Kildrum*, a Caſtle in *Marr*; *Andrew Murray*, of *Tullibardin*, who diſcovered the Ford over the River *Earn* to the *Engliſh*, was put to death. The *Black Book of Paſley* ſays, That the Walls of the Town were demoliſhed, which ſeems more probable to me, than that it ſhould be made a Gariſon, as others write, eſpecially, in ſo great a want of Faithful Friends, and Soldiers.

Built on the ſide of the River *Don*.

Perth Walls demoliſhed.

At the ſame time, *Baliol* was at *Annandale*, very buſie in receiving the Homage of the Nobles, who were ſo much ſurprized and aſtoniſhed at the ſuddain Mutation of Things, That even *Alexander Bruce*, Lord of *Carrick* and *Galway*, deſpairing of the Retrieve of his Kinſman *David*'s Affairs, came in to him. After this proſperous Succeſs, he deſpiſed his Enemy, and grew more negligent and regardleſs of him. When the Regent heard thereof by his Spyes, he ſent *Archibald Douglas*, Brother to *James*, who was loſt in *Spain*, That, if there were any Opportunity for Action, he ſhould lay hold upon it. He took with him *William Douglas*, Earl of *Liddiſdale*; *John Randolfe*, the Son of *Thomas*, and *Simon Frazer*, with a Thouſand Horſe; and ſo came to *Mauſet*; where having ſent out Scouts, to ſee that the Coaſt was clear, he marched in the Night, and ſet upon *Baliol*, as he was aſleep, and put his Army into ſo great a Fright and Conſternation, that *Baliol* himſelf, half Naked, was fain to get upon an Horſe, neither Bridled nor Sadled, and ſo fledaway; many of his Intimate Friends were ſlain. *Alexander Bruce* was taken Priſoner, and obtained his Pardon, by the means of his Kinſman, *John Randolfe*. *Henry Baliol* got great Credit that day, by his Valour, amongſt both Parties, who, in ſo confuſed a Flight, defended ſome of his Men, whom their perſuers preſſed upon, he wounded many, and killed ſome of his Enemies, and at laſt was ſlain, Fighting valiantly. There fell alſo the Chief of the *Engliſh* Faction, *John Mowbray*, *Walter Cumins*, and *Richard Kirke*. Theſe Things were acted the Eighth of the *Calends* of *January*, in the Year 1332.

A County in the South of *Scotland*, not far from *Northumberland*.

A Town in the head of *Annandale*, near the ſource of the River *Annan*.

Baliol like to be ſurprized by *Archibald Douglas*.

Dec. 25.

The *Brucian* Party were ſomewhat relieved by theſe Succeſſes, ſo that they came in great Numbers to *Andrew Murray*, the Regent, to conſult about the main Chance. They made no doubt, but that *Baliol* ſought the Kingdom, not for himſelf, but for the *Engliſh*; by whom he was guided and influenced in every thing. Wherefore they reſolved to Declare the King of *England* their Enemy; and accordingly, they prepared all things neceſſary for the War, with great Diligence, as againſt a very powerful Enemy. They made the Gariſon of *Berwick* very ſtrong, for, they thought, the *Engliſh* would Aſſault That, firſt. They made *Alexander Seton* a worthy Knight, Governour of the Town, and *Patrick Dunbar*, of the Caſtle, and the adjoyning Precincts. *William Douglas*, Earl of *Liddiſdale*, whoſe Valour and Prudence was highly commended in thoſe Times, was ſent into *Annandale*, to defend the Weſtern Coaſts: *Andrew Murray* went to *Roxburgh*, where *Baliol* kept himſelf. Thus their ſeveral Governments being diſtributed at home, *John Randolfe* was ſent into *France* to viſit *David*, and to make an Addreſs to *Philip* of *France*, informing

The *Brucians* prevail againſt the *Baliolans*, and Declare War againſt *England*.

The *Brucian* Nobles divide the Provinces they were to Govern: And Declare War againſt *France*.

informing him of the State of *Scotland*, and desiring some Aid from him, against the Common Enemy. *Murray*, at his coming to *Roxburgh*, had a sharp encounter with *Baliol*, at a Bridge without the City; and whilst he pressed too eagerly after the *English*, who were retreating over the Bridge into the Town, he was intercepted from his Men, and taken Prisoner; whereby a Victory, almost quite obtained, slipt out of his hands.

At the same time, in a contrary Province, *William Douglas* of *Liddisdale*, in a Fight with the *English*, was wounded and made Prisoner, whose Disaster so troubled his Men, that they also were put to flight. This Inconstancy and Variableness of Fortune divided *Scotland* again into Two Factions, even as Love, Hatred, Hope, Fear, or each Man's private Concern, inclined him. The King of *England*, presuming, That, by reason of these Dissensions, he had a fit opportunity to seize upon *Scotland*, received *Baliol* into his Protection, (for he was too weak to support himself by his own Strength) and took an Oath of Obedience from him; yea, nothing regarding his Right of Affinity with *Bruce*, nor reverencing the Sanctity of Leagues, nor the Religion of an Oath, so that he might satisfie his immoderate Ambition; he, at once, denounced, and also made, War on the *Scots*, at that time, destitute of a King, and also at variance amongst themselves. And to give a colourable Pretence of Justice to his War, he sent Embassadors to demand *Berwick*, which Town his Father and Grandfather had held many Years, and he presently followed with an Army. The *Scots* answered the Ambassadors, 'That *Berwick* always belonged to *Scotland*, till his Grand-'father, *Edward*, had injuriously seized upon it. At length, when '*Robert Bruce*, their last King, had recovered the rest of *Scotland*, he 'took away that Town from *Edward*, (Father of him, who now re-'quires the Reddition of it) and reduced it unto its Ancient Right-'ful Possessor, and Form of Government; yea, not long ago, *Edward* 'himself, by the Advice of his Parliament, had renounced all Right, 'which He or his Ancestors might pretend to have over all *Scotland* 'in general, or any of the Towns and Places therein, in particular. 'From that time, they were not Conscious to themselves, That they 'had acted any thing against the League so solemnly Sworn to, and 'confirmed by Alliance of a Marriage; Why then, within the com-'pass of a few Years, were they assaulted by secret Fraud, and by 'open War? These things being so, they desired the Embassadors 'to incline the Mind of their King to Equity, and that he would not 'watch his Opportunity to Injure and Prejudice a young King in 'his absence, who was both Innocent, and also his own Sisters Hus-'band; As for Themselves, they would refuse no Conditions of 'Peace, provided, they were Honourable; but, if he threatened them 'with an unjust Force, then, according to the Tutelage of the King, 'committed to them, they resolved rather to dye a Noble Death, than 'to consent to a Peace, prejudicial to Themselves, or the Kingdom. This was the Answer of the Council of *Scotland*.

The King of *England* espouses *Baliol*'s Cause, and invaded *Scotland*.

His Pretensions for the War.

He claims *Berwick*.

The *Scots* Answer to the Claim.

But the King of *England* ſought not Peace, but Victory; and, therefore, having encreaſed his great Army with Foreign Aid alſo, he beſieged *Berwick* by Sea and Land, neither did he omit any thing, which might Contribute to the Taking of it; for, having a Multitude of Men, he gave his Enemy no reſt, Night nor Day: Neither were the Beſiegers behind hand with them, but Valorouſly Sallied out upon them, every day. They threw Fire into their Ships, which Anchored in the River, and burnt many of them. In which Skirmiſh, *William Seaton*, the Governors Baſtard-Son, was loſt, much lamented by all, for his ſingular Valour. For, whilſt he endeavoured to leap into an *Engliſh* Ship, his own being driven too far off by the Waves, he fell into the Sea, neither, in that Exigent, could any Relief come to him. And beſides, another Son of *Alexanders* begot on his Lawful Wife, who, out of eagerneſs to fight proceeded too far in a Sally, was taken by the *Engliſh*. But the Siege, which was begun in the *Ides* of *April*, had now laſted Three Months; and the Defendants, beſides their Toil and Watchings, were alſo in great want of Proviſions; ſo that they ſeemed hardly able to hold out the Town any longer, but made an Agreement with the *Engliſh*, *That, unleſs they were relieved by the Third of the Calends of* Auguſt, *they would ſurrender up the Place*; And for this, *Thomas*, *Alexanders* Eldeſt Son, was given in Hoſtage.

The *Engliſh* beſieges *Berwick*.

* *April* 13.

A Capitulation with the *Engliſh* about the ſurrender of *Berwick*. *July* the 30.

Whilſt theſe things were acting at *Berwick*, the *Scots* Indicted an Aſſembly, to conſult about their Affairs; and, in regard the Regent was Priſoner at *Roxburgh*, that they might not be without a General, they choſe *Archibald Douglas*, Captain-General; they alſo Voted, That he ſhould have an Army to march into *England*, that ſo, by Foraging the Neighbouring Conntrys, he might draw off the King of *England* from the Siege. *Douglas*, according to this Order and Decree, marched towards *England*; but hearing of the Agreement, which *Alexander* had made, he changed his Mind; and, thô againſt the Advice of his moſt prudent Commanders, he marched directly towards the *Engliſh*, and on the Eve of *Mary Magdalen*, came in Sight of them; and was beheld both by Friends and Enemies. The King of *England*, tho' the Day was not come, wherein it was agreed, That the Town ſhould be ſurrendred, yet, when he ſaw the *Scots* Forces ſo near, he ſent an Herald into the Town, to acquaint the Governor, *That unleſs he preſently Surrendred up his Gariſon, he would put his Son* Thomas *to Death*; The Governor alleging, That the Day appointed for the Surrender was not yet come, and that he had given his Faith to ſtay, till the time allowed by their Paction was expired, but all was in Vain. Hereupon Love, Piety, Fear, and Duty towards his Country did variouſly exerciſe his Paternal and Afflicted Mind; and the *Engliſh*, to drive the Terror more home, had ſet up a Gallows in a Place, eaſily viſible to the Beſieged, whither he cauſed the Governors Two Sons, One the Hoſtage, the Other a Priſoner of War, to be brought forth to Execution. At this miſerable Spectacle, his Fatherly mind was at a great ſtand; and in this Fluctuation of his Thoughts, his Wife, the Mother of the Young Men, a Woman of a Manly Courage, came to him, and put him in mind of his Faithfulneſs towards his King, his Love towards his Country, and

Archibald Douglas made Regent by *David's* Party.

He makes Inroads into *England*. And comes near the *Engliſh* Army at *Berwick*.

Alexander Seatons Sons threatned to be put to Death, unleſs he ſurrendred *Berwick*.

His Wife incourages him, to part with his *Children*, rather than the *Town*.

and the Dignity of his Noble Family, upon all which grounds, she endeavoured to settle his wavering Mind. *If these Children be put to Death*, (said she) *you have others remaining alive; and besides, we are neither of us past Age, You to beget, and I to bear, more. If they escape Death, yet it will not be long, but that by some sudden Casualty, or else by maturity of Age, they must yield to Fate; but if any Blot of Infamy should stick upon the Family of the* Seatons, *it would remain to all Posterity; and be a foul Blur even to their Innocent Offspring*; She further told him, *That she had often heard those Men much commended, in the Discourses of the Wise, who had given up Themselves and their Children, as a Sacrifice for the safety of their Country; but, if he should give up the Town committed to his Trust, he would betray his Country, and, yet be never the more certain of his Childrens Lives, neither; For, how could he hope, That a Tyrant, who violated his Faith Now, would stand to his Word, for the Future? And therefore, she entreated him not to prefer an Uncertainty, and (if it should be obtained) a Momentany, Convenience, before a certain and perpetual Ignominy.* By this Discourse, she somewhat settled his Mind, and that he might not Behold so dismal a Spectacle, she carried him to another Place, from whence it could not be seen. The *English* King, after this Punishment inflicted, which was not very acceptable neither to some of his own men, removed his Camp to *Halidon*-Hill, near *Berwick*, and there waits his Enemies coming.

Alexanders Children put to Death by a *Somnium*, *jus* as some think.

Douglas, who before would not hearken to the Advice of his Grave Counsellors, as to the Foraging of the *English* Counties, and, so averting the Siege, now was inflamed with raging Wrath; and withal presuming, That, if after the Perpetration of so horrible a Wickedness, almost before his Eyes, he should draw off without Fighting, it might be said, That he was afraid of his Enemy, was resolved to fight at any rate, and so marched directly towards the Enemy; and, because the *English* kept their Ground, and would not come down into the Champion, he placed all the *Scots* Army on a contrary Part of the Hill. This his rash Counsel and Project had the like Event, for, as with great Difficulty they were getting up the Hill, the Enemy with their Darts, and the hurling down of Stones, did wound them very sore, before they came to handy Blows; and when they came near, they rushed upon them in such close Bodies, that they tumbled them headlong over the steep Precipices. There fell that day about Ten, some say, Fourteen, Thousand of the *Scots*; almost all such, who escaped out of the unhappy Battel of *Duplin*, were lost here. The chief of them, whose Names are recorded, were, *Archibald* himself, the General, *James*, *John* and *Alan*, *Stuarts*, Uncles to *Robert*, who Reigned next after the *Brucians*. *Hugh*, *Kenneth*, and *Alexander Bruce*, the several and respective Earls of *Ross*, *Sutherland*, and *Carrick*; *Andrew*, *John*, and *Simon*, three Brothers of the *Frazers*. This Overthrow of the *Scots* happened on St. *Mary Magdalens* Day, in the Year 1333.

The *Scots* overthrown near *Berwick*.

Berwick Surrendred to the *English*.

After this Fight, all Relief was despaired of; so that *Alexander Seaton* surrendred up the Town to the *English*, and *Patrick Dunbar* the Castle, upon Condition, to march out with all their Goods; Both of them were forced to Swear Fealty to the *English*; and *Patrick Dunbar*

was further enjoyned to Re-edifie the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, at his own Charge, which he had demoliſhed, that it might not be a Receptacle to the *Engliſh*. *Edward*, having ſtaid there a few days, Commended the Town and the Reliques of the War, to *Baliol*; and he himſelf, retired into his own Kingdom, leaving *Edward Talbot* in *Scotland*, a Noble Perſon, and very Prudent, with a few *Engliſh* Forces, to aſſiſt *Baliol* in ſubduing the reſt of *Scotland*: And indeed, it ſeemed no great Task ſo to do, in regard, that almoſt all the Nobility were Extinct; and of thoſe few that remained, ſome came in to the Conqueror, others retired either into Deſert, or elſe, Fortified, Places. The Gariſons, which remained Faithful to *David*, were very few; as, on this ſide the *Forth*, an Iſland in a Lough, whence the River *Down* flows, ſcarce big enough to bear a moderate Caſtle; and *Dumbritton* beyond the *Forth*, a Caſtle ſcituate in *Lough Levin*; and alſo *Kildrummy* and *Urchart*.

The next Year, Ambaſſadors came from the Pope, and from *Philip*, King of *France*, to end the diſputes between the Kings of *Britain*. The *Engliſh* were ſo puſt up with the proſperous courſe of their Affairs, that the King would not ſo much as admit the Ambaſſadors into his Preſence; for, he thought, That, the Hearts of the *Scots* were ſo cowed, and their ſtrength ſo broken, That for the future, they durſt not, neither were they able again, to Rebel. But this great Tranquillity was ſoon changed into a moſt grievous War, and that, upon a very light Occaſion, where it was leaſt expected, *viz.* Upon a Diſcord ariſing amongſt the *Engliſh* themſelves, at *Perth*. *James Mowbray* had Lands given to his Anceſtors in *Scotland*, by *Edward* the Firſt; but they being loſt by the various Changes of the Times, he recovered them again, when *Edward Baliol* was King. He dying without Iſſue Male, *Alexander*, their Uncle, Commenced a Suit againſt his Daughters, for thoſe Lands: Thoſe of the *Engliſh* Faction, that maintained the Cauſe of the Females, were, *Henry Beaumont*, who had Married one of them; alſo, *Richard Talbot*, and *David Cumins*, Earl of *Athol*. *Baliol* took *Alexanders* part, and decided, or adjudged, the Lands to him, which ſo offended his Adverſaries, that they openly complained of the Injuſtice of the Decree; and ſeeing, that Complaints availed nothing, they left the Court, and went every one to his own home. *Talbot* was going for *England*; but, being apprehended, was carried to *Dunbarton*. *Beaumont* Gariſoned * *Dundury*, a ſtrong Caſtle of *Buchan*, and took Poſſeſſion not only of the Lands which were in Controverſie, but alſo of all the Neighbouring Country. *Cumins* went into *Athol*, where he fortified ſome convenient Places, and prepared to defend himſelf by force, if he were attacked. *Baliol*, being afraid of this Conſpiracy of ſuch Potent Perſons, altered his Decree, and gave the Lands in Queſtion to *Beaumont*; he alſo reconciled *Cumins*, by giving him many Fertile Lands, which belonged to *Robert Stuart*, the next King. *Alexander*, being concerned at this injurious Affront, joyns himſelf with *Andrew Murray*, Regent of the *Scots*, who had lately Ranſomed himſelf from the *Engliſh* for a great Sum of Money. Theſe things were acted at ſeveral times, yet I have put them together, that the whole courſe of my Hiſtory might not be interrupted.

Edward puſt up with his Succeſs, refuſes to hear foreign Ambaſſadors, who were ſent to mediate a Peace.

Diſſenſions between the *Engliſh* in *Scotland*, occaſion a War.

* Now demoliſhed.

The Nobles Bandy againſt *Baliol*.

† In

And *Baliol* againſt them.

In the mean time, *Baliol*, in another part of the Country, attacked all the Forts about *Renfrew*; ſome he took, others he battered down and demoliſhed. Having ſettled Matters there, according to his own Mind, he Sailed over into the Iſland *Bote*, and there fortified the Caſtle of *Rothſay*, of which he made *Alan Liſle* Governour, whom he had before made *Chief Juſtice*, for Matters of Law. He diligently ſought after *Robert Stuart*, his Nephew, or Grandchild, to put him to Death; but he, by the help of *William Heriot*, and *John Gilbert*, was wafted over in a ſmall Veſſel, into the Continent, on the other ſide, where Horſes ſtood ready for him, which carried him to *Dunbarton*, to *Malcolm Fleming*, Governour of that Caſtle. *Baliol* having ſetled things at *Bote*, at his return, took *Dunnoon*, a Caſtle ſeated in *Coval*, the Neighbouring Continent; whereupon, the Nobility of the Vicinage were ſtruck with ſo great Fear, that they almoſt all ſubmitted to him. Marching from thence, the next Spring, he bent all his care to beſiege the Caſtle of *Lough Levin*; but this project ſeeming too ſlow, he left *John Sterlin*, a powerful Knight of his Party, to beſiege the Caſtle, to whom he joyned *Michael Arnold*, *David Weemes*, and *Richard Melvin*, with part of his Army. They built a Fort over againſt it, where the paſſage was narroweſt, and having in vain tried all ways to ſubdue it by force, *Alan* * *Wepont*, and *James Lambin*, Inhabitants of St. *Andrews*, making ſuch a vigorous Reſiſtance, at length, they endeavoured to drown it, by ſtopping up the paſſage of the River; for the River *Levin* goes out from the Lake, or Loch, with a narrow Girt or Neck, and an open Rock. This Place they eſſayed to ſtop up, by making a Wall, or Bank of Stones, and Turfs, heaped upon one another; but the Work proceeded on very ſlowly, becauſe, as the Heat did incommode the Labourers, ſo the Brooks, which flowed into the Lake, were then almoſt dry; and the Water being far ſpread abroad, received an increaſe by moderate Additions. By this means, the Siege was lengthned out to the Month of *July*, when there was an *Holy Day* kept in Remembrance of *St. Margaret*, heretofore Queen of *Scotland*, on which day there uſed to be a great Concourſe of Merchants at *Dumferlin*, where the Body of that Saint is reported to be buried. Thither went *John Sterlin*, with a great part of his Men; ſome for Merchandizing, ſome for Religion, leaving his Camp, and the Wall but ſlenderly Guarded, for they thought themſelves ſecure from the Enemy; in regard, they knew, that none of the oppoſite Faction were in all the Neighbouring parts, except thoſe few, which were ſhut up in the Caſtle; but the Beſieged being made acquainted with the abſence of *Sterlin*, and the weakneſs of his Camp, aſſoon as the Evening came, ſhipt that Furniture, which they had before prepared, to peirce through the Wall; and, whilſt the Watch was a Sleep, made many Holes in it, in ſeveral Places.

John Sterlin beſieges the Caſtle at *Loch-Leven.*

* *A Veteri ponte.*

But the Governor beats him off, and raiſes the Siege.

The Water having gotten ſome ſmall Paſſages, widened the Orifices of them by degrees, and at laſt brake forth with ſuch a Violence, that it tumbled down All that was before it; it overflow'd all the Plains, and carried away with it, Tents, Huts, Men half a Sleep, and Horſes, with a mighty ruſhing Noiſe, into the Sea. And they which were in the Ships, running in with a great ſhout upon the affrightned

affrightned Soldiers, added a ſecond terrour to the firſt; ſo that upon ſuch a double ſurprize, every Man minded nothing, but how to ſave himſelf: Thus ſhifting away, they fled, as every Man could, and left the Prey to their Enemy. *Alan*, at his leaſure, carried into the Caſtle, not only the ſpoils of their Camp, but Proviſions alſo, prepared for a long Siege. Moreover, in another Sally, made againſt the Guards, which were at *Kinroſs*, there was as happy Succeſs; the Guards were routed and taken, and the Siege raiſed.

Edward enters *Scotland* again, but retreats, and carries *Baliol* with him to *England*, leaving *Cumins* of *Athol*, his Lieutenant-General, in *Scotland*.

About the ſame time, that theſe things were acting in *Fife*, the *Engliſh* entred *Scotland* with great Forces both by Sea and Land. When the Ships came into the *Forth*, their Admiral ſtruck upon the Rocks, and the reſt were grievouſly turmoiled, ſo that they returned home with greater Loſs, than Booty. But the Land-Forces pierced as far as *Glaſgoe*, where *Edward* called a Council of his own Faction, and finding, That there was neither General nor Army on foot of the contrary Party, he thought his preſence was no longer neceſſary, ſo that he returned into *England*, taking *Baliol* with him, whom he ſomewhat diſtruſted, and leaving *David Cumins*, Earl of *Athole*, to Command in *Scotland*; He firſt of all ſeizes upon the large Eſtates of all the *Stuarts*, which contained *Bote*, *Arran*, the Lands of *Renfrow*, and a great part of *Kyle* and *Cuningham*; He confirms *Alan Liſle*, Chief Juſtice of *Bote*, which ſome call *Sheriff*; others, *Seneſchal*; and alſo commanded the Neighbouring Countreys to obey him. Then he himſelf marched into another part of the Country, where he reduced the Provinces of *Buchan* and *Murray*; and though he were now grown almoſt beyond the rate of a Private Man, yet he ſent forth all his Proclamations and publick Edicts in the Name of both Kings, *Edward* and *Baliol*.

At that time, there was not a Man in *Scotland*, that durſt profeſs, That *Bruce* was King, only waggiſh Boys would ſometimes do it, as it were, in ſport and paſtime; yet *Robert Stuart*, who then lay hid in *Dunbarton*, judging that ſomething might be attempted in the abſence of *Cumins*, made the *Cambels*, a Powerful Family in *Argyle*, acquainted with his Propoſal. *Calen*, the Chief of them, met him at *Dunnoon*, a Caſtle in *Coval*, with about 400 Men, and preſently ſurprizes it; At the Noiſe whereof, the Iſlanders of *Bote*, who were divided but by a narrow Sea, generally riſe, and haſten to their old Maſters. *Alan* gathered what united Force he could to ſtop their march; whereupon, the poor People, being for the moſt part unarmed, and who had aſſembled rather in a fit of Paſſion, than by any ſolid Advice, being ſtruck with a Panick Fear, ran to the next Hill, where they found a great Company of Stones, which they threw down, like Showres of Hail-ſtones upon their Enemies, who, in contempt of their paucity, raſhly adventured to aſſault them; the greateſt Part of them were thus rudely treated before they came to Blows, but as they retreated, they ſo preſſed upon them, that the Valianteſt of their Enemies with *Alan Liſle* himſelf, were ſlain, and *John Gilbert*, Governor of the Caſtle of *Bote*, taken Priſoner; ſo that they armed many of their own Men with the Spoils of the ſlain. This, not unbloody, Victory, was followed with the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Bote*. When the Rumour of theſe Things was ſpread

Robert Stuart, and *Calen Cambel*, riſe in Arms for *Bruce*, and make Proſperous Beginnings.

abroad, *Thomas Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, with his Neighbours and Allies out of *Kyle* and *Cuningham*; as also *William Carruder*, of *Annandale*, who always had withstood the Government of the *Engliſh*, with his Friends and Kinſmen, crept out of his Hole, and came in to *Stuart*. And beſides, *John Randal*, Earl of *Murray*, being returned out of *France*, gave ſome hopes of Foreign Aſſiſtance; whereupon, being encouraged, in their Minds, to higher Attempts, they made up an Army, by the Aſſiſtance of *Godfrey Roſs*, Sheriff of *Air*, and in a ſhort time, drew all *Carick*, *Kyle*, and *Cuningham* to their Party. Alſo the *Renfroans* came to their old Maſters, the *Stuarts*, uninvited. The Vaſſals of *Andrew Murray*, following their Example, drew in the reſt of *Clydſdale*, part willingly, and part againſt their Wills, into their Cauſe. Their Confidence being increaſed by theſe happy Beginnings; that there might be ſome Repreſentation of a Publick State among them, they called together the Chief of their Party, and made Two Regents, *viz.* *Robert Stuart*, though a Young Man, yet One, who, in theſe leſſer Expeditions, had given a great Pledge of his Good-will towards his Country; and *John Randolfe*, a Perſon worthy of his Father and Brother, Both Eminent Patriots. *Randolfe* being ſent with a ſtrong Party into the Northern Countrys, there flocked in to him all thoſe, who were weary of the Heavy Yoke of the *Engliſh*; So that, *David Cumins*, being amazed at this Inclination and Change of Mens Minds, fled into *Loch Abyr*, whither he followed him, and driving up into a Nook, and being alſo in great want of Proviſions, he forced him to yield; but upon his Swearing Fealty to *Bruce*, he diſmiſſed him, and withal gave ſo much Credit to his Promiſes, that, at his Departure, he made him his Deputy; and indeed afterwards, he was not backward in *Bruce* his Cauſe. In the mean time, *Randolfe* returning into *Lothian* joined his old Friend, *William Douglas*, who being releaſed, and newly come out of *England*, did revenge the Noiſomneſs of his long Impriſonment with a great ſlaughter of his Enemies. *Andrew Murray* returned alſo, who was taken Priſoner at *Roxburgh*; ſo that, there being Commanders enough, the Regent Indicted an Aſſembly at *Perth*, to be held in the *Calends* of *April*, where, when Abundance of the Nobility met together, they were not able to effect any thing, by reaſon of the Great Feud betwixt *William Douglas* and *David Cumins*. The Cauſe whereof was pretended to be, That *Cumins* was the Occaſion, why *Douglas* was not ſooner releaſed by the *Engliſh*. *Stuart* favoured *Cumins*; but, almoſt all the reſt, *Douglas*; Moreover, *Cumins* alleged, That he came with a more than ordinary Train unto the Aſſembly, by reaſon of that Feud, for he had brought ſo Many of his Friends, and Tenants, along with him, that he became formidable to all the reſt; and beſides his Diſpoſition, which was various and mutable, his vaſt Mind, and the Noyſe of the coming of the *Engliſh*, with whom every one knew, that *Athol* would join, increaſed their Suſpicions of him. And, indeed, not long after, *Edward* invaded *Scotland*, with great Forces, both by Sea and Land, bringing *Baliol* along with him, his Navy, conſiſting of 160 Sail, entred the *Forth*; He himſelf marched by Land as far as *Perth*, ſpoiling the Country as he went along, and there waited for *Cumins*. In the mean time, *Randolfe*

went

Robert Stuart and *John Randolf* made *Regents* in behalf of *David Bruce*.

In *Teviotdale*.

April 1.

A Fewd between *Douglas* and *Cumins*.

Edward invades *Scotland*.

went to *John*, who challenged the *Æbuda*, as his Own; and, not being able to draw him to his Party, he was content, in ſo troubleſome a poſture of Affairs, to make a Truce with him for ſome months; and thereafter, returning to *Robert*, the other Regent, he found him dangerouſly ſick. So that, it was as bad a time as could be for all the Burden to be caſt upon his Own Shoulders, and therefore he durſt not Fight the *Engliſh* in a ſet Battel, but divided his Force, that ſo he might attack them by Parties. And hearing that a ſtrong Army of *Gueldrians* were coming through *England*, to join the *Engliſh*, in *Scotland*; he waited for their coming on the Borders; Where alſo, *Patrick*, Earl of *Merch*, and *William Douglas* of *Liddiſdale*, met him, together with *Alexander Ramſay*, one of the moſt experienced Soldiers of that Age; All theſe waited for the ſaid *Gueldrians* in the Fields, near *Edinburgh*. Aſſoon as ever they came in ſight one of another, they fell to it, immediately; and, after a ſharp Conflict, the *Gueldrians* were overcome, and fled to the next Hill, where, there was an old ruinous Caſtle: The next day, having no Proviſion, they ſurrendred themſelves, only upon Quarter for Life. *Randolfe*, out of reſpect to *Philip Valois*, who was their ſingular good Friend, (as was then ſaid,) did not only freely releaſe them, but accommodated them with Proviſions for their March; yea, he himſelf undertook to be their Convoy; in his march, he was taken by an Ambuſh of the *Engliſh* Party, and ſo brought to the King, who was then beſieging *Perth* with a powerful Army.

* That came out of *Gueldreland*, now one of the United Provinces.

The *Gueldrians*, Auxiliaries to the *Engliſh*, overthrown by *Randolfe*.

Randolf taken Priſoner.

At the ſame time, *David Cumins*, who ſteered all his Counſels according to the Inclinations of Fortune, being glad of the Diſtreſs of his Enemy, comes to the King of *England*, and promiſes him, in a very ſhort time, to drive all the *Brucians* out of the Kingdom; and the Truth is, he was as active in performing his Promiſe. For *Perth* being ſurrendred, and the Walls thereof demoliſhed, the King prepared to return to *England*, becauſe Proviſion for his Army came but ſlowly in; in regard, That all the *Scots*, upon notice of his coming, were adviſed to drive their Cattle into the Mountains: As for their other Proviſions, they ſhould either convey them to ſome Fortified Places far remote; or, if they could not do ſo, they ſhould ſpoil them, altogether. Neither did his Fleet, on which he moſt relied for Bread for his Army, much relieve him. For, as ſoon as it arrived at the *Forth*, and had deſtroyed a Monaſtery of Monks in the Iſle *Inch-colm*, as it rode at Anchor in the open Sea, it was grievouſly turmoiled, and ſuffered great Loſſes by a Tempeſtuous Storm, ſo that part of the Ships could hardly get to *Inch-Keith*, a deſolate Iſland, near adjoining. Others were carried further by the Winds, but as ſoon as they could recover themſelves, they imputed the Cauſe of the Tempeſt to the Anger of St. *Columb*, becauſe they had avaritiouſly, and cruelly, deſtroyed a Monaſtery of His; and therefore, whatever Prey, or Plunder, they had got, they carried it thither, as an Expiation for their Offence; neither was any memorable Act performed, by that Fleet, the whole Year.

Cumin's large Promiſes to *Edward*.

Perth taken by *Edward*.

Edward retreats to *England*.

Though theſe Cauſes did much incline the King of *England* to return, yet, that which did moſt accelerate it, was, his Propenſion to the French War, which was then moſt in his thoughts. And there-

fore, he marched back his Army, and took *Baliol* with him, as if the *Scotiſh* War had been almoſt at an end, and left *Cumins*, as Regent, to perfect the Remainder thereof. He, to ingratiate himſelf to Both Kings, and to avenge himſelf on his Enemy, was extraordinary cruel in his Proceedings, which Severity of his was the more reſented, becauſe, that lately he himſelf obtained his Pardon ſo eaſily, when he was reduced to the loweſt Ebb, not many Months before. There were ſcarce above Three of all the *Scotiſh* Nobility, whom neither Promiſes could entice, nor Dangers enforce, to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* Yoke; and Thoſe were, *Patrick*, Earl of *Merch*; *Andrew Murray*, and *William Douglas*. Theſe joined their Forces, and march to *Kilblane* Foreſt, againſt *Cumins*, who was beſieging *Kildrummy* Caſtle; with him they had a ſharp Fight. *Cumins* was more in Number, and a Few might eaſily be ſnapt by a great Many; but the coming in of *John Craig*, Governor of the Caſtle, with 300 Freſh Men, decided the Controverſy, and gave an undiſputed Victory to the *Brucians*. All the Valianteſt of *Cumins* his Army were ſlain, either in the Fight, or in the Purſuit. Many were ſaved in a Neighbour Caſtle, called *Cameron*, belonging to *Robert Meinze*; But, ſeeing there were not Proviſions for ſo great a Multitude, pent up in ſo narrow a Room, the next day it was ſurrendred, and the Defendants, upon their Submiſſion, confirmed by an Oath, Pardoned. There fell in this Fight, beſides the General himſelf, *Robert Brady*, and *Walter Cumins*, Two of his intimate Friends; *Thomas*, his Brother, being taken Priſoner, was the next day put to death.

Cumins left *Regent* by him in *Scotland.*

In *Marr.*

* On the ſide of the River *Don* in *Marr.*

Cumin's Army overthrown, and himſelf ſlain.

Upon this Victory, in regard *Randolfe* was a Priſoner, and *Stuart* was ſick, the Name and Power of Regent was confirmed on *Andrew Murray*, by Military Suffrage. For, when Letters came from the King of *France* concerning a Truce, the Nobles of the *Brucian* Party, being forced to receive them, did, by unanimous Conſent, reſtore that former Honour to *Murray*, which his Calamitous Misfortune had deprived him of. He, after the Truce, for a few Months, was ended, laid Siege to the Caſtle of * *Lochindores*, which was held by the Wife of *David Cumins*; She, foreſeeing, what would happen, had craved Aid of the *Engliſh*, who ſhortly after landed ſome Forces in *Murray*, and raiſed the Siege. They alſo pierced as far as *Elgin*, (a Town ſituate by the River *Loſſy*,) waſting all as they went, with Fire and Sword. As they were marching to *Perth*, they burnt *Aberdene*, and, Gariſon'd the Caſtles in all *Merſs*, *Dunoter*, * *Kinneff*, and *Laureſton*. They laid a Command on the ſix adjoining Monaſteries, to repair the Walls of *Perth*, which were demoliſhed; and then committing the Affairs of *Scotland* to *Edward Baliol*, who was returned thither, they went back for *England*. Upon the Departure of the *Engliſh*, and the low Condition of the *Scots*, *Henry Beaumont* thought it a fit Opportunity for him to ſtir, to revenge the Death of his Son in Law, the Earl of *Athole*, and therefore he killed all that he could take, without any diſtinction, who had been in the Fight of *Kilblane*, in a very cruel manner. *Andrew Murray* beſieged him in *Dingarg*, and enforced him to a Surrender, and, upon taking his Oath, That he would return no more into *Scotland*, in an Hoſtile manner, he was diſmiſſed; Thus, by one continued Courſe of Victory, he took all the

Murray made Regent.

The *Engliſh* again enter *Scotland.*

Standing on a Rock in the Sea.

And upon their Retreat leave *Edw. Baliol*, their General.

A ſtrong Caſtle in *Buchan.*

Strong

Strong Holds on the further ſide of the *Forth* (beſides the Caſtle of *Cowper*, and the Town of *Perth*,) and, caſting out their Gariſons, he wholly demoliſhed Them. Afterwards, he entred *England*, where he got great Booty, and ſomewhat relieved the Spirits of his Soldiers, who had ſuffered much by reaſon of want, in their own Country. For, in regard, *Scotland* had been haraſſed, that Year, by the Injuries of War, and waſted by the daily Incurſions of both Parties, the Fields lay untill'd, and there was ſuch a Famine, that the *Engliſh* were enforced to deſert the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cowper*, for want of Proviſions. And a *Scotiſh* Seaman, who had been abuſed by them, being employed to Tranſport the Gariſon-Soldiers by Night to *Lothian*, Landed them upon a Bank of Sand, which was bare, when the Tide was out; they, thinking it had been the Continent, went a little way, and then met with Sea again, which made them call again for the Veſſel, but in vain, for they all periſhed there.

Murray's proſperous Succeſſes.

Mercile's Cruelty.

The next Year, which was 1337. the *Engliſh* Beſieged the Caſtle of *Dunbar*; it was defended by *Agnes*, the Wife of the Earl of *Merch*, who was commonly Sirnamed the *Black*, a Woman of a Manly Spirit. The Beſiegers were the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Arundel*; the Siege laſted longer than any body thought it would, ſo that Two divers Supplies were ſent into *Scotland* to relieve *Baliol*; the One led by *Monfort*, the Other by *Richard Talbot*; *Lawrence Preſton* undertook *Monfort*, and in a Fight ſlew him, and routed his Army, but he himſelf dyed ſoon after, of the Wounds he there received, which cauſed his Soldiers to wreck their Fury, for the loſs of their General, on the Priſoners, whom they inhumanly ſlew. *Talbot* was taken Priſoner by *William Keith*, and his Army routed; yet the Siege of *Dunbar* continued, ſtill. And the Sea being ſtopped by the *Engliſh*, the Beſieged were driven to ſo great a want of Victuals, that, without doubt, it muſt have been ſurrendred, if *Alexander Ramſay*, by a ſeaſonable, thô bold, Attempt, had not relieved it. He, in the dead time of the Night, ſlipp'd by the Watch, which in Gallies of *Genoa*, kept the Sea-Coaſt-ſide, and came up to the Caſtle, where he landed Forty choice Men, and a great quantity of Proviſions. And then, joyning part of the Gariſon with his own Men, in the Covert of the Night, he ruſhed in, with ſuch a noiſe, on the *Engliſh* Guard, that he made a great ſlaughter amongſt them; for they little expected a Sally from an Enemy, whom they looked upon, as almoſt Conquered; and ſo, the next Night, he returned back, as ſecurely as he came. Thus, after Six Months, the Siege of *Dunbar* was raiſed: For *Edward* called back his Forces to the *French* War, after they had wearied themſelves, and tryed all ways to become Maſters of the Place.

Salisbury and *Arundel* Command ſome *Engliſh* in *Scotland*.

Monfort ſlain by *Preſton*.

A piece of Savage Inhumanity.

Talbot overthrown by *Keith*.

Dunbar reliéved, and the Siege raiſed.

Andrew Murray, his Country being then almoſt freed from Foreign Soldiers, attempted to reduce, Firſt *Sterling*, then *Edinburgh*; but was fain to depart from them Both, without carrying them; yet, he ſubdued all *Lothian*, and brought it under the King's Subjection. In the mean time, to give his wearied Mind a little Relaxation, he went to ſee his Lands and Poſſeſſions beyond the Mountains, where he fell Sick, and Dyed; he was Buried at *Roſmark*, much Lamented, and Deſired, by all Good Men. For, in thoſe Two Years and

A Tow[illegible] R[illegible]

an

Murray the Regent dyes.

an halfe, whilst he sate at Helme, he performed such great Atchievements, as might seem sufficient for the whole Life of One of the Greatest Captains in the World.

Stuart made Regent.

After him, *Stuart* was made Regent, till the return of *David* out of *France*; he, being yet but young, did, that Year, get the better of the *English*, in many light Skirmishes, which were managed under the Conduct of *William Douglas*; yet, not without the great hazard and danger of *Douglas* himself, who was often wounded: He drove the *English* out of *Teviotdale*; He took the Castle of *Hermitage* in *Liddisdale*, and, surprizing great store of Provision belonging to the Enemy at *Mulross*, he fortified it, too. He had such a sharp and obstinate Encounter with *Berclay*, That he himself, with but Three in his Company, hardly escaped, and that by the benefit of the Night, too. He overthrew the Forces of *John Sterling*, in a bloody Onset, yet He himself was, a while after, like to be taken by him; but recovering himself, after a fierce Encounter, he put *Sterling* to flight, slew Thirty of his Companions, and took Forty of them, Prisoners; he so pressed upon *William Abernethy*, by whom he had been worsted Five times in one Day, That, before Night, he slew all his Men, and brought him Prisoner along with him. And he had as great Felicity in conquering *Lawrence Vaux*, a stout Enemy: At last, he Sailed over to King *David* in *France*, to acquaint him with the State of *Scotish* Affairs. The next Year, which was 1339. *Stuart*, hoping to follow on his good Fortune, Levied an Army, and divided it into Four Parts, and so attempts to reduce *Perth*, but the *English* defended it so valiantly, that he was wounded and beaten off; After the Siege had lasted Three Months, *Douglas* came to their Assistance, when they almost despaired of Success; he brought with him Five Pyratical Ships, which he hired, wherein there were some Soldiers, and warlike Engines. Part of the Soldiers were Landed, but the rest were sent, in their Ships, to keep the Mouth of the River *Tay*. *Douglas* himself went to recover the Castle of *Cowper*; which, being deserted by the *English*, was seized on by the *Scots*. And *William Bullock*, an *English* Priest, who was Treasurer also, made Governor. *Douglas* agreed with him, that he should have Lands in *Scotland*, and so come over to his Party; he was the more easily persuaded to it, because he could expect no Aid from *England*, and he had not much confidence in the *Scots*, who were in Garison with him. This Man was afterwards very faithful to the *Scots*, and of great use to them.

His prosperous Beginnings.

He Sails over to *David*, then in *France*.

At his return he Levies an Army.

Bullock turns to the *Scots*.

Perth taken by the *Scots*, so is *Sterlin*.

The Siege of *Perth* had now lasted Four Months, and would have continued much longer, unless the Earl of *Ross* had drained the Water out of the Trench, by Mines, and subterraneous Passages; so that, by this means, the Assailants came to the very Walls, and threw the Defendants off their Works, by the Darts sent, principally, from the Engins, so that the *English* were forced to Surrender, upon Terms, To march out Bag and Baggage, whither they pleased. In a little time after, *Sterlin*, being Besieged, was also Surrendren on the same Terms; and *Maurice Murray*, the Son of *Andrew*, was made Governor of the Castle. *Baliol* was so terrified at this suddain Mutation of Affairs, That he left *Galway*, where he usually abode

abode, and went for *England*. A while after, the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was taken, not by Force, but Stratagem. *Walter Curry*, a Merchant, who then chanced to have a Ship laden with Proviſions, in the Bay, or *Firth*, of the River *Tay*, at *Dundee*, was ſent for by *William Douglas* into the *Forth*. There, He and *Bullock* agreed, That *Curry* ſhould fain himſelf to be an *Engliſhman*, and ſhould carry Two Bottles of his beſt Wine, and ſome other Preſents, to the Governor of the Caſtle; deſiring his Leave to ſell the reſt of his Proviſion in the Gariſon; and withal, to inform him, That if He, or the Gariſon, ſtood in any need of his Service, he would Gratifie them as far as ever he was able. Hereupon, the Governor commanded him to bring ſome Hogſheads of Wine, and a certain Number of Biſkets, and promiſed him Free Admittance, whenever he came. He, for Fear of the *Scots*, (forſooth) who often made Incurſions into the neighbouring Parts, promiſes (happy be lucky) to come betimes, the next Morning.

That Night, *Douglas*, with Twelve Select Men, accompanying him, clad themſelves in Mariners attire, under which their Armour was hid, and ſo carried Proviſions into the Caſtle; as for his Soldiers, he laid them in Ambuſh, commanding them to wait for the Signal to be given; *Douglas* and *Simon Frazer* went before, and commanded the reſt to follow Them, at a moderate diſtance; When they were let, by the Porter, into the Fort, which was made of Beames before the Gate of the Caſtle, they obſerved, That the Keys of the Doors hung on his Arms, him therefore they killed, and ſo opened the Caſtle-Gate; and then, (as they had before agreed) they gave the Signal to their Fellows, by blowing an Horn; the Noiſe whereof was a Sign to the One, That the Caſtle was entred by their Friends; To the Other, That it was ſurprized by their Enemies. Both Parties made all the haſte they could, the *Scots* caſt down their Burdens in the very Paſſage of the Gate, leſt the Doors might be ſhut, & ſo they kept out from their Fellows, who could march but ſlowly up, on ſo ſteep an Aſcent: Here, there happened a ſharp Diſpute with Loſs of Both ſides, at length the Gariſon-Soldiers had the worſt, who were all ſlain, except the Governor and ſix more.

And Edinburgh Caſtle by Stratagem.

It was this ſelf ſame Year, or, (as ſome ſay) the next, That *Ramſay* (the moſt Experienced Soldier of all the *Scots*) made his Expedition into *England*. Men had ſo great an Opinion of his Skil in Military Affairs, That every Body was accounted, but a *Freſh-Water* Soldier, who had not been diſciplin'd under Him. And therefore, all the young Fry came in to him, as the only School where the Art of War was to be taught. He having before made many proſperous Expeditions into his Enemies Country, thô but with ſmall Forces, their Affairs being now at a Low-Ebb in *Scotland*, took heart to attempt greater Matters; ſo that, gathering together an handſom Army of his Tenants and Friends, he ſpoiled and haraſſed *Northumberland*; and, upon his Retreat, the *Engliſh* drew forth all their Force from the Country and Gariſons, and ſo followed him with a very great Army: What was to be done, in this caſe? *Alexander* could not avoid Fighting; and yet, he perceived, That his Soldiers were ſomewhat Creſt-fallen, by reaſon of the Multitude of the Enemy. In theſe Circum-

Alex. Ramſays Houſe, the School of War.

His Expedition into *England*.

He haraſſes *Northumberland*.

Circumſtances, he ſent away his Booty before, and placed his Foot in Ambuſh; and commanded his Horſe to ſtraggle abroad, as if they were Flying, and when they came to the Place of Ambuſh, then to rally again at Sound of Trumpet; The *Engliſh*, imagining, That the Horſe had fled in good earneſt, purſued them as diſorderly; and, when the Signal was given to come together again, they, in a moment, turned back upon Them, The Foot alſo skipping out of their Ambuſhes; which ſtruck ſuch a Conſternation, and Terrour, into the *Engliſh*, That they fled back faſter, than before they had purſued. Many of them were ſlain, many taken, and the Prey carried home, ſafe. Amongſt the Priſoners, there was the Governor of *Roxburgh*, who had drawn out almoſt all his Gariſon to follow him; ſo that *Alexander*, knowing the Town to be empty, aſſaulted and eaſily took, It, at the Firſt Onſet; and when he had taken the Lower Part of the Caſtle, the Remainders of the Gariſon-Soldiers fled up into a ſtrong Tower therein; but, being vigorouſly aſſaulted, and having no hopes of Relief, They ſurrendred up Themſelves. Some ſay, That the * Earl of *Salisbury* was there taken, and exchanged for *John Randolf*. But moſt Writers, whom I am rather inclined to follow, affirm, That *Salisbury* was taken Priſoner in *France*, and that by *French* Troops. *Randolf*, going into *Annandale*, took his Caſtle, which was ſeated by * *Loch-Maban*, from the *Engliſh*: And the Three Governors of the Borders, *Alexander Ramſay* of the Eaſt, *William Douglas* of the Mid-Border, and *Randolf* of the Weſt, drove the *Engliſh* beyond their old Bounds, which they had in the Reign of *Alexander* the Third, and left them no footing at all in *Scotland*, but only *Berwick*. Some ſay, That *Roxburgh* was taken by *Ramſay*, in the Night, who ſet Ladders to the Walls, when the Watch was aſleep, in the Year 1342. the 30*th* Day of *March*; and the *Black Book of Paſley* ſays ſo, too.

And takes *Roxburgh*.

* The Earl of *Salisbury* taken Priſoner by the *Scots*, as ſome ſay.

* It is 3 Miles in Compaſs.

Three Governors of the Borders.

The *Engliſh* driven out of all *Scotland*, except *Berwick*.

The ſame Year, on the 4*th* of the Nones of * *July*, *David Bruce*, and His Wife, arrived at *Ennerbervy*, Nine Years after his Departure; His Coming was the more acceptable, becauſe the Affairs of *Scotland* were then at ſuch a low Ebb. For, *Edward*, having made a Truce, for Three Years, with *Philip*, King of *France*, at *Tournay*, and ſo being freed of his *French* War, determined to invade *Scotland*, with all his Force. He had then in his Army Forty Thouſand Foot, and Six Thouſand Horſe, and he had alſo Equipp'd out a Gallant Navy of Ships to carry Proviſions for his Foot Soldiers, that there might be no Want, that way; They ſet Sail in the Month of *November*, but were encountred by ſo fierce a Tempeſt, that, after a long Diſtreſs at Sea, they were caſt upon the *Belgick* and *German* Shores, and ſo were of no uſe to him in the preſent War. In the Interim, *Edward* and his Land Forces ſtaid about *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine* in great want of Victuals; Thither Embaſſadors came to him from *Scotland*, deſiring a Pacification for Four Months, which they obtained upon Condition, *That if* David *came not to them before the* Calends *of* June, *all the* Scots *would become Subjects to* Edward; but *David*, hearing of the Preparation of the *Engliſh*, had ſet Sail before the coming of Embaſſadors to him.

* *July* 2. K. *David* returns to *Scotland*.

Edward enters *Scotland* with a great Army.

Embaſſadors from *Scotland* obtain a Pacification.

June 1.

Amongſt thoſe who flocked in to gratulate the King, at his Re-

turn

turn, (as Many did, from all Parts of the Kingdom) there came *Alexander Ramſay*, alſo; who, being eminent both for the ſplendid Atchievements of his Former Life, and eſpecially for his late, and yet reaking, Conqueſts, was received with a great deal of Favour, and had the Government of *Roxburgh* beſtowed on him; yea, and the Sheriff-wick of all *Teviotdale* was alſo added to his Authority. *William Douglas* took this mighty heinouſly, that *Ramſay* was preferred before him in that Honour; For, ſeeing he had expelled the *Engliſh* from almoſt all *Teviotdale*, he had ſometimes preſided over the Publick Aſſembly there, thô without the Kings Command; yet, relying upon his Merits towards his Country, the Nobleneſs of his Stock, and the Power of his Family, he hoped, That no man would have been his Competitor, for that Office. Whereupon, being wholly bent on Revenge, he, at preſent, diſſembled his Anger, but, in Three Months after, he met with his Adverſary, holding an Aſſembly in the Church of *Hawick*, and unawares aſſaulted and wounded him, having alſo ſlain Three of his Followers, who endeavoured to reſcue him; and ſo ſet him upon an Horſe, and carried him to the Caſtle of *Hermitage*, where he ſtarved him to Death.

The *Scots Nobles* flock in to *David*.

A Town in *Teviotdale*.

Ramſay taken, and ſtarved to Death by *Douglas*.

About the ſame time, *William Bullock*, a Man of ſingular Loyalty to the King, was put to the ſame kind of Death, by *David Berclay*. Theſe Two Savage and Cruel Facts filled almoſt the whole Kingdom with Seditions, and diſtracted it into ſeveral Parties. Theſe things did mightily exerciſe the King, who was yet but Young, and not accuſtomed to Men of Rough and Military Diſpoſitions; yet, though he uſed great diligence to find out *Douglas*, to bring him to Condign Puniſhment; he, by Means of his Friends, (of which he had procured Many, by his Noble Exploits for the Liberty of his Country) and eſpecially of *Robert Stuart*, the King's Son by his Siſter, obtained his Pardon; And, indeed the Magnificent, yet True, Report of his Famous Actions, did much facilitate the Obtaining thereof, together with the preſent Conjuncture of the Time, wherein, there being but an uncertain Peace abroad, and Seditions at home, Military Men were to be reſpected, yea, and honoured too. Upon which Account, he was not only pardoned, but preferred alſo to the Government of *Roxburgh* and of *Teviotdale* too; a Clemency, which, perhaps, in the preſent Circumſtances of Things, might be uſeful; but, certainly, of very ill Example for the Future.

Bullock put to Death.

Douglas pardoned.

David, having thus ſettled Matters at Home, the beſt he could, denounces War againſt *England*, the greateſt Part of the Nobility diſſuading him from that Expedition, by reaſon of the great Scarcity of Proviſions: Yet, he Liſted an handſom Army, and made *Thomas Randolfe* General thereof; he himſelf accompanied him, but in diſguiſe, that he might not be known to be the King. This Army, having waſted *Northumberland* for about Two Months time, returned home with great Booty: Within a few Days after, he made another Inrode into the Enemies Country; but then he did not diſguiſe, but openly profeſſed Himſelf, both King and General. The *Engliſh*, being inferior in Strength, would not venture to give a ſet Battel, whilſt their King was abſent in *France*; but skirmiſhed their Enemies with their Horſe, and ſo kept them from plundering much, by a cloſe March.

David makes ſeveral Expeditions into *England*.

Five of the Chief Nobility, whom *David* had lately raiſed to that Honour, ſtraggling too far from their Men, were taken Priſoners, their Followers being alſo killed, or put to Flight. So that, *David*, to ſpend no more time there, in vain, returned with his Army. He made alſo a Third Expedition, with what Force he could privately Levy, that ſo he might fall upon his Enemy, unawares. But, entring *England* in a ſtormy *Autumn*, the ſmall Brooks were ſo ſwollen with large Showres, that they made all the Country unpaſſable, and alſo hinder'd the Carriage of Proviſion, ſo that, Home he came again; yet, that he might not ſeem to have taken ſo much Pains to no purpoſe, he demoliſhed a few Caſtles.

Not long after, Embaſſadors were ſent, to and fro, in order to obtain a Truce for Two Years, which the *Scots* conſented to, upon Condition, That *Philip*, King of *France*, gave his Conſent; for That was one Article in the Treaty between the *Scots* and *French*, That neither of them ſhould make Truce, or Peace, with the *Engliſh*, without the Other's Conſent. For thoſe Two Years, *Scotland* was quiet. About the Fourth Year, after *David*'s Return, the *French* were overcome in a great Battel; and *Calais*, a Town of the *Morini*, was beſieged by them; ſo that *Philip* preſſed the *Scots*, by his Ambaſſadors, to Invade *England*, and to ſo draw away ſome of their Force from Him. Hereupon, an Army was commanded to meet at *Perth*. Thither they came in a great Abundance, and there *David*, Earl of *Roſſe*, waylaying *Reginald*, Lord of the *Æbudæ*, his Old Enemy, fell upon him in the Night, and ſlew him with Seven Nobles in his Company. This Murder did much weaken the Army, for the Kindred and Tenants of both Parties, yea, the Neighbouring Inhabitants, fearing a Civil War between Two ſuch Potent Families, returned to their own Homes. And therefore, *William Douglas* of *Liddiſdale*, earneſtly perſuaded the *King* to deſiſt from his preſent Expedition, and to compoſe Matters, at Home. His Counſel was refuſed; and the King (his Friendſhip to *Philip* overcoming his Love to his Country) marches forward into *England*, and deſtroyed all as he went, by Fire and Sword. And thus in Sixteen Days he came into the County of *Durham*, where the *Engliſh*, parly levied by *Percy*, and partly ſent back from the Siege of *Calais*, made a great Body, and ſhewed themſelves to the Enemy in Battel-array, ſooner than ever the *Scots* could have imagined. *David*, who feared nothing leſs than the coming of the Enemy, and therefore had ſent abroad *Douglas* to forage the Neighbouring Country, gave a Signal of Battel to his Souldiers. *Douglas* fell unawares amongſt his Enemies, and having loſt Five Hundred of his Men, was put to flight, and returned, in great Fear, to the Camp. And the End of the Conflict was as unhappy, as the Beginning: For, the Fight being ſharply begun, *John Randolfe*'s Men were routed at the firſt Onſet, and he himſelf ſlain. The main Battel, in which the King was, was aſſaulted by Two Brigades of the *Engliſh*; *One*, that had conquered before; and *Another*, that was intire, and had not yet charged, who ſhattered it, and cut it off quite; They being reſolved to die, and therein almoſt all the *Scotiſh* Nobility were utterly loſt; and the King himſelf, after his Arms were taken away, was taken Priſoner by *John Copland*, but he ſtruck out Two of his Teeth with

A Truce for two Years betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

Calais beſieged by the *Engliſh*.

See *p.* 4. *Note* i.

David at the ſolicitation of the *French*, enters *England* with an Army.

Where he receives a great overthrow, and is taken Priſoner by *John Copland*.

his Fiſt, though he himſelf was ſorely wounded with two Arrows. The Third Wing, commanded by *Robert Stuart* and *Patrick Dunbar*, perceiving the Slaughter of their fellow-Souldiers, withdrew themſelves with little Loſs. The Nobility were ſo deſtroyed in this Fight, that, immediately after it, *Roxburgh*, *Hermitage*, and many other Caſtles, were ſurrender'd to the *Engliſh*: And the *Scots* were enforced to quit their Claim to all the Lands they held in *England*, and alſo to *Merth*, *Teviotdale*, *Liddiſdale*, and *Lauderdale*; and the Bounds, and Borders, of the *Engliſh*, were inlarged to *Cockburns-Path*, as they call it, and *Soltra-Hill*.

Upon which, the *Engliſh* regain a great part of *Scotland*.

A ſtrong Paſs on the Sea ſhore, in that Bourn which divides *Eaſt-Lothian* from the *Merſe*.

Baliol, not contented to have recovered the Poſſeſſions of his Anceſtors in *Galway*, marched over *Annandale* and *Liddiſdale*, and all the Country lying near the *Clyd*, and deſtroyed all by Fire and Sword: He alſo, by the Aſſiſtance of *Percy* of *England*, made the like Havock in *Lothian*; neither could there a ſufficient Army be raiſed againſt them in *Scotland*, for ſome Years. As an Addition to this Miſery, there hapned alſo a grievous Plague, which ſwept away almoſt the Third Part of the People. And yet, in ſuch an afflicted State of Things, Men did not abſtain from Domeſtick Miſchiefs. *David Berclay*, a Noble Knight, who, before, had ſlain *Bullock*, was, at this time alſo, preſent at the Murder of *John Douglas* at *Dalkeith*. *William Douglas* of *Liddiſdale* (who was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*, at the Battel of *Durham*, and was not yet releaſed) cauſed him to be ſlain, by the Hands of his Tenants; and after he himſelf was Releaſed, and returned into *Scotland*, he did not long ſurvive him: For, as he was a Hunting in the Wood of *Attic*, he was killed by *William Douglas*, the Son of *Archibald*, newly returned from *France*, in Revenge for his Murder of *Alexander Ramſay*. Neither did the Clans of the Ancient *Scots*, as impatient to be quiet, abſtain from injuring one another.

A Plague in *Scotland*.

Bloody Feuds.

In the midſt of theſe Calamities, which preſſed in on every ſide; *William Douglas* gathered together a Band of his Vaſſals and Tenants, and recovered *Douglas*, the Patrimony of his Anceſtors, having driven the *Engliſh* out of it; and afterwards, upon this little Succeſs, Mens Minds being more inclined to him, he reduced a great part of *Teviotdale*, alſo. In the mean time, *John* King of *France*, Heir to his Father *Philip*, both in his Kingdom, and in his Wars, fearing, leſt the *Scots*, being broken by ſo many Misfortunes, ſhould quite ſuccumb under ſo Puiſſant an Enemy, ſent *Eugenius Guranter* to them, with Forty Gallant Cavaleers in his Train, to deſire of them, *To make no Peace with* England, *without his Conſent*. He brought with him Forty Thouſand *French* Crowns, to preſs Soldiers; and, beſides, by large Promiſes, he wrought over the Nobility to his Side and Opinion. They received the Money, and divided it among themſelves, but levied no Soldiers, only they carried on the War, by light Incurſions, as they were wont to do. Aſſoon as the *Engliſh* heard of this, they almoſt waſted all *Lothian*, which had been ſorely haraſſed, before. To Revenge this wrong, *Patrick Dunbar*, and *William Douglas*, gathered a good ſtrength together, as privately as they could, and placed themſelves in Ambuſh, but ſent out *David Ramſay* of *Dalhouſe*, a noted and Valiant Soldier, with part of the

Douglas prevails againſt the *Engliſh*.

John of *France*, perſuades the *Scots* to make no Peace with the Engliſh, but by his Conſent.

The *Engliſh* waſte *Lothian*.

Norham burnt by the *Scots*.

The *English* drawn into an Ambush.

Berwick Town taken by the *Scots*, but not the *Castle*.

Edward enters *Scotland*.

Baliol Surrenders the Kingdom to him.

Edward retreats, upon which the *Scots* recover some of their Losses.

Edward overthrows *John* of *France* in *Aquitain*, and hath two Kings his Prisoners at one time.

David Bruce, released upon paying a great Ransom, wherein the Pope assists the *Scots*.

Army, to burn *Norham*, a populous Town upon the Banks of *Tweed*. When *Ramsay* had accomplished his design, the *English* were trained on to the Ambush, where some were surprized and slain; at last, being not able to resist so great a Multitude, the *English* surrender themselves. This success heartned the *Scots*, and therefore, the same Commanders uniting their Forces together, *Thomas Stuart*, Earl of *Angus*, resolves to attack *Berwick*: And, to do it privately, he hired Vessels, Ladders, and other Implements used in Scaling the Walls of Towns, wherever he could procure them; he acquaints *Patrick* with his coming, he meets him at the Hour appointed, and creeping to the Walls, with as little noise as they could; yet, the Sentinels espied them, whom, after a sharp Conflict, they repulsed, and so became Masters of the Town, but not without loss on their own side; the Castle was still kept by the *English*, which they assaulted, but in vain.

When the King of *England* heard, how Matters went in *Scotland*, he gathered together a Puissant Army; and, in swift Marches, hastned thither. The *Scots* hearing of his coming, and not being provided with Materials for a long Siege, spoiled and burnt the City, and so returned home; *Edward* employed all kind of Workmen, and Artificers, to repair what the Flames had Consumed; in the Interim, he himself quartered at *Roxburgh*. Thither *Baliol* comes, and *Surrenders up the Kingdom of* Scotland *to him*, desiring him earnestly not to forget the Injuries offered him, by the *Scots*. *Edward*, as it were in Obsequiousness to his Desires, invades *Lothian* by Land and Sea, and makes a further Devastation of what was left after the former Ruin. He determined, in that Expedition, so to quell all *Scotland*, that they should never recover strength to Rebel again. But his Purpose was disappointed, by reason of a most grievous Tempest, which so shattered and tore his Ships, that carried his Provisions, that very Few of them ever met in one Port; so that, he was enforced to return home, for want of Provisions; only he vented his Spleen upon *Edinburgh*, *Hadington*, and other Towns of *Lothian*. *Edward* and his Army being gone for *England*, *Douglas* drove the *English* out of *Galway*; *Roger Kirk-Patrick*, out of *Nithisdale*; and *John Stuart*, Son of the Regent, out of *Annandale*, so that those Three Countries were recovered by the *Scots*.

About the same time, *John* King of *France* was overthrown by the *English*, in a great Battel in *Poictou*, and he himself taken Prisoner. *Edward*, having Two Kings his Prisoners at once, passed the Winter merrily amongst the Gratulations of his Friends; so that the *Scots* thinking, that his Mind, being sated with Glory, might be more inclined to Equity, they sent Ambassadors to him, to treat about the Release of their King. *Bruce*, that the *Scots* might have easie Access to him, was sent to *Berwick*; but, in regard they could not agree about the Conditions, he was carried back to *London*. Not long after, the Popes Legates were sent, who took great Pains to make a Peace, betwixt the *English* and *French*; they also transacted the same for *Scotland*, upon the Promise of the Payment of an Hundred, (as our Writers say,) or, as *Froissard*, of Five Hundred Thousand Marks of *English* Money to them; Part of which was to be paid

in

in Hand, the reſt by Parcels. To make up that Sum; the Pope gave the Tenths of all Benefices, for Three Years; in the mean time, a Truce was made, and many young Nobles given for Hoſtages, who died almoſt all in *England*, of the Plague.

Hereupon, *David* returned, the Eleventh Year after he was taken Priſoner. The firſt thing he did, was, to puniſh thoſe who had been the forwardeſt to fly in the Battel of *Durham*. From *Patrick Dunbar*, he took away a great part of his Lands; he cut off all hope from *Robert Stuart*, his Eldeſt Siſters Son; of ſucceeding in the Kingdom, and ſubſtituted *Alexander*, Son of the Earl of *Sutherland*, by his Youngeſt Siſter, and made the Nobles to ſwear Fealty to him. This young Mans Father diſtributed large and fruitful Lands amongſt the Nobles, to engage them more firmly to his Son. But, *Alexander* dying ſoon after, he was reconciled to *Robert Stuart*; and, in a full Aſſembly of the Eſtates, he was, by a General Suffrage, named Heir Preſumptive of the Crown. But this was done ſome Years after.

David ſettles the Succeſſion, firſt on *Alexander*, and then on *Robert Stuart*.

The King ſpent the next Five Years in appeaſing the Diſcords at home, in which time there happened Two great Calamities: One reached but to a few, by an Inundation of Water; for, the Heavens ſent down ſo much Rain, that *Lothian* ſeemed to be all a Float; yea, the force of the Water was ſuch, that it carried away Bridges, Water-Mills, Country Houſes, with their Owners, and Cattle, into the Sea; it rooted up Trees, and almoſt quite deſtroyed the Towns, which ſtood near the Banks of Rivers. This Miſery was ſeconded by Another, namely, a grievous Peſtilence, which conſumed many of all Ranks and Ages.

Great Inundations of Water endammage *Lothian*.

A Grievous Peſtilence.

In the Year 1363. the ſtate of things grew Calmer, and then, in the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, the King propounded to the *Lords of the Articles*, *That the King of* England, *or elſe his Son, might be ſent for into* Scotland, *to undertake the Kingdom, if he ſhould chance to Die*. This he did, either by his wearineſs of War; or, foreſeeing, That it would be for the Good of both Kingdoms; or, (as others think) becauſe of his Oath, which the *Engliſh* had made him to Swear, but his Speech was ſo Unacceptable and Offenſive to them all, that, before every ones Vote could be asked in order, they all confuſedly cried out upon it, as an abominable Propoſe; and it was almoſt come to That, that they, who had moſt freely ſpoken againſt it, fearing his Diſpleaſure, were meditating a Revolt. But he, underſtanding their Fears, abated his Anger, and received them into Favour. When he had quieted all things elſewhere, yet the *Highlanders* continued ſtill in Arms, and did not only commit Outrages upon one another, but alſo made Havock of the adjacent Countries. The King tried all probable Means to bring them to a mutual Concord; but, being not able to do it, his next Plot was, To ſuborn ſome Crafty Fellows, to foment and heighten their Diſſenſions; that ſo, when the feirceſt of them had deſtroyed one another, the reſt might become more Tractable and Pliant. The King, having performed theſe Exploits, both at home and abroad, departed this Life in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, on the Seventh Day of *June*, in the Forty Seventh Year of his Age, about the Thirty Ninth of his Reign, and of our *Lord* 1370.

Eight Prudent Perſons, choſen out of all the Orders, to prepare Matters for that High Court.

Davids unacceptable Propoſitions to the *Scots*.

Davids Policy to ſubvert the *Iſlanders*.

He

His Death and Character.

He was certainly, a Man eminent in all kind of Virtue; but especially in Justice and Clemency; and, though he had been exercised with Good and Bad Events, alternately; yet, still, his Fortune seemed rather to fail him, than his Industry.

Robert II. *The Hundreüth King.*

AFter *David*'s Decease, the Nobles met together at *Linlithgo*, to Congratulate *Robert*, at the beginning of his Reign, who had, before, been designed King by his Uncle; but here, the Ambition of *William Douglas* had almost cast things into a Sedition, and Uproar. For he demanded the Kingdom, as his Hereditary Right, in regard he was descended from *Balsol* and the *Cumins*'s. But finding, that his Suit was unacceptable to them all; and especially to his most intimate Friends, as the Two Brothers, *George*, and *John*, *Dunbars*, of which one was Earl of *Merch*, and the other of *Murray*; as also to *Robert Erskin*, Governor of the Three well-fortified Castles of *Dunbarton*, *Sterling*, and *Edinburgh*, he desisted, and promised to obey *Robert*, as his Liege King; and the King, to oblige him in a more strict Bond of Friendship, espoused his Daughter to Earl *William*'s Son.

Robert Douglas, *William*'s Son, Marries *Eufemia*, the Kings Daughter.

This year, the Truce, made for Fourteen years, was broken by the Englisn. There was a great Fair usually kept, the Third of the *Ides* of *August*, whether huge Numbers of both Nations, even from very remote Places, used to resort; thither came the Inhabitants of *Merch*; and it happened, that one of *George Dunbar*'s Familiar Friends was slain there. *George*, according to the Law which was observed among the Borderers, sent Heralds to demand the Murderers to be given up to him; or else, That they would Punish them, Themselves; but, perceiving, that *Favour did outvy Equity*, he dissembles the Affront, and against the next day appointed for the Fair, he secretly prepared a Band of Men, and setting upon the Town unexpectedly, he slew all the Youngsters, burnt the Houses, and returned home, with a great Booty. The *English*, to revenge this Injury, did with like Cruelty ravage over all the Lands of *John Gordon*, a Noble Knight; and not long after *Gordon* entred *England*, and took away a great Prey of Men and Cattle; but as he was returning home, *John Lilburn*, met him with a far greater Force than he had: A terrible Fight began betwixt them, and Victory seemed a long time to flutter over both Parties with doubtful Wings; but, at last, she inclined to the *Scots*. The Commander of the *English* Forces was taken Prisoner, with many of his Allies and Tenants.

August 11.

New Discords betwixt the *Scots* and *English*.

Lilburn overthrown.

Henry Percy, Earl of *Northumberland*, a Man of a great Spirit, being then Lord Warden, or Governour, of the Eastern Marches or Borders, took this Overthrow of his Countrymen in great Disdain; and thereupon, gathered together a Body of above 7000 Men, and encamped at a Village, called *Duns*, remarkable for being the Birth Place of *John Scotus*, Sirnamed, *Subtilis*, rather than for any thing else. There the Countrymen and Shepherds gathered themselves together, having no other Arms, but such Rattles and Gimcracks, wherewith they frighten Stags and other Cattle, which do pasture there

A Town in the *Merse*, six Miles North-west from *Berwick*. *John Scotus* born at *Duns*. *Percy* enters *Scotland*.

there up and down, without any Keeper; and so by night they placed themselves on some Risings of the *Lamormore Hills*, which were near to the said Village of *Duns*. The Form of the Gimcrack is This; On the top of a long Spear, or Pole, they fasten some Staves or Hoops of Wood, made crooked and bent into a Semicircle; all over them they stretched a Skin, after the same Form as the Lanterns, which the Vulgar *Parisians* call *Falots*, are made; into these Lanterns, or Concavities, they put small Stones, but very hard ones, which when they are stirred, and tumbled, up and down, make such a rattling noise, as drives away the Beasts and Cattle from the Corn. With these Rattling Instruments, they made a mighty Noise on the Hills, hanging over *Duns*, wherewith the *English* Horse were so affrighted, that they broke the Headstalls they were tied with; and ran up and down the Fields, and so were taken by the Countrymen; And in the whole Army, there was such a Tumultuous Bustle, that they cried out, *Arm*, *Arm*; and thinking the Enemy had been at their Heels, they passed that night without sleep. But in the morning, perceiving their mistake, in regard they had lost many of their Baggage Horses, as well as those for Service, they retreated six Miles (for that Place is so far distant from *England*) on Foot, leaving their Baggage behind them, almost in the Posture of such, as Fly away.

They run from the *Scots* Sea to *Lauderdale*, and divide *Merch* from *Lothian*.

Percy's Horse are affrighted with rattling Instruments, and retire.

The same day, that *Percy* retired back from *Duns*, *Thomas Musgrave*, Governor of *Berwick*, had issued out of his Garison with some Troops, to join *Percy*; *John Gordon* had notice of his March, and laid an Ambush for him, into which he fell; and imagining his Enemy to be more numerous than he was, he sought to Fly, but was taken with his Party in the pursuit, and brought back again. Moreover, in the Western Borders, *John Johnston* carried it so, that he obtained both Honour and Booty, too; for he so exercised his Neighbouring Foes with small, but frequent, Incursions, that he did them as much mischief, as a great Army would have done.

The Governor of *Berwick* taken.

Thus all things succeeded prosperously with *Robert*, for the First Two Years of his Reign; but in his Third Year, *Eufemia*, Daughter to *Hugh* Earl of *Ross*, dyed. The King had three Children by her, *Walter*, afterwards made Earl of *Strathearn*; *David*, Earl of *Athol*; and *Eufemia*, whom *Robert Douglas* Married, as I said before. *Robert*, not so much for the Impatience of his Widow'd, and unmarried, Estate, as for the Love of the Children, which he had before begot on the Body of *Elizabeth More*, took her to Wife. This Woman was exceeding Beautiful, the Daughter of *Adam More*, an Illustrious Knight; the King fell in Love with her when he was young, and had Three Sons and Two Daughters by her, and he bestowed her in Marriage on one *Gifard*, a Nobleman in *Lothian*. It happened, that *Eufemia*, the Queen, and *Gifard*, *Elizabeth*'s Husband, died about one and the same time. Whereupon, the King, either induced by the old Familiarity he had with Her; or else, (as many Writers report) to Legitimate the Children, she had born to him, took their Mother to Wife, and presently advanced her Sons to Riches and Honour. *John*, the Eldest Son, was made Earl of *Carrick*; *Robert*, of *Menteith*; and *Alexander*, of *Buchan*, to which *Badenock* was adjoined. Neither was he content with this Munificence, but he prevailed upon

Robert, upon his Queens decease, Marries *Elizabeth More*, by whom he had Children before, whom he prefers to great Honour.

on the Assembly of Estates, met at *Scone*, to pass by the Children of *Eufemia*, and to observe the Order of Age, in making his Son, King after him; which Matter was, in aftertimes, almost the utter Ruin of that numerous Family.

Edward the Third dies, and his Grandchild *Richard* the Second succeeds him.

During the next Two years, there was neither assured Peace, nor open War, but light Incursions, or rather Plunderings, on both sides; In the mean time, *Edward* the Third died, and *Richard*, the Second, his Grandchild by his Son *Edward*, born at *Bourdeaux*, succeeded him, being Eleven years of Age, at which time Ambassadors were sent by *Charles* the Fifth, King of *France*, into *Scotland*. The Cause of their Embassy, was, To renew the ancient League with *Robert*, and to desire him to invade *England* with an Army, and so to take off the Stress of the War from *France*. In the interim, whilst they were treating with the Assembly, *Alexander Ramsay*, (as the *English* Writers report out of *Froissard*) being accompanied with Forty young Fellows, in the middle of the Night, when the Sentinel was asleep, took the Castle of *Berwick*; all that were in it, being either killed, or made Prisoners. The Townsmen, being amazed at this suddain surprize, send for *Percy*, who came and laid Siege to the Castle with Ten thousand Men When the News hereof was brought to the Assembly of the Estates at *Scone*, *Archibald Douglas*, being concerned for the danger his Kinsman was in, took with him a flying Body of 500 Horse only, and speeded thither; but all Passages to the Besieged were intercluded and stopp'd, so that he was forced to return again, without any Action. And the Castle, after a valiant Defence for some days, was, at length, taken by Storm, and all put to the Sword, except *Alexander* alone; Thus the *English*; but, Our Writers say, That the Castle was taken by the help of six Country People of *Merch*, who, not being able to keep it, were fain to desert it. Not long after the Assembly, *James*, the First Earl of *Douglas*, gathered together an Army of Twenty thousand Men, and entred *England*, and coming unawares to a Town called * *Penrith*, on a Fair-Day, he took, plundered, and burnt it, and then marched his Army back again in safety, laden with Spoil; but withal, he brought the Pestilence home with him, which was greater than any before, so that it raged over all *Scotland* for the space of Two years.

Berwick Castle surprised by *Ramsay*, but regain'd by *Percy*.

James, the First Earl of *Douglas*, enters *England* with an Army.

* In *Cumberland*.

A Pestilence in *Scotland*.

The *English*, to cry Quits with the *Scots*, passed over the *Solway*, and entred *Scotland*; *Talbot*, a fierce General, led them, being 15000 Men, with which Number he made a great Desolation far and near; and as his Army was returning back laden with Spoil, he pitch'd his Tents in a narrow Valley, not far from the Borders of *England*; about 500 *Scots* came upon them in those Streights, being secure, unprovided, and generally without their Arms; and, at the first Assault, they killed all, who were in their way, so that the Tumult, and Fear, diffusing it self, they were wholly put to Flight; many were slain upon the Place, 250 taken Prisoners, and a great Number, in such a sudden Trepidation, taking the River, were drowned; the rest left their Prey behind them, and ran home, the nearest way they could.

Talbot overthrown in *Scotland*.

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In the mean time, the *Engliſh* carried on a fierce War, both by Sea and Land, againſt the *French*; and beſides, part of their Forces were ſent into *Portugal*, ſo that it was reſolved by their Parliament, That *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the King's Uncle, ſhould be ſent Embaſſador into *Scotland*, to Treat about a Peace; that ſo, they, being engaged in ſo many Wars, might have Quiet on that ſide at leaſt, which lay moſt expoſed, and open. The *Scots*, being made acquainted with his coming by an Herald, appointed *James*, Earl of *Douglas*, and *John Dunbar* Earl of *Murray*, to Treat with him; a Truce was made for Three Years. But whilſt they were Treating about a Peace there, a moſt grievous Civil War broke out in *England*. The Firſt Author of it is ſaid to be one *John Ball*, a Prieſt: He, perceiving that the Commonalty was grievouſly offended, becauſe Poll-Money of Four *Engliſh* Pence an Head was impoſed on Them, Firſt of all obliquely, and in private Confeſſions, Diſcourſes, and Meetings, inflamed the Minds of the Commons againſt the Nobility; and, perceiving that his Speech was well entertained, then he diſcourſed it openly; beſides this New Occaſion, there was alſo another more Ancient one, *viz.* That the Greateſt Part of the Commons were made little better than Slaves to the Great Ones. A great many Tradeſmen and Day-Labourers came in to them, and others alſo, who, in point of Eſtate or Credit, had nothing to loſe; inſomuch, that they raiſed ſo great a Tumult and Combuſtion, that the Main Chance ſeemed greatly to be hazarded, and to lie at ſtake. Theſe things were known at the Meeting of the Embaſſadors; yet Both of them diſſembled the Matter till they had Treated, and made a Pacification. Then *Douglas* told *John* of *Lancaſter*, That he knew, from the beginning, in what State the Affairs of *England* ſtood, but they were ſo far from laying hold on the Opportunity, either to make a War, or to hinder a good Peace, That they offered him, even then, to ſtay ſecurely in *Scotland*, till the Tumults in *England* were appeaſed; or, if he would return, that he ſhould have 500 *Scots* Horſe for his Convoy. *Lancaſter* gave them Great Thanks, yet he hoped at preſent, that he had no need to accept of either of the Conditions. But, as he was returning home, the Governor of *Berwick* ſhut him out of the Town, ſo that He, upon the Publick Faith given, returned into *Scotland*, and there kept himſelf, till the Sedition of the Commons was quelled in *England*. When the Three Years Truce was ended, in the Year 1384. *June* the 4th, *Archibald Douglas* of *Galway*, with the Aſſiſtance of *James* Earl of *Douglas*, and *George* Earl of *March*, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Loch-Maban*, ſituate near a Lake of the ſame Name, and from whence daily Inroads were made upon the Neighbouring Country. The Governor of the Caſtle, being affected at this ſuddain Misfortune, Articled with the Enemy, *That unleſs he were relieved in Eight Days, he would ſurrender the Caſtle*; whereupon, after the *Scots* had endured great trouble, by reaſon of the Winter-Storms, and continual Showres, even from the 4th Day of *February*, the Caſtle was ſurrendred, according to Covenant, on the Ninth Day. They who lived near *Roxburgh*, fearing leſt that Caſtle might be alſo taken, took care, That one *Graſtock*, a Noble and Wealthy Perſon, and much famed for his Warlike Skill, ſhould be made Governour thereof; whereupon, as

A Truce between the *Scots* and *Engliſh* for three Years.

Quatuor nummos Anglicos.

A Riſing of the Commons in *England*, at the Inſtigation of *John Ball* a Prieſt.

Lancaſter, the *Engliſh* Embaſſador in *Scotland*, denied entrance into *Berwick*.

Loch-Maban Caſtle taken by the *Scots*.

unbar surprizes the Governor of *Roxburg*.

he was sending in great Provisions thither, and also, all his own Houshold Goods, imagining, that they could no where be better kept from his Enemies use, or secured for his own. *Dunbar*, being informed by his Spies of the Day of his March, and the way he was to go, laid his Ambushes in convenient Places, and so suddainly assaulted a long confused Train, made up of Soldiers, Waggoners, and a promiscuous Multitude, and without any Fighting took the Prey, and the Owner of it too, and presently retreated back. The *English* in revenge of their Losses, and to prevent future Incursions, by some memorable Exploits, send *Lancaster* into *Scotland* with great Forces, both by Sea and Land. *Lancaster* himself came through *Merch* and *Lothian* as far as *Edinburgh*. His Fleet was sent to waste the Maritime parts of *Fife*.

Lancaster enters *Scotland*.

The Soldiers were desirous to burn down *Edinburgh*; but he, remembring that, but a few Years before, he had been liberally, and bountifully entertained there, when he was excluded by his own People, forbad them so to do. But his Fleet shewed not the same Civility, for, entring into the Isle of *Inch-colm*, they robbed a Monastery of Monks, and burnt it; using the like Cruelty in all places where they landed, till *Nicholas* and *Thomas Erskins*, *Alexander Lindsay*, and *William Cuningham* met them, killed many, took some, and forced the rest to fly in such Fear to their Ships, that, besides the other Loss received by their hasty Flight, they suffered Forty of their own Men, who, being upon one of the Ships Ropes, after the Rope was cut, to be Drowned before their Eyes. *Lancaster* was scarce returned home, before *William Douglas* trode almost on his Heels, partly sacking, partly demolishing all the Castles, which the *English* held in *Scotland*, after the Battel of *Durham*. He reduced all *Teviotdale*, except *Roxburg*, to the *Scots* Obedience; and restrained Robberies, which the licentiousness of the Wars had multiplied and encouraged; and he himself did not long outlive these Exploits, but dyed of a Feavor in the Castle of *Douglas*. His Son *William Douglas* succeeded him; One every way worthy of so Great and Virtuous a Father.

He favours the *Edinburgers*.

But is put to a Retreat.

Douglas prevails in *Scotland*, he dyes, and his Son *William* succeeds him.

In the mean time, when an Annual Truce was made betwixt the *French*, *English*, and *Scots* near *Bologne*, in *Belgium*, and the *French*, who were commanded to give the *Scots* notice thereof, had neglected so to do; the *English* Nobles, who bordered upon *Scotland*, thinking now they had a fit Opportunity to give their Enemy some notable and unexpected Overthrow, and not leave them any time for Revenge. They, before the Truce was published, gathered together Ten Thousand Horse, and Six Thousand Archers; and so entring *Scotland*, under the Command of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, they made a vast Havock of the Country, especially on the Lands of the *Douglasses* and *Lindsays*. The *Scots*, who upon the noise of a Truce, had laid aside all thoughts of War, were exceedingly offended, both at their own Negligence, and at the Perfidiousness of the Enemy, and resolved upon Revenge, assoon as they could. In the Interim, the noise of the *English* Invasion of *Scotland*, did Alarm the *French*, who were to give notice of the Truce, and put them in mind of their slackness therein. They, endeavouring by a late Festination, to make amends for their former Omission, came

A Truce made for a Year, between *French*, *English*, and *Scots*, which the *French* were to acquaint the *Scots* with. The *English* enter *Scotland*, before Notice is given them of a Truce made.

to

to *London*, even in the very height of the Invaſion, where they were Bountifully and Nobly Entertained, and detained ſo long, by Kind and Friendly Invitations, till it was known that the *Engliſh* were returned out of the Enemies Country; Then they were diſmiſſed, and came into *Scotland*, where they declared their Meſſage, as they were commanded. Whereupon, almoſt all the Nobility, eſpecially Thoſe who had felt the Loſs, ſuſtained by the late Inroad, did Murmure, Storm, and Cry out, *That this Mockery of the* Engliſh *was not to be endured.* The King did in vain endeavour to pacifie them, for he was willing to obſerve the Truce; but they ſo long debated on, and delayed the Matter, till their Friends had privately Levied almoſt 15000 Horſe, and then, on an appointed Day, *Douglas*, *Lindſay* and *Dunbar*, depart ſecretly from the Court, and joyning their Countrymen, invade *England* with a powerful Army; They waſted *Northumberland*, even unto *Newcaſtle*, and returning thrô the Lands of the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the *Mowbrays*, they ſpoiled all by Fire and Sword, that they could not carry away. Then, and not before, they returned home with a great Booty, and many Priſoners, and preſently cauſed the Truce to be Proclaimed.

Some *Scots* Nobles alſo invade *England*, before the Truce is Proclaimed.

About the end of the Truce, in the Year 1385. Monſieur *John de Vienne*, Admiral of the *French* Navy, was ſent over by the King of *France*, with about 2000 Auxiliaries, of which an hundred were Curiaſſiers, Armed *Cap-a-pee*, and 200 which flung Darts out of Engines, called *Croſs-bows*, in after Ages; the reſt were Foot, of a promiſcous kind; They brought with them Money for Six Months Pay, beſides many Gifts and Preſents; and amongſt the reſt, 400 Suits of compleat Armour, to be divided between the moſt valiant Commanders; Having firſt waited on the King, he, and *James Douglas* entred *Northumberland*; and having demoliſhed Three Caſtles, they would have proceeded further, but there was ſo much Rain fell that Autumn, that they were forced to return. Moreover, they heard a Report, that *Richard* the Second of *England* was coming againſt them, which haſtened their Retreat. His Anger was more enflamed *now* againſt the *Scots*, than ever; becauſe they had not only made a deſolating War upon his Kingdom, Themſelves; but had alſo ſent for Foreigners to aid them; and that in ſuch a conjuncture of Time, when the *French* Themſelves deſigned alſo to Land a vaſt Army in *England*; whereupon, he gathered a very puiſſant Army together, conſiſting, as the *Engliſh* Writers ſay, of 60000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe; with this Force he reſolved ſo to tame the *Scots*, that they ſhould not, in many Years after, be able to Levy any conſiderable Army; Beſides, he Rigged out a great Navy, which were to bring Proviſions into the *Forth*. For he knew, That part of *Scotland*, wherein he was to make his Deſcent, had been haraſſed, for many Years, by continual Wars; And if any Proviſions were left in it, that the Inhabitants would convey them away into the neighbouring, or other remote, Places. Add hereto, he was ſecure of the *French*, for he knew, that they would not put to Sea in a Stormy Winter. With thoſe Forces he entred *Scotland*, ſparing no Place, neither Sacred nor Profane; no, nor any Age, nor Degrees of Men, if they were capable to bear Arms. In the mean time, *Monſieur Vien*, being more mindful

Richard II. enter'd *Scotland* with an Army.

mindful of his Kings Commands to him, at his parting from him, than of the preſent poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*, was earneſt with *Douglas* to come to a Battel. He ſtill anſwered him, That the *Scots* forbore to engage, not out of any Alienation of Mind from the *French*, but being Conſcious of their own Weakneſs; and thereupon, he took him up into an high Place, from whence he might ſafely take a view of the Enemy; He, then perceiving the long Train of the *Engliſh* in their March, quickly turned to be of his Opinion. Whereupon, they both concluded, That, in the preſent circumſtances, the beſt and only Way for them to incommode the Enemy, was, to gather together what Force they could, and ſo to invade *England*. Thereupon, they entred, far from the Kings Army, into *Cumberland*, and made a great Havock therein, and in the neighbouring Counties. The *Engliſh*, Winter being now at hand, and the Country of *Lothian* being ſpoiled by the War, (for they durſt not go far from their Ships, leſt Proviſions ſhould fail them) conſulted about their Return; Some were of Opinion, that it was beſt to follow after the *Scots* in the Rear, and, in their Return, to compel them to Fight, whether they would or no. But thoſe, who knew the Ways better, through which they were to march, replyed on the contrary, That there would be great difficulty in paſſing over ſuch Marſhes and Mountains, and ſometimes narrow Places, wherein there was alſo ſo much want of all things, that a very few Men, and thoſe nimble ones too, could carry Proviſions enough with them, thô but for a few days, to finiſh the March; and beſides, if they ſhould overcome thoſe Difficulties, yet the next Country, which was to receive them, was not over-fruitful of itſelf; and alſo, it had been waſted by the War. Again, if they ſhould wade through all thoſe Inconveniencies, yet they had to do with a nimble and ſhifting Enemy, whom it would be more difficult to find, and to bring to a Battel, than to *overcome*; and, if they could find him out, yet he would not be compelled to Fight, but in his own Places of Advantage: That *Edward* the Third, his Grandfather, had Experience hereof, to the great Damage of his *Own*, and little Inconvenience of the *Scots* Army. Upon Hearing of this, as alſo caſting in their Minds, what Miſeries they might ſuffer in an Enemies Country, in a cold Winter; and in the mean time, leave their Wives, Children, and what elſe was dear to them, deſolate at home; they changed their Minds, and marched back directly the ſame way, that they came. Thus both Armies had a free Time of plundering in their Enemies Country; and each of them returned home again, without ſeeing any Enemy.

Whereupon the *Scots* enter *England*.

They both return home.

The *Scots*, well knowing, That the *Engliſh* could not attempt another Expedition till the next Summer, reſolved to attack *Roxburgh*, a Neighbour Town, and the Gariſon there, which was greatly annoyous to the Country thereabout. When they were come thither, a diſſenſion aroſe betwixt the *Scots* and the *French*, about the Town, even before it was taken. The *French* alleging, That, ſeeing by a large Experience in Wars at home, they were more skilled in the Methods of taking Towns, than the *Scots*; and moreover, that they had ſpent a great deal of Mony in the War; They therefore thought it but juſt, That, if the Town were carried, it ſhould be Theirs, and

The *French* and *Scots* quarrel about the Bears Skin, before he was catcht.

remain

remain under the Juriſdiction of *France*. On the contrary, the *Scots* urged, That it was very unjuſt, That Auxiliaries ſhould reap the Reward and Benefit of the whole War; and for what Expences they had been at, it had been ſpent rather on Themſelves than the *Scots*, it being in order to diſtract and divide the Forces of *England*, and ſo to avert Part of the War from *France*; and if the Friendly Offices on Both ſides were put in the Ballance, the *Scots* might, upon juſter grounds, demand the Charge of the whole War of the *French*, than the *French* could challenge any Reward for their Aſſiſtance, eſpecially ſuch a Reward, as no Hiſtory, in the Memory of Man, doth relate either to have been demanded, or given, by Allys one to, or amongſt, another: Yea, The Unjuſtneſs of their Demand appeared by This, That the *Scots* might have ſate ſtill in Peace, without being prejudiced by the *Engliſh*; and ſo might have been Spectators only of the Wars betwixt Two potent Kings; but the *French* could not have Obtained the ſame Quiet, unleſs they would have yielded up a good Part of their Country. Neither could they ſee, of what uſe that Town would be to the *French*, if they had it, ſave only to be as a Bridle; that ſo the Arbitrement of War or Peace might be at their diſpoſe; and if That were their intent, it were more for the Profit, yea, and for the Credit too, of the Kings of *Scotland*, to be without the Town, than, on a Trivial occaſion, to give up Themſelves to a voluntary Servitude: But, if by ſo unequal a Poſtulation, they thought to excuſe their Return home, which they ſometime before attempted, there was no need at all of ſuch a *Blind*, for as they freely came, ſo they had Liberty always, at their pleaſure, freely to depart; neither was it adviſeable in the *Scots* to ſtay Them; in regard they might eaſily foreſee, their Service would be but ſmall, if they were detained againſt their Wills.

Hereupon, They retreated from *Roxburgh* without attaquing it; and, whereas there had grievous Complaints been made betwixt Both Parties, before; ſo, (if matters ſhould ſtill continue at that Paſs) open Enmity did ſeem likely to ariſe. The Original of the Diſſenſion aroſe from the different Cuſtom and Carriage of either Nation, in managing of a War. For the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Soldiers pay honeſtly for what they take at their Quarters, and carry it amongſt their Countrymen, as moderately and ſoberly in War, as in Peace. But the *French* otherwiſe; where-ever they march, *All's their Own*, as if they had publick Permiſſion to Rob and Spoil; for, they, having been accuſtomed to this kind of Life, think, they might lawfully do That, which Cuſtom hath inured them always to do, heretofore: And therefore, before that time, there had often Quarrels, and ſometimes Blows, happened betwixt the *Scots* and *French*; *Theſe* endeavouring to practiſe their wonted Rapacity; and the *Other* not ſubmitting to ſuch an unaccuſtomed Servility; ſo that as *One* ſnatcht away what was none of His; the *Other* laboured to defend his Own. After this Diſguſt and Alienation of Minds at *Roxburgh*, the *French* Commiſſaries uſed greater Licentiouſneſs than ever before, in gathering in Proviſions, as intending ſhortly to depart; and the Countrymen, diſdaining to be made a Prey to a Few men, and thoſe Strangers, too, many times took away their Baggage and their Horſes; and

French Soldiers more licentious than *Scots*, or *Engliſh*, which occaſions a diſguſt betwixt them.

and the Officers and straggling Soldiers, sent out to Forage, were sometimes wounded, sometimes slain outright, by them. When Complaints hereof were brought to the Council; the Countrymen answered with one Consent, *That they were Treated more Coursly, and Robbed, by the* French, *who called Themselves Friends, than by the* English, *their Professed Enemies; and therefore they resolved, That they should not depart the Land, till they had made them Recompence for their Losses*, neither could this obstinate Humour of theirs be stopt by the *Douglasses*, tho they were the most Popular men of that Age. Hereupon, the Army was sent back, but the General was detained, till full Payment was made. The *French* set Sail in the *Calends* of *November*; the *Scots*, either tired with the Military Toil of the last Year, or satiated with the Spoils of so many Prosperous Expeditions, sate still all that Winter. But the next Spring, *William Douglas*, the Son of *Archibald* Earl of *Galway*, sailed over into *Ireland*, both to revenge at present the often Descents of the *Irish* upon the Coasts of *Galway*, and also to restrain them for the Future.

The *French* Army leaves *Scotland*, but their General is retain'd to satisfy damages.

Nov. 1.

This *William* was a Young man, the Eminentest in all Virtues both of Body and Mind, amongst all the *Scots*. He was a big-bodied Man, and had strength accordingly; and his comely Beauty was accompanied with a Manly and Graceful Dignity of Presence (which seldom happens in Bodies of that Bulk) And moreover, his Successfull Exploits in War, did much recommend him; for he oft-times, with a Few, would assault a greater Number of his Enemies, and come off a Conquerour; Neither was he ever employed in any Expedition, but he gave evident Proofs of his Valour. These Excellencies, which, in some, are matter of Envy; yet, in him, by reason of his Affability, Complaisance and courteous Modesty, were acceptable to All. And upon the account of those Virtues, tho' the King knew him to be Base-born, yet he bestowed his Daughter *Ægidia* upon him, in Marriage, a Woman of the rarest Beauty in those Times; and one, who had been Courted by many of the Noblest Youngsters of the Court. With Her, he gave *Nithisdale*, the next Country to *Galway*, as a Dowry.

Will. Douglas sails into *Ireland*.

And takes *Dundalk*.

He Landed his Men at *Carlingford*, a rich Town in that County, and the Suddenness of the Thing struck such Terrour into the Townsmen, That they presently sent out to him to Treat about Conditions of Surrender. *Douglas* entertained them courteously, and, in the mean time, as secure of the Enemy, he sent out *Robert Stuart*, Laird of * *Disdeir*, with 200 Soldiers to bring in Provisions into his Ships. The Townsmen, having gotten this time for Consultation, send for Aid from * *Dundalk*. Five hundred Horse were sent, with whose help, they divided themselves into Two Bodies, and so drew forth against their Enemy, for, because they were so much Superior to them in Number, they thought presently to kill them all, and so to become Masters of their Ships, too. But both their Bodies were routed, the Town taken, plundered, and burnt; Fifteen Ships, which rode in the Harbour, were laded with the Spoils of the City; and, in his return home, he plundered the Isle of *Man* by the way, and so arrived at *Lough-Rian*, which divides Part of *Galway* from *Carrick*. There *Douglas* heard, That his Father was gone in an Expedition against *England*;

* A Town on the North side of the *Nith*, a Mile about *Drumlanerick* in *Nithisdale*.

* A Sea Town in the County of *Louth* and Province of *Ulster*, in *Ireland*.

And returns from thence.

England; Whereupon, he haſtned after him, as faſt as he could. That Expedition was undertaken chiefly upon this Ground; *Richard* of *England*, having entred *Scotland* the Year before, and ſpared nothing, either Sacred or Profane, at his return home, met with a Domeſtick Sedition, which had changed the State of his whole Kingdom. To heal this Miſchief, he transfer'd the Government of the Provinces, and the management of Leſſer Matters (as is uſually done in ſuch Caſes) from one to another; and by this means, the Fire of Hatred was not ſo much quenched, as covered in the Aſhes, and likely ſoon after to break out, again: But, on the the contrary, *Scotland* enjoyed a Great, but yet uncertain, Tranquillity. For it was full of Young Soldiers, fit for War, and as fruitful and well-ſtored with good Commanders, as ever before. So that, the Nobility were deſirous of a War, and, in all their Aſſemblys and Meetings, they ſtill muttered, That ſo gallant an Opportunity to be revenged upon the *Engliſh* for their old Injuries, was not to be neglected, and that the *Engliſh* would never have omitted it, in reference to *Scotland*, if the Affairs thereof had been in the like Perturbation. The *Scots* enter *England* ſecretly.

But King *Robert*, being a Man of a quiet Diſpoſition; and, moreover, by reaſon of his growing and unweildy Age, not ſo forward for War, ſeemed not to be ſufficiently concerned at the Publick Injuries: And his Eldeſt Son, *John*, was naturally Slow, and, beſides, Lame with the ſtroke of an Horſe, ſo that he was not well able to endure the Hardſhips of a Camp. And therefore the Nobles made their Addreſſes to *Robert*, the next Son, Earl of *Fife*; To whom they complained of the deplorable State of the Publick, and they all preſently Concluded, That the wrong, lately received, was to be revenged, and therein every one promiſed his Chearful Aſſiſtance; ſo that it was agreed, That a Levy of Soldiers ſhould be made againſt the *Nones* of * *Auguſt* next, but ſo ſecret, That neither King, either *Scots*, or *Engliſh*, ſhould know thereof. Againſt the mind of *Robert* and his Son. *Aug.* 5.

But the *Engliſh* were quickly advertiſed by their Spies, of the Time and Place of Meeting; ſo that they reſolved to prevent their Enemy with the ſame Surprize. For they adviſed the reſt of the Nobles with all their Followers to be in a readineſs, not at any one day, but whenever there was need, that they might draw to their Colours. Matters being thus reſolved on, when they heard, That the *Scots*, to the Number of 30000, or, as *Froſſard* will have it, of 40000, were met together in *Teviotdale*, nor far from the Borders; they reſolved further, that (ſeeing they were not able to encounter ſo great a Multitude) they would attempt nothing before the Coming of the Enemy upon them. And in the mean time, to conceal their Project the better, every man was to ſtay at his own home, till they ſaw, upon what Country ſo great a Storm would fall; and then, according to the Enemies Motion, they would ſteer their Courſe, and (as the *Scots* had done the Autumn before, in reference to *England*) ſo now, they would enter into *Scotland* another Way, and repay Loſs for Loſs.

In the interim, they ſent a Spy to inform themſelves fully of the Enemies advance, who was now ſo near them; for they counted it highly conduceable to their affairs, to know, not only the Deſign,

but

An *English* Spy in the *Scots* Army discovered.

but even the very last Words, Resolves, and Actions, of their Enemies. He that was sent, differed nothing in Speech, Habit, or Armour from the rest, and so was easily taken for a *Scots Man*. So that, having found out every thing, which he desired to know, he was going to a Tree, where he had tied his Horse, to fetch him, and so to be gone; but he found, that some Body had stollen and carried him away before; so that he was fain in his Boots, Spurs, and Riding-Apparel, to undertake his Journey on Foot. Hereupon, the Matter began to be suspected, and when he was gone a great way, some Horsemen were sent after, to bring him back, as a Runagate; when they came up to him, and demanded, Who, or What he was, and Why he went from his Colours in that Fashion; he not being able to give a ready Answer, they brought him back to the chief Officers of the Army, to whom, for fear of a greater Punishment, he discovered all the designs of the *English*. When the *Scots* heard this, they

The *Scots* Army divide themselves to attack *England*.

also changed the Order of their Designs, they divided their Army so, That the greatest Part of it should march towards *Carlisle*, and that the Kings Two Sons, the Earls of *Fife*, and *Strathern* should command them; to whom were joyned *Archibald Douglas* of *Galway*, and the Earls of *Marr* and *Sutherland*. The other Part was to enter *Northumberland*, under the Command of *James Douglas*, and the Two Brethren, *Dunbars*, *George* and *John*; the One Earl of *Murray*, the Other of *Merch*. Their Party consisted of 300 Horse, and 2000 Foot, besides Servants and Attendants on the Horse; for every Horseman hath at least one Servant, who, being lightly armed, can run almost as fast as an Horse, and, when occasion is offered, can, with his Fellows, encounter an Enemy.

When their Forces were thus divided, They, who marched towards *Cumberland* and *Carlisle*, carried all before them, by reason of the Numerousness of their Army, and met with no Enemy at all. But *Douglas* in the Devastations which he made, in the other Circuit, had not the same Fortune; for he had so ordered the Course of his Expedition, as to take great, and yet secret, Marches; and so passing over *Tine*, to pierce as far as *Durham*, before he gave his Army leave to spoil and plunder. This he did, with such Secrecy and Speed,

Douglas, in *Northumberland*, encountred by *Percy*.

That the *English* did not know, where their Enemies were, but by the Smoke of the Fires they had made. *Percy*, the Elder, was the Greatest man in *Northumberland* and the adjacent Countrys, both for Wealth and Power. When the News was brought to him, he sends Two of his Sons, *Henry*, and *Ralph*, very active Young men Both, before to *New-Castle*, commanding the rest to follow them thither. His Intent was, to stop the *Scots* in their Retreat, and to keep them from returning. But they, having spoiled the Wealthy County of *Durham*, returned home with a great Prey, and repass'd the *Tine* about Three Miles above *New-Castle*. There, the Commanders, being nobly descended in their own Country, as also desirous of Glory; and besides, lifted up with their present Success, such as it was, thought it an Inglorious thing, in Them, to strike terrour only into Rusticks, and Plebeians, if they did not also affright Cities; Whereupon, they marched to *New-Castle*, and threatning to besiege it, they endeavoured by Contumelies and Big Words, to draw out the Enemy.

When

When they had ſtaid there Two Days, and ſome light Skirmiſhes, with various Succeſs, had paſſed betwixt them; There was one Combat, which, towards the Evening of the Laſt Day, attracted the Eyes of all the Beholders: And that was, a Duel betwixt the Two Generals; for they, being, in a ſort, equally matched, in reſpect of Lineage, Power, Age and Courage, had a mind to encounter each other, in the Sight of both Armies. Hereupon, a Challenge was ſent, and they Both, *James Douglas* and *Henry Percy*, entred the Liſts, and ran at one another with their Spears. *Percy* was unhorſed at firſt Bruſh, and *Douglas* got his Spear, but he could not touch his Perſon, becauſe the *Engliſh* came in to his Aſſiſtance; He ſhook the Spear, and cryed out aloud, ſo as he might eaſily be heard, *That he would carry That, as a Trophy, into Scotland.* So, the Combat being ended, the *Scots* kept very diligent Watch, in regard they were near a City, well-Peopled, and full of Enemies. The Day after, they retired towards *Scotland*, but very ſlowly, as being laden with Booty. As their Prey moved leiſurely on, they themſelves aſſaulted a Neighbour-Caſtle of the Enemies, carried and demoliſhed it; and from thence they marched to *Otterborn*, about Three Miles diſtant from *Newcaſtle*. There, they took Counſel concerning the Reſt of their March. The Major Part were of Opinion, to March towards *Carliſle*, to meet the other Army, and ſo, not to Fight ſingly, (as was, at firſt, agreed) but to wait the Conjunction of Both Armies. But *Douglas* was minded to ſtay Two or Three Days in that Place, that ſo he might make a Real Confutation of the Vaunts of *Percy*, who had boaſted, *That they ſhould never carry his Lance into* Scotland. In the mean time, that they might not be idle, they would attaque the Neighbouring Caſtle. This Opinion, though it was judged by Many none of the beſt, yet, for *Douglas* his ſake, they all ſubmitted to it. And therefore they fortified their Camp for the preſent Occaſion, which on one ſide was ſufficiently guarded by Mariſhes, and and then proceeded on to take the Caſtle. But *Percy* being of a fierce Nature, that he might blot out the Ignominy he had received, would have followed him preſently upon their Retreat, with thoſe Forces which he had about him; but the Graver Sort detained him, for fear of an Ambuſh; for they did not think it probable, that ſo ſmall a Number of *Scots* would have appeared before ſo ſtrong a Town, unleſs they had more Forces, near at hand, hid in ſome ſecret Places. That Day and the next, they were buſie in making Diſcoveries; but finding, that there was no Danger of the Greater Army, as being far diſtant from *Douglas* his Party, thereupon *Percy* immediately, with Ten Thouſand Fighting Men, put himſelf upon the March, without ſtaying for the Biſhop of *Durham*, who, that very Night, was expected with ſome Forces; for, he thought, he had Force enough to overcome his Enemies, who were not half as many, as He. When the *Engliſh* came in Sight, ſome of the *Scots* were at Supper; others, being wearied at the Taking of the Caſtle, had compoſed themſelves to Reſt; but preſently, an Alarming Word was given, *To your Arms.* Whilſt the reſt were arming themſelves, the Major Part of the Foot, and many of the Horſe-Mens Servants, making uſe of that ſlender Fortification they had, bore the Brunt of the *Engliſh*

A Duel between Earl *Douglas* and Earl *Percy*.

The *Scots* march to *Otterborn*.

Assault. But the Horse had a great Advantage, in that they were sensible of the thing, before; for, disputing among themselves, how they should entertain the Enemy when he assaulted them, (for, an Assault they expected) they saw, that a Neighbour Hill would be of great Conveniency to them. Thither therefore they Trooped about, and whilst the *English* were assaulting the Passage into the Camp, they fell in upon their left Flank, and made a great Slaughter, but a greater Noise: Yet, the *English*, having Men enough, brought up their Reserves, and quickly made good their Ranks again; yet, that disorder did this good to the *Scots*, That the Fight before the Camp was managed more remisly, so that they had Liberty to draw out, and Range their Army in order of Battel.

A terrible Fight between the *Scots* and *English*, under *Percy* and *Douglas*.

Whilst these things were doing, the Night drew on, but it was a short one, as it useth to be in *July*, in the *Northern* Countries especially, and the Weather also chanced to be fair; so that the Moon shining all Night, it was as bright as Day. The Fight was maintained Gallantly, as between Two Noble Champions, who were more solicitous for their Honour, than for their Lives. *Percy* endeavoured to redeem his Credit, and *Douglas* to maintain His, by a New Atchievement; so that there was as much Eagerness on the one side, as on the other, though their Numbers were unequal, and so the Fight continued till it was late at Night. And then the Moon began to be Clouded, that *Friend* could not be discerned from *Foe*; whereupon, they rested a while, to take a little breath; and assoon as the Moon brake forth from the Clouds, the *English* pressed hard upon the *Scots*, so that they gave Ground, and *Douglas* his Standard was like to be lost. When the Two *Patrick Hepburns*, Father and Son, saw this, they hastned from the other Wing, and brake through the Ranks of their own Soldiers, and so pierced to the Front, where the main Danger was; and there they began so fierce an Assault, that they gave and received many Wounds; and in fine, brought back their Men to their former Ground, from whence they had been driven. Neither was *Douglas* content therewith, but with his Two Friends and Followers, *Robert Hart*, and *Simon Glenduning* his Kinsman, he rushed in amongst the midst of his Enemies, and being of a stout Spirit, as well as strong Body, made a great Slaughter wherever he came. His Friends strove earnestly to come up to him; yet, before they could do so, he was mortally Wounded in Three Places, and lay upon the Ground; *Hart* lay dead by him having a great many Wounds about him; and the Priest, who had accompanied him in all his Hazards, when he fainted, defended his Body from Injury. In this Condition, *John Lindsay*, and the Two *Sinclares*, *John* and *Walter*, found him, and asked him, *How he did? Very well*, said he, *for I am a Dying, yet I do not Die like a Sluggard, upon my Bed, but as almost all my Ancestors have done; and I have Three, my last, Requests to make to you: First, That you would conceal my Death, both from Friends and Foes. Secondly, That you would not suffer my Standard to be taken down. Thirdly, That you would Revenge my Death:* And if you will do this, I shall bear the rest more contentedly. Whereupon, they in the First place, covered his Body with a Cloak, that it might not be known, and then they set up his Standard, and cried out, (as the

Hart slain, And *Douglas* mortally Wounded.

His Three last dying Requests

Custom

Cuſtom is,) *A Douglas, A Douglas.* At that Cry, there was ſuch a Concourſe made, and they ran in upon the Enemy with ſuch Alacrity and Courage, that they drove him far away from the place of Battel: For, at the Name of *Douglas*, not the Common Soldiers only, but *John*, Earl of *Murray*, came in, as thinking things to be there in the greateſt Danger. For, they had before routed that part of the Enemies Army they fought with, and taken *Percy* the Younger, who was much Wounded, and ſent by them into the Camp, to be dreſſed of his Wounds; ſo that the Service being not ſo hot, in other parts of the Army, the *Douglaſſians*, which had run in to the Standard, routed the *Engliſh*, who were wearied with their Day-toil, and Night Fight; and in the brunt, *Henry Percy*, their General was taken Priſoner. When he was loſt, the reſt betook themſelves to a confuſed Flight. There were ſlain of the *Engliſh*, in that Battel, 1840, about 1000 wounded, and 1040 taken Priſoners. Of the *Scots*, there were 100 ſlain, and 200 taken Priſoners, in regard a Few in purſuit followed a greater Number of their Enemies. *James Lindſay*, perceiving *Matthew Redman*, Governor of *Berwick*, to be one of the ſtraggling Flyers, judging him by the Goodneſs of his Army, to be One of the Principal Commanders, made preſently after him; when he had fled Three Miles, his Horſe being weary, he thought he could not eſcape by Riding, and ſo he diſmounted, and ran away on Foot. *Lindſay* did the ſame; At laſt, after ſome Skirmiſh betwixt them; the *Engliſhman*, not being ſo good at that kind of Weapon, yielded himſelf to *Lindſay*, who ſent him home, having firſt taken his Oath, *That he would return in* 20 *days.* This was then the Courteſy of the Neighbour Nations towards their Priſoners, which, to this day, is punctually obſerved amongſt the Borderers. And if a Man do not return at the Day appointed, This is his Puniſhment. In the Meetings which are made for Reparation of mutual Damages, he that complains how he was deceived, holds up the ſhape of an Hand or Glove, on a long Spear, that it may be ſeen of all; That is counted the higheſt Brand of Infamy upon any Man; ſo that He, who hath thus violated his Faith, becomes thereby deteſtable to his own Friends and Kindred, to ſuch a degree, that no Man of any Quality will eat, or drink, or talk with him, or, ſo much as harbour him in his Houſe. *Lindſay*, having diſmiſſed his Priſoner on the forementioned Terms, perceived a great Body of Men before him, and Trooped up to them; he knew them not to be Enemies, till he was ſo near, that he could not retreat, but was taken Priſoner. Theſe were the Forces of the Biſhop of *Durham*, who, coming late to *Newcaſtle*, and not being able to overtake *Percy*, not thinking that he would engage till the next Day, made an halt to refreſh his Men, and, after they had ſupped, he renewed his March. But he had not gone far from the Town, before thoſe, that run away, informed him of the Loſs of the Day. Whereupon he returned into the Town, and adviſed with his Tenants concerning his Following the *Scots*. The Reſolve was, That before Day-Break, they ſhould all be in Arms; and ſo, in the morning, there were Ten thouſand Horſe and Foot from the Neighbouring Places, a promiſcuous multitude, which came in. They encouraged the Biſhop to march the

Ralfe Percy taken Priſoner, and ſo is General *Percy* alſo.

The *Engliſh* overthrown.

Lindſay takes *Redman* Priſoner, and releaſes him on his Parol.

Courteſy to Priſoners.

The ancient puniſhment of Priſoners not returning upon their *Parol.*

The Biſhop of *Durham* comes too late to Aſſiſt *Percy.*

neareſt way to the Enemy, and to give him Battel, alleging, That He was ſo wearied with his yeſterdays Fight, and ſo many were wounded, and the reſt ſecure by reaſon of their late Victory, that he might obtain an eaſie Conqueſt over them. The Earl of *Murray*, upon whom the Eyes of all were fixed, when *Douglas* was gone, was advertiſed of his coming by his Scouts, whereupon he conſulted with his Chief Commanders about the Priſoners; To kill them, in cold Blood, after they had given them Quarter, ſeemed cruel; and to ſave alive a number of Enemies, almoſt equal with their own, ſeemed dangerous. The Reſolve was, That they ſhould all Swear not to ſtir, whilſt the Battel was fought, and though their Friends might relieve them, yet they ſhould continue and own themſelves as Priſoners, ſtill; Upon theſe Terms, they were left in the Camp with a ſmall Guard, who were commanded to fall upon them all, if any one did ſtir. This Matter thus ſetled, the *Scots*, being full of Courage, by reaſon of their Former Victory, marched out with their Army, being fortified and ſecured in the Rear with Marſhes, and, on the Right and Left, with Trees which they cut down; and moreover, the Word of Command was given, That as ſoon as the Enemy drew near, every Man ſhould blow his Horn, which he carried behind him at his Back, which would make ſuch a mighty Noiſe and Sound as was terrible of it ſelf; but, being multiplied by the Repercuſſion and Eccho of the Neighbouring Hills, gave forth the Repreſentation of a Greater Force, than indeed they were. The *Engliſh* had marched very faſt, and moreover were to fight amongſt the dead Bodies of their own Men, being aſtoniſhed at that horrible Noiſe, and alſo at the Alacrity of their Enemies, who ſtood in good Order over againſt them; and beſides, having no Skilful Commander over ſo tumultuary a Body, and alſo the Commander not much confiding on ſuch a Raw Soldiery, they preſently turned their Colours, and marched back, as they came. In the mean time, *Lindſay*, who, as I have ſaid, was taken Priſoner, and left at *Newcaſtle*, being ſeen and known by *Redman*, was courteouſly treated by him, and ſet at Liberty without Ranſom. The *Scots*, having paſſed over this ſudden Brunt ſo eaſily, reſolved to return home; but before, they diſmiſſed *Ralfe Percy*, who was much wounded, ſo that he could not endure the Jogging of an Horſe, and ſent him to *Newcaſtle* to be healed of his Wounds; upon his Promiſe, That, as ſoon as ever he was able to ride, he would wait on the Earl of *Murray*, where he pleaſed to appoint; and engaging his Faith thereto, as the manner is, he departed; Seven hundred other Priſoners followed his example, and were releaſed, on their Parol, upon the ſame Terms. Many of the Common Soldiers, who were like to be more burdenſom, than beneficial, was diſmiſſed *gratis*. Of the Nobler ſort, *Henry Percy*, and almoſt 400 more, were detained, and carried into *Scotland*; and ſhortly after, upon Payment of a Ranſom ſet upon their Heads, they were all ſet at Liberty; ſo that in that Age, as *Ennius* ſays, Men did not huckſter out a War, but fought it out, as contending, mainly, for Liberty and Glory. Three days after, the Bodies of *Douglas*, and the other Great Commanders that fell, were carried to * *Mulroſs*, and there magnificently interred. When the Tidings of theſe Matters were brought

The *Biſhops* Forces terrified with the Sound of Horns, and Retreat.

Lindſay's Kindneſs to *Redman* requited by him.

Ralfe Percy releaſed on his *Parol*.

Henry Percy Ranſomed.

Douglas buried at *Mulroſs*.

brought to the other Army, which was waſting *Cumberland*, it diſturbed all their Mirth, ſo that the Joy conceived for their good Succeſs, was turned into bitter Mourning. The Loſs of *Douglas* did ſo affect all Military Men, that not only that Army which followed him, but this Other alſo, returned home in Silence and Sadneſs, as if they had not been Conquerors, but Conquered. The Publick Sentiment was alſo further increaſed, That he died without Children, and in the Flower of his Age; and that almoſt He alone was deprived of the Fruit of the Victory, which he had gotten. His Eſtate fell to *Archibald*, Earl of *Galway*, Sirnamed the *Auſtere*, who alſo was a brave Cavalier, in his days. This is that memorable Fight of *Otterborn*, remarkable not only for the Magnanimity and Hardineſs of the Commanders, and Soldiers, therein, and their Modeſty in Victory; but alſo for the various and changeable event of it: That the Conqueror, in the higheſt expectation of his Glory, was taken off by Death, and could not enjoy the Fruit of his own Labour; And the Conquered General, though then diſcomfited and made a Priſoner, yet outlived this Battel many years, in great Glory and Splendour. It was Fought the 12th of the Calends of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord 1388.

Both the *Scots* Armies lament *Douglas*.

July 21.

By this Victory, Matters were more compoſed and quiet both at home and abroad; but, in regard the King, by Reaſon of his Age, was not fit to manage Buſineſs, and withal, underſtanding of the Reflection that was made upon him by reaſon of the late Expedition, which was undertaken without him; and his eldeſt Son *John* was of a ſlow nature, and addicted more to Eaſe, than to difficult Enterprizes; he therefore Indicted an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, and made *Robert*, Earl of *Fife*, Deputy of the Kingdom, by the name of *Governor*; yet, they, who managed that Office before him, were uſually called *Cuſtodes*, *i. e.* Keepers. When *Henry Percy*, eminent for Stock and Proweſs, was Priſoner in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Merth*, commonly called Earl *Mareſchal*, a Man fiercer in his Words, than Actions, was put in his Place: He, undervaluing the *Scots* Valour in the Fight of *Otterborn*, and alſo grievouſly blaming the Cowardize of the *Engliſh*, did thereby incur the Hatred of Both Nations. And indeed, *Robert*, Vice-King of *Scotland*, was ſo offended at his boaſting Inſolence, That he thought it a juſt Cauſe to make an Expedition againſt him. Hereupon he entred the Enemies Country, and with *Archibald Douglas*, then Earl of *Douglas*, marches directly towards the Enemy, who was reported to ſtay for him with a great Army; when he came near him, he gave him opportunity to engage, which he declining, he ſent a Trumpeter to him, to deſire him to try it out in a plain Field; but the *Mareſchal* kept himſelf in his Faſtneſſes and Places unacceſſible; ſo that *Robert*, after he had ſhewed his Army ſome hours to the Enemy, ſent them forth to pillage in the Neighbourhood; and he ranſacked thoſe Places eſpecially, which the *Mareſchal* was wont to have his Reſidence in, and afterwards he marched them back, laden with Booty, without any Fight at all. This Expedition, though undertaken upon ſlight grounds, yet was very pleaſing both to the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*, who Both rejoyced to ſee the vanity of the Man ſo to be confuted; but he, to excuſe the Matter, as often as Mention was made of it, did allege, That he did

Robert Earl of *Fife* made Governor of *Scotland*.

Earl *Marſhal* vaunts over the *Scots*.

Whereupon *Robert* enters *England*, and returns with a great Booty.

did it for the Love of his Countrymen, as being unwilling to expose them to needless danger. At this very time, a Truce was made; and Hopes of Peace between *France* and *England* by the Mediation of the Pope, and the Neighbouring Princes, on This Condition, That the Allies of Both might be comprehended by Name, *viz.* The *Portugals* of the *English* side; the *Scots* and *Spanish Castilians*, of the *French*'s. King *Robert*, against the Advice of his Counsel, gave his single Assent thereunto, but upon no solid ground, for *he was able to make neither Peace nor War, but by the Publick Advice of the Estates; neither could he promise any firm Truce, without their Decree in the Case.* Neither could the Nobility conceal any longer that hidden Grief and Disgust, which they had conceived against the *French*, who had only done them this Courtesie, (the backward way) that when they were to do Service against an Enemy, they would strike the Weapons out of their Hands; and so take away the Fruit of a former Victory, and also the Hopes of a *New*. At last, after much dispute and quarrelling, the *French* Ambassador gained this Point, but with much ado, That the *Scots* should send Ambassadors into *France*, about the Matter, that so the Hopes of a Peace, so near at hand, might not be hindred by their Obstinacy. *Robert* the King lived not long after, but departed this Life in his Castle called * *Dundonald*, in the Year of *Christ* 1390, the 13th of the *Calends* of *May*. He lived 74 Years, and Reigned 19 Years and 24 Days. This King managed Wars by his Deputies, and usually with good Success; he was present in few Battels himself, which some impute to his Age, others to his Cowardize; but all say, That he was a very Good Man, and, in the Arts of Peace, easily comparable with the best of Kings. He administred Justice, diligently and impartially to all; he severely punished Robberies. In his Actions, he was Constant; in his Words, Faithful. He undertook the Kingdom in troublesome times, yet he setled things at home, appeased Discords, and governed with great Equity and Justice, and he got such Conquests over his Enemy, that he reduced all the Castles they had, but Three.

A Peace between *France* and *England*.

Robert assents thereto on his own Head.

* Lying on the River *Irwin*. *Apr.* 19.

Roberts Death and Character.

After his Death, Tumults arose, where they were least expected. *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*, the youngest of the Kings Sons by *Elizabeth More*, fell into a deadly fewd with the Bishop of *Murray*, upon a light Occasion; and when he could not come at him to kill him, he wrecked his fury upon the Church of *Elgin*, (which was then, one of the fairest in all *Scotland*) and burnt it down to the Ground. The same Year, *William Douglas*, Earl of *Nithisdale*, (who, as I said before, for his Valour, was made the Kings Son in Law,) was slain at * *Dantzick*, on the *Vistula*, by some Ruffians, who were sent to perpetrate the Murder, by *Clifford* of *England*. For *Douglas*, when Matters were quieted at home, that he might not lye lazie and idle, intended for the *Holy War*; and in * *Borussia*, he gave such Proof of his Valour, That he was made Admiral of the whole Fleet, which was a Great and Magnificent One, and, withal, well accommodated. But a Quarrel arising between him and *Clifford*, grounded upon Old Emulations, because he gruded him that Honour, he sent him a Challenge, to Fight with him, Hand to Hand. But the Challenger, perceiving, into what an Hazardous Adventure he had run himself, by that Challenge, before the set time came, caused him to be slain by hired Assassins.

Alexander Earl of *Buchan*, burns *Elgin* Church.

William Douglas slain at *Dantzick* by the procurement of *Clifford* of *England*.

* Or, *Prussias* A noted Mart Town of great Trade on the *Weesel*, acknowledge the King of *Poland* for Protector.

THE

The Tenth BOOK.

Robert III. *The Hundred and First King.*

ROBERT the Second, was Succeeded by his Eldeſt Son, *John*, in the *Ides* of *Auguſt*, and Year of our *Lord* 1390. He was called *John*, till that time; but then, by the Decree of the *Eſtates*, his Name was changed into *Robert*; whether it were for the Misfortunes and Calamities of Two Kings, called *Johns*, one of *France*, the other of *England*: Or, for the Eminent Virtues and Felicity of Two *Roberts*, both in Peace and War, who lately Reigned in *Scotland*, as Authors are ſilent in, ſo I will not determine. *Auguſt* 15. *Robert* the Third, his Name changed from *John*.

The Excellency of this *Robert*, was, That he rather wanted Vice, than was Illuſtrious for any Virtue; ſo that the Name of King was in him, but the management of all publick Affairs reſted on *Robert*, his Brother. In the Beginning of his Reign, there was Peace abroad, by reaſon of the Three Years Truce, made with the *Engliſh*; which, a while after, was enlarged for Four Years more. But at home, a Sedition was begun, by *Duncan*, or *Dunach*, *Stuart*. He was the Son of *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*, the Kings Brother; and was every jot as feirce, as his Father; who, upon the Death of his Grandfather, imagining now, that he had a fit opportunity for Rapine and Pillage, got a Band of Roiſters about him, and, deſcending into *Angus*, ſpoiled all, as if it had been an Enemies Country. *Walter Ogilby*, and *Walter Lichton* his Brother, endeavouring to oppoſe him, were ſlain, with Sixty of their Followers. They being lifted up with this Succeſs, did afflict the Country more grievouſly than ever; but hearing of the approach of the Earl of *Crawford*, whom the King had ſent to reſtrain their Inſolence, the nimbleſt of them fled ſpeedily to their lurking Holes; of thoſe who made not ſo much haſt, ſome were ſlain, ſome taken, and afterwards put to Death. Thus the Wickedneſs of theſe Unquiet and Turbulent Men, being hindred from breaking in upon the Plain and Champion Countries, they fell out moſt grievouſly amongſt Themſelves, at their own homes. And eſpecially, Two Families of them did exerciſe great Rage and Cruelty, one upon another. They refuſed to end their Fewds by courſe of Law; or, to refer them to indifferent Arbitrators. So that the King ſent Two Earls to ſuppreſs them, *Thomas* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *James Lindſay*, his Father being Dead, now Earl of *Crawford*: Theſe Commanders, conſidering they were to engage againſt a feirce and reſolute People, who valued not their Lives, nor the Pleaſure thereof; ſo that they were not likely to ſubdue them by force, without great Slaughter of their own Men; they therefore reſolved to try what they could do by Policy. And thereupon, they accoſted the *Clans* of both Families a part, and repreſented to them, what danger would *Duncan Stuart* riſes in Arms, but is ſuppreſſed.

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accru to Both, by their mutual Slaughters one of another; and if one Family should extirpate the other; yet, that was not likely to be effected, without the Great Damage, even of the Conquering Side; and if either Party should prevail, yet the Contest would not end so; For then they were to engage the King's Forces, (tho' they were weakned before by their mutual Conflicts) of whole Anger against them Both, , they might be justly sentible, because he had sent them with Forces to destroy them Both, even before they had severely, and irrecoverably, engaged against one another. But in regard, they were more desirous of their Preservation than their Ruin, if they would hearken to them, they would shew them a Way, How they might be reconciled, with the King's good Liking, and that on no dishonourable Terms, neither; no, nor unrevenged one upon another, To this Motion they seemed inclinable, so that the Condition was proposed; That 300 of each side should Try it out in Fight before the King, Armed only with their Swords. They that were Conquered, should have an Amnesty for all past Offences, and the Conquerors should be Honoured with the King's Favour, and the Nobles, too. Both sides were well pleased with the Terms; so that a day was fixed for the Combate, and at the time appointed, the Heads of the Families, with their Parties, came to Court, and part of a Field, on the North side of the Town of *Perth*, which was severed from the rest, by a deep Trench, was appointed for the place of Combate; and Galleries built round for Spectators. Hereupon, an huge Multitude was Assembled together, and sate ready to see the Dispute; but the Fight was delayed awhile, because one of the 300, of the One Party, had hid himself for Fear, and their Fellows were not willing to engage without having just an equal number with their Adversaries; neither was any one found to supply the Place of him who was absent; And of the other Party, not a Man would be drawn out, or exempted from the Fight, lest he might seem less valued, and not so couragious as the rest. After a little pause, an ordinary Tradesman comes forth, and offers to supply the Place of him, that was absent, Provided, That if his Side Conquered, they would pay him halfe a *Gold Dollar* of *France*; and also, provide for him afterward, as long as he lived. Thus, the Number being again equalled, the Fight began, and it was carried on with such great Contention, both of Body and Mind, as old Grudges, inflamed by new Losses, could raise up in Men of such fierce Dispositions, as were accustomed to Blood and Cruelty; especially, seeing Honour and Estate was propounded to the Conqueror; Death and Ignominy, to the Conquered: The Spectators were possessed with as much Horror, as the Combatants were with Fury, as detesting to behold the ugly and deformed Mutilations, and Butcheries, of one anothers Bodies; the Detruncation of their Limbs; and, in a word, the Rage of Wild Beasts, under the shape of Men. But all took notice, that none carried himself more valiantly, than that Mercenary and Suppositious Hireling, to whose Valour a great Part of the Victory was to be ascribed: Of that Side that he was of, there were Ten left alive, besides himself, but all of them grievously wounded: Of the contrary Faction, there remained only One, who was

A notable Policy to divide the Islanders, and make them Instruments to destroy one another, which takes effect accordingly.

was not wounded at all; but, seeing there was so much odds, that he alone must encounter with so many, he cast himself into the River *Tay*, which was near at hand; and in regard, his Adversaries were not able to follow him, by reason of their Wounds, he escaped to the other Side. By this means, the forwardest of Both Parties being slain, the promiscuous Multitude, being left without Leaders, left off their Trade of Seditioning, for many Years after, and betook themselves to their Husbandry, again. This Fight, or Combat, happened in the Year 1396.

About Two Years after, in an Assembly of the States at *Perth*, the King made *David* his Son, being 18 Years before old of *Rothes*, and *Robert* his Brother Earl of *Menteith*, and *Fife* Dukes of *Albany*. This vain Title of Honour then was first Celebrated in *Scotland*, a great increase to Ambition, but none at all to Virtue; neither did it afterwards thrive with any, who enjoyed it. The King would have bestowed the same Title of Honour upon the Earl of *Douglas* also; but he being a grave and solid Person, absolutely refused that nominal Shadow of empty Honour; and if any Man told thim, that he should be a Duke, he rebuked him sharply for it: Some say, That the Name of Governour, which was given by his Father to *Robert* the Kings Brother, was this Year confirmed by the King; as also That the Family of the *Lindsys* had the Earldom of *Crawford* added to their former Honours: But they do not fully clear, Whether the Name of the First Earl of that Family were, *Thomas* or *David*.

Dukes First made in *Scotland*.

E. *Douglas* refuses that Title.

The next Year after, *Richard* the Second, King of *England*, was enforced to resign the Crown; and *Henry* the Fourth, succeeded him. In the Beginning of his Reign, before the Truce was quite ended, new Seeds of War with the *Scots* were sown. *George Dunbar*, Earl of *Merch*, had betrothed his Daughter *Elizabeth* to *David*, the King's Son, and had already paid a good part of her Dowry. *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas* storming, That so powerful a Man, and his Corrival, should be preferred before him, alleging, That the Consent of the Estates was not obtained in the Case, (which no Man ever remembred, but was asked in any of the King's Marriages, before) offered his Daughter *Mary*, with a larger Dowry; and, by means of *Robert* the King's Brother, who could do All at Court, He brought it about, that the Condition was accepted, and the Marriage was Consummated by the Decree of the Estates. *George* was much affected at this Injury, as well as Reproach, and made great complaint to the King; but, seeing what was once done, could not be undone, he desired, at least, the repayment of the Dowry. This his just Demand being denied, and perceiving, that he was not like to obtain any Right, in regard the Minds and Ears of all the Court were prepossessed by his Rival, he departed upon very angry, yea, threatening Terms, and so giving up the Castle of *Dunbar* to *Robert Maitland*, his Sisters Son, he went for *England*. *Robert* presently yielded up the Castle to an Herald, sent by the King to demand it, and *Douglas* was admitted into it with a Garison, so that when *George* returned home, he was denied entrance. Hereupon, he took his Wife, Children, and some intimate Friends, and returned into *England*. Being there, as he was a Man powerful at home, and famous

Richard the Second of *England*, resigns his Crown; and *Hen.* the Fourth succeeds him.

Difference in *Scotland*, occasioned by the Marriage of the King's Son.

abroad, he joyned Counsels with *Percy*, a mortal Enemy to the name of the *Douglas*'s; and in regard, he was well beloved by the bordering *Scots*, of which, many were either his Tenants, Allies, or otherwise obliged to him, he made an Inroad into the whole Province of *Merch*, and drove great Preys from the Country, especially from the Lands of the *Douglasses*. The King of *Scots* first proclaimed *George* a Publick Enemy, and confiscated all his Estate; next, he sent an Herald to *England*, to Demand, That he might be given up as a Fugitive, according to the League made betwixt them; and also to complain of the violation of the Truce. *Henry* of *England* gave a peremptory Answer to his Demands, That he had given the Publick Faith to *George* for his Protection, and that he would not break his Royal Word; as if a private Pact with a Runagate were more Religiously to be observed, than That which had been publickly confirmed by Embassadors and Heralds; for the Days of the Truce made with *Richard*, were not yet expired. In the mean time, *Henry Percy*, the Younger, called *Hot-Spur*, and *George Dunbar* ceased not to infest the Neighbouring Lands of the *Scots* with their Incursions. Which when they had often and successfully done, their Boldness encreased with their Success; so that, gathering 2000 Men together, they entred *Lothian*, and made great havock about *Hadington*. They besieged * *Hales-Castle*, but in vain. When they came to *Linton*, (a Village scituate on the *Tine*, a River of *Lothian*) they were so disturbed at the sudden Coming of *Douglas* against them, that they left their Prey, and all their Baggage behind them, and ran away in such Fear, that they never stopp'd, till they came to *Berwick*. This was done about the beginning of *February*, in the Year 1400.

Dunbar joyns with *Percy*, and infests *Scotland*.

Standing upon *Tine*, 3 Miles below *Hadington*.

The same Year, upon the return of the Herald, War was denounced against *England*, and then also *Archibald Douglas*, Sirnamed the *Austere*, a man inferiour to none of his Ancestors in all kind of Praise, fell sick and died, in a very bad time for his Country, which had lately lost, by sundry misfortunes, so many brave Generals, before. His Son, of the same Name, succeeded him. In the *Ides* of *August*, the *English* King, with great Forces, entered *Scotland*. When he came to *Haddington*, he stayed there three days, and then marched to *Leith*; and staying there as many days, he laid Siege to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Governor led an Army against them, but very slowly; so that it easily appeared, that he did not much care, if the Castle of *Edinburgh* were taken by the *English*; and in it, *David*, the Kings Son. For, by this time his wicked Ambition did begin to shew it self: For, he undervalued his Brother, as an effeminate Person, and sought the Destruction of his Children, as much as he could, that he might enjoy the Kingdom, himself. So that their Loss he counted his Gain. But the King of *England*, and his Army, on the contrary, did Exercise their Enmity very moderately; as if, by an Ostentation of War, they had only sought for Peace; for, having made some sleight Onset on the Castle, he raised the Siege, and returned home, without doing any considerable damage to the Places, thro' which he marched; insomuch, that, in his Marches both backward and forward, he got the Praise and Commendation of a mild, clement, and moderate Enemy; he was courteous to Those, that surren-

The Death of *Archibald Douglas*.

August 13.

Henry of *England* Enters *Scotland*,

Carries it Moderately,

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surrendred themselves; he offered no violence to consecrated Places; yea, he rewarded those bountifully, who had formerly entertained his Father. All which did more ingratiate Him, and render the Governor more odious; in regard he did not prosecute the War with any Eagerness, as against an Enemy; nor yet, endeavour to make so easy and beneficent a King, his Friend. After *Henry* was returned for *England*, *George Dunbar* did still trouble the Borders rather with frequent, than great, Inroads. To suppress him, there was more need of a diligent, than numerous, Force, and therefore *Douglas* divided the Forces of each County into small Bands, and appointed Commanders over them; who, by turns, were to stop the Enemy; or, if they saw cause, to Fight him. The First lot fell upon *Thomas Halyburton* of *Birlington*, who took a great Booty from the Enemy, out of the Lands near to * *Bamburgh*. But *Patrick Hepburne*, who wandred further abroad with a greater Band of men, had not the like Success, for trusting too much to the Numbers of his men, and not being very wary in his Retreat with his Prey, he was cut off by the *English*, and, with him, all the flower of the *Lothian* Soldiery. *Archibald Douglas*, to revenge the slaughter of his Friend, by the consent of the Governor, gathered above Ten thousand men together, abundance of the Nobles accompanied him in his March, and amongst them *Murdo*, the Governors Son; when they came to *Northumberland*, at *New-Castle* upon *Tine*, they passed the River, and spoiled the Country with Fire and Sword; but there encountring with *Henry Percy* the Younger, and *George Dunbar*, in a pitch'd Battel, they were overcome, many of the Nobles were slain, *Douglas* was taken Prisoner, having lost one of his Eyes; so were also *Murdo*, Earl of *Fife*; *Thomas*, Earl of *Murray*; and *George*, Earl of *Angus*, with many other Noble and Illustrious Persons. And indeed, the strength of *Scotland* was not so much weakned by any one Fight, for many years before, as it was in This. It was fought at *Homeldon*, a Town in *Northumberland*, in the *Nones* of *May*, and Year of *Christ* 1401.

And Retreats.

* A Castle over against *Holy-Isle*, in *Northumberland*.

The *Scots* overthrown by *Percy* and *Dunbar* at *Homeldon*.

May. 7.

Percy, having obtained so notable a Victory, resolved to subject all the Country, which lay betwixt *Northumberland* and the *Forth*, to the *English* Scepter; and, he thought it would be a work of no great difficulty so to do, in regard most of the Nobility of those Countrys were either slain in the Fight, or held Prisoners by him. Thereupon, beginning with *Cocklaw*, a Castle in *Teviotdale*, the Governor agreed, *That unless the Castle was relieved by the* Scots *in forty days, he would surrender it up.* When these Conditions was brought to the King, and then to the Governor, some were of Opinion, that the Castle should be surrendred, in regard it was not of That Consequence, as, for the sake thereof, to hazard the strength of the Kingdom, a second time, which had been so sorely shaken and weakned in the late Fight. This Dejection of spirit proceeded, not so much from fear of the Enemy, as from the Perfidiousness of the Governor, who gaped for the Kingdom. He, on the other side, to avert all Suspicion from himself, in high confident Words affirmed, That this Cow-heartedness and Confession of Publick Fear, would more encourage the Enemy, than the loss of a Battel. And if any one thought, That the *English* would be contented with the taking in of One Castle, they

Cocklaw-Castle besieged by the *English*, but they raise the Siege themselves.

were very much mistaken; for, as Fire is more encreased by a light Aspersion of Water, so the desire of the *English*, upon Surrender of *some* Places, would not be extinguished, but rather inflamed to the Taking of *more*, so that What was given up at First, would be but a Step to a further Progress: But, (says he) if all of you refuse to march out, for the relief of the Castle, I my self will go alone; for as long as I live, and am in health, I will never suffer such a Mark of Disgrace to be branded on the *Scotish* Name. Upon this stout Speech of the Governors, the rest, either extinguishing, or dissembling, their Suspicion, cryed out, *That they would follow Him.* But Fortune decided the Controversy, and blew off that danger: For *Percy* was called back to the Civil War in *England*, and so the Siege was raised without Blows.

Whilst these things were acted abroad, against the Enemie, matters stood less prosperously at home; For shortly after the Death of *Archibald Douglas*, the Year before, there immediately followed the Decease of the Queen *Annabella*, and of *Walter Trayle*, Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, insomuch, that all mens minds did presage a great Mutation of Affairs. For the splendour of Military Matters was upheld by *Douglas*; the Ecclesiastical Authority and Resemblance (such as it was) of Ancient Discipline, by *Trayle*; and the Dignity of the Court, by the *Queen*; as did soon appear by what happened, after her death. For *David*, the Kings Son, was a Young man of a fierce Disposition, and enclined to Wantonness and Lust. The Indulgence of his Father encreased those Vices; for, tho' he had not Authority enough to maintain the Reverence due from him to his Father; yet, by the diligent Monitions of Those, who were appointed to be his Tutors in his Youth, but much more by the Counsel and Advice of his Mother, his Youthful Heats were somewhat blunted and restrained; but, when she was dead, he, as now freed from this Curb, returned to his own Manners and Lustful Courses; for, laying aside all shame and fear, he took away other Mens Wives by Force; yea, and Virgins too, tho' well descended; and Those that he could not persuade by fair means, he ravished by Compulsion; and, if any one endeavoured to stop him in his libidinous ways, he was sure to come off, not without Punishment. Many Complaints were brought to his Father about These his Exorbitancies; so that he wrote to his Brother, the Governour, to keep him with him, and to oversee his Conversation, until his Lustful Spirit did abate: And till he gave some hopes of his Amendment of Life. The Governour had now an Opportunity put into his hands, to effect that, he most desired, which was, to destroy his Brothers Issue; so that, he met *David*, three Miles from St. *Andrews*, and carried him into the Castle thereof, which he kept in the nature of a Garison, after the Arch-Bishops death: After a while, he took him out from thence, and carried him to his own Castle of * *Falcoland*; and there shut him up close Prisoner, intending to starve him. But that miserable death, which his Uncles Cruelty had designed him to, was prorogued and staved off for a few days, by the Compassion of Two of the Female Sex: one was a Maid, and Virgin, whose Father was Governour of the Castle and Garison. She gave him Oate Cakes made so thin, that they would

Arch Bishop *Trayle* an observer of Ancient Discipline.

David after his Mothers decease, lets loose the reins to Licentiousness.

David most cruelly starved to Death by his Uncle *Robert*.

* Scituate at the North bottom of *Loch-Lomond* near the *Centre* of *Fife*.

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be folded up together, (as 'tis usual in *Scotland*, so to make them) and as often as she went into the Garden, near the *Prison*, she put them under a Linen Vail, or Hood, which she did, as it were, carelessly cast over her Head, to keep her from the Sun, and thrust them into the Prison to him, thro' a small Crany, rather than a Window. The other was, a Country Nurse, who Milked her Breast, and, by a little Canale, conveighed it into his Mouth. By this mean fare, which served rather to encrease, than kill, his hunger, his wretched Life and Punishment was protracted and lengthned out for a little while; till, at length, by the vigilance of the Guards they were discovered and put to Death. The Father mightily abhoring the Perfidiousness of his own Daughter, whilst he endeavoured to manifest his Faithfulness to an unfaithful Regent. The Young man, being thus left destitute of all human Support, having, by Force of Hunger, gnawed and torn his own Flesh, died at length more than a single kind of Death. His End was concealed from his Father, tho' it were commonly known abroad, because no Man durst to be the Messenger of such sad Tidings to him.

The Governor of *Fakland's* cruelty to his own Daughter.

But to return to the Affairs of *England*, as far as they are intermixed with Ours. When *Percy*, and a great Number besides of the Nobility, had conspired to make War upon their own King, he agrees with *Douglas*, whom he still held Prisoner since the Battel of *Homeldon*, That, if he would improve his Interest, by assisting him against the King, as strenuously and as faithfully as he had before done against him, he would set him at Liberty, without ransom, which *Douglas* frankly promised him to do, as being willing to omit no Opportunity of service against the *English* King. Hereupon, he gathered some of his Friends and Tenants about him, and prepared himself for the Fight, wherein he behaved himself as stoutly, as he promised to *Percy*; so that, without regard to the Common Soldiers, his Mind, and Eye, was wholly intent upon the King only; and, in regard, there were several Commanders cloathed in Royal attire, which was done on purpose by the *English*, either to deceive the Enemy, if they should press hard upon him; or else, that the Soldiers, in more places than one, might find him a present witness of their Courageousness or Cowardize: *Douglas* took notice of One of these, who had Gallant Armour, and rushed in upon him, with all his might, and so unhorsed him. But he, being relieved by those who were next, he did the same to a Second, and a Third, who were all attired as Kings, (thus *Edward Hall*, the *English* Writer affirms, as well as Ours) so that he was not taken up so much with the Apprehension of his own danger, as with a wonderment, from whence so many Kings should start up, at once. At length, after a terrible and bloody Fight, Fortune turned about, and the King won the day; *Douglas* was sore wounded and found amongst the Prisoners; and whereas many urged to put him to death, the King saved him, and did not only commend his Faithfulness to his Friend, but also rewarded him for his Valour, and, when his Wounds were cured, after he had staid some Months with him, upon the Payment of a great sum of Money he was released.

Douglas joyns with *Percy*, against the K. of *England*.

Having Performed valiantly in a fight he is taken Prisoner, and after ransomed

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In the mean time, the *Scotish* King heard of the death of *David* his Eldest Son, by the unnatural Cruelty of his Uncle. The Author was sufficiently pointed at by private whisperings, tho' no man dared publickly to accuse so potent a man. Whereupon, the King sends for his Brother, and makes an Expostulation with him concerning the matter; He had prepared his Tale before-hand, and charges others with the Guilt of the Young Mans death; as for him and his, they were ready, forsooth, whenever the King pleased, to plead and assert their Innocency, in a due course of Law; as for the Murderers, some of them he had taken already, and the others he would diligently look out. Thus the matter being brought to Examination in the Law. The Author of the wickedness Summons a Council, sets up an Accuser, and he who was impleaded as Guilty, was by them acquitted, as Innocent of the Murder. The King imprecated a most dreadful punishment from the God of Heaven above, to be poured down on him and his Posterity, who had committed that horrid Wickedness: And thus being overpressed with Grief and bodily Weakness he returned to *Bote*, whence he came. The Suspicion was encreased in him, That his Brother had committed the Parricide, tho' he was too powerful to be brought by him to Justice and Punishment, for the same. But he, like a strong dissembler, brings the suppositious Authors of the wickedness out of Prison, and put them to Cruel deaths; 'tis true, they were Lewd Persons, yet Innocent of that Particular Fact, for which they suffered.

Robert accused for *Davids* Death. Undergoes a partial Tryal, and is Acquitted.

King *Robert* imprecates God's judgment on the Murderers of his Son.

In the interim, the King advised with his Friends, how he might preserve *James*, his Youngest Son, for whose safety he was very solicitous, and whom he had left in the custody of *Walter Wardlow*, Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, an honest man and faithful to him; They gave their Opinion in the case, that he could not be safe in any part of *Scotland*, and that therefore it was best to send him over to *Charles* the IV. King of *France*, the old Ally, and only Friend, of the *Scotish* Nation; for he could be Educated no where more safely and honourably, than there: The fresh Example of *David Bruce* stuck yet in their Minds, who, in dubious and troublesome times at home, had there, for some years, an Honourable retreat and Entertainment. Hereupon a Vessel was prepared, and he put on bord at the *Bass*, a Rock rather than an Island. *Henry Sinclare*, Earl of the *Orcades*, was sent with him, as his Guide or Rector; whilst they were compassing the shore, he Landed at the Promontory of *Flamburgh*, either driven in by Tempest, or else to refresh himself on shore, from his Sea-Vomit and Nausеation; There he was detained by the *English*, till they sent to their King, who commanded, that he should be brought up to Court: So that neither the Law of the Truce, which was made a little before, for 8 years, nor the supplicating Letters of his Father did prevail, but he was kept, as a Lawful Prisoner. For his Father, at his departure, had sent Letters by him to the King of *England*, (if possibly he should be necessitated to land there) wherein he made complaining, and lamentable discourses, both of his own, and also of the common fortune of all Mankind. But, tho' the King of *England* were not ignorant of the Inconstancy of human affairs; yet the old grudge against the Nation of the *Scots* more prevailed with him,

James, the K. Son, for security, sent into *France*, but Landing in *England* is detained There.

him, than either the reſpect of the Youth's Innocent Age, or the Tears of his grieved Father, or the dignity of the Kingly Name, or the Faith of the Pacification and Truce. For having referred the matter to his Council, how he ſhould treat the Son of the King of *Scots* being arrived in his Dominions, Thoſe, who had any regard to Equity, and were weary of the preſent War, inclined to the milder Opinion, *viz.* That the Royal Youth, who fled from the Cruelty of his own Countrymen, and was now their Suppliant, ſhould be hoſpitably and Friendly Entertained, That ſo a feirce Nation, and unconquer'd by the War of ſo many Ages, might be won and wrought over to a Reconciliation, by Courteſie. For this, they thought, *was the moſt ſolid and firm victory, not when Liberty was taken away by force, but when Minds are united by the indiſſoluble bond of Amity.* Others were of contrary Opinion, That he might be lawfully detained as a Priſoner; either, becauſe many of the *Scots* Nobility had Perſonally aſſiſted *Percy* in the Inſurrection, which he made againſt the King; or, becauſe his Father had Entertained and Relieved *Percy* the Elder, when he was Baniſhed and Condemned, as a Traitor in *England*.

Diſputes in the King of *England*'s Council, concerning the Detention, or Diſmiſſion, of *James*.

This Opinion (as commonly the worſt things do) prevailed, tho they that were preſent at the Conſult knew well enough, that thoſe *Scots* who fought againſt the *Engliſh* King in *Percy*'s Inſurrection, were not ſent by any Publick Commiſſion from the King, but came out of their private Affection to *Douglas*, who was then alſo in *Percy*'s Power. They might alſo have remembred, what *Henry* himſelf had anſwered to the *Scots*, a few Years before, when they demanded *George Dunbar* to be given up; yet notwithſtanding, they ſtuck to this laſt Opinion, as *commonly in the Courts of Princes, a falſe pretence of Advantage doth weigh down Honeſt and Righteous Counſels*; Yet, in one thing *Henry* dealt Nobly and Royally with his Captive, That he cauſed him to be Educated in Learning, and Good Diſcipline: This Calamity of the Son was brought to his Fathers Ears, whilſt he was at Supper, and did ſo overwhelm him with Grief, that he was almoſt ready to give up the Ghoſt in the Hands of his Servants, that attended him: but, being carried to his Bed-chamber, he abſtained from all Food, and in 3 Days dyed for Hunger and Grief at *Rotheſay*, which is a Town in the Iſland *Bote*, in the 16th Year of his Reign, in the Calends of *April*, and Year of *Chriſt*, 1406. He was Buried at the Abby of *Paſley*. This *Robert*, for tallneſs of Stature, and for the Beauty and Compoſition of his whole Body, was inferior to none of his Contemporaries. His Life was very harmleſs, and there was no Virtuous Accompliſhment, fit for a private Man, wanting in him, ſo that it may be truly ſaid of him, That he was a better Man than a King.

James well Educated in *England*, yet his Captivity breaks his Fathers Heart.

April 1.

Robert's Death and Character.

After the King's death, the Government of the Kingdom was ſetled upon *Robert* his Brother, by the Decree of all the Eſtates; who had many things in him worthy of that Office and Dignity, if, out of a blind Ambition to Rule, he had not uſed unjuſt Courſes to haſten to the Throne. He was Valiant in War, Prudent in Counſel, Juſt in Judgment, Liberal to the Nobles, and Tender in Levying Taxes on the Commons. The ſame Year, *Percy* the Elder again entred into

Robert, his Brother, made Regent.

Percy overthrown, and flies to *Scotland.*

into a Conspiracy against the King, to revenge upon him the deaths of his Brother and Two Sons, who had been slain; but his Design was discovered, many of his Accomplices taken and put to death, and he himself, for fear, fled into *Scotland*, that from thence he might pass over into *Flanders* and *France*, to procure Auxiliaries to renew the War. In the mean time, *Henry*, the King of *Englands* Son, made great Incursions into *Scotland*, both by Land and Sea; when he was returned home with a great Booty, the Castle of *Jedburgh* which the Enemy had kept from the Fight in *Durham* to that day, was taken by the Commons of *Teviotdale*, Pillaged, and then, by the Governors Order, wholly demolished: And *George* Earl of *Merch*, who had done much damage to his Countrymen, in behalfe of the *English*, being not able to procure from them Aid to recover his Own, nor an honest Maintenance amongst them neither, pacified the Governor by his Friends, and so returned home, yet he lost part of his Patrimony, *viz.* his Castles in the *Loch-Maban*, and *Annandale*, which were given to *Douglas*, for the Losses he had sustained: and thus all Offences were forgiven on both sides, and he passed the rest of his Life, in great Concord with his Neighbours, and faithful Subjection to his King.

Henry of *England* invades *Scotland.*

Dunbar returns to *Scotland.*

The next Year, *Percy*, after he had made a vain and fruitless Peregrination over *France* and *Flanders*, returned into *Scotland*, to his old Friend the Earl of *Merch*; by whom he was courteously Entertained, and Accommodated, according to his Estate: There he Transacted by private Messengers, about returning into his own Country, and, amongst the rest, he wrot to *Ralph Rokesby*, his Ancient and Faithful Friend, as he thought, That he did not want Force, both of *Scots* and *English*, who were ready to assist him to recover his Ancient Patrimony; provided, that he would joyn in his assistance with them. This *Ralfe* was, at that time, Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, so they there call the Officer which presides in Chief over Juridical Assemblies. He enticed *Percy* to him, upon pretence of giving him Aid, and then discovered the Conspiracy to the King. Thus his Friend was betrayed by him, his Head cut off, and sent to the King at *London*.

Percy betrayed by *Rokesly* his pretended Friend, and put to Death.

There was also, at that time, a certain *Englishman* in *Scotland*, who called himself *Richard* the Second, but, I judge, falsly. For when *Percy*, the Elder, did often and earnestly desire to speak with him, he would not, by any persuasion, be induced thereunto, fearing, as may be guessed, lest his Imposture might be detected by a Man, who so well knew his King. Yet he was, for some Years, Treated, as one of the Blood-Royal: and that he might live more securely, he feigned himself most averse from any desire of enjoying the Kingdom. But at last he was Buried in the Church of the *Franciscan-Fryers* at *Sterlin*. The Title of the King of *England* being inserted in his Epitaph: Not long after, *Fastcastle*, a very Strong Castle (as the Name intimates) in *Merch*, was taken from the *English* by *Patrick Dunbar*, Son to *George*, and therein *Thomas Holden* Governor thereof, who had infested all the Neighboring Places of *Lothian*, with his continual Thievery. And moreover, in *Teviotdale*, *William Douglas*, and *Gawin Dunbar*, youngest Son to the Earl of *Merch*, had broken down

A Supposititious Prince.

Standing on a Rock above the *Firth*, of *Forth*, near *St. Ebbs Head*, in the *Mers*

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the Bridge of *Roxburgh*, and burnt the Town; but they attempted not the Caſtle, becauſe they were deſtitute, and unprovided, of all things, neceſſary for a Siege: But the next Year after, which was 1411. *Donald* the *Iſlander*, Lord of the *Ebudæ*, claiming *Roſs* as the next Heir (for ſo indeed he was,) as unjuſtly taken away from him by the Governor, when he could get no Right, he Levied 1000 *Iſlanders*, and made a Deſcent on the Continent, and ſo eaſily ſeized on *Roſs*, the whole Country being willing to return to the Subjection of their own juſt Maſter: But this Facility of the *Roſſians*, in ſubmitting to him, gave him (whoſe Mind was greedy of Prey) Encouragement to attempt greater Matters. For, he paſſed over into *Murray*, and there being no Force to defend it, he reduced it to his Obedience, and then paſſed further in his Depredations into *Strath-Bogy*, and did threaten *Aberdeen*: Againſt this ſuddain and unexpected Enemy, The Governour gathered Forces, but, in regard, the Greatneſs and Propinquity of the Danger did not admit the expectancy of ſlow-paced Aid, *Alexander* Earl of *Marr*, the Son of *Alexander*, the Governours Brother, and almoſt all the Nobility, beyond the *Tay*, at a Village called * *Harlaw*, ſet themſelves and their Men in Battel-array againſt him. The Fight was Cruel and Bloody, for the Valour of many Nobles did then contend for Eſtate and Glory againſt the Savage Cruelty of the oppoſite Party; At laſt the Night parted them, and it may be rather ſaid, That they were Both weary with Fighting, than that either Party had the better; ſo that the event of the Fight was ſo uncertain, that when Both ſides had reckoned up, how many they had loſt, each counted himſelf the Conqueror. In this Fight there fell ſo many Eminent and Noble Perſonages, as ſcarce ever periſhed in one Battel againſt a Foreign Enemy, for many Years before: And therefore the Village, which was obſcure before, grew Famous therefrom, even to Poſterity.

Donald the *Iſlander* riſes in Arms.

A County lying on the River *Strath-Bogy*, 40 Miles Beforth *Aberdeen*.

* In *Murray*.

A Cruel Fight between *Donald* and the Governour.

This Year alſo, Publick Schools began firſt to be opened at *St. Andrews*, which was effected, rather by the conſent of Learned Men, who made an overture at the Profeſſion of Science, than by the Occaſion of any Private or Publick Aſſiſtance. The next 10 Years, there was hardly any Memorable thing acted betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, either, becauſe there was a Truce made, which yet Authors are ſilent in; or, becauſe *Henry* the 4*th* Dying on the 12*th* of the *Calends* of *April*, and his Son *Henry*, the 5*th*, preſently ſucceeding him, being all the reſt of his Life, intent on the Affairs of *France*, the *Engliſh* abſtained from offering any Injury to the *Scots*. And beſides, the Governour of *Scotland* did not dare to ſtir on his ſide, for fear, leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould bring back upon them the true Heir of the Crown, whom, he knew, many of the *Scots* would cloſe with, out of the Commiſeration of his Misfortunes. Therefore, what Inroads were made, at that time, were rather like Robberies than Wars. For both *Penrith* in *England* was burnt by *Archibald Douglas*, and *Dunfrize* in *Scotland*, by the *Engliſh*: And alſo there was an Exchange of Priſoners made, *Murdo*, the Governours Son, taken at *Homildon* Fight, was exchanged for *Percy*, who, when his Grandfather's Party was ſubdued in *England*, was brought into *Scotland*, and left with the Governor; But upon the New King's coming to

The Erection of *St. Andrews* Univerſity.

March 21. *Henry* the 4*th*. Dyes, and *Henry* the 5*th* ſucceeds him.

the Crown, he was reſtored to the Dignity of his Anceſtors. He, though he were not properly a Priſoner by the Law of Arms; yet the unjuſt detention of *James*, Son to the King of *Scots*, ſtopt the mouths of the *Engliſh*, that they could not juſtly complain of any injury, in the Caſe: As for *Percy* himſelf, he was ſo far from reſenting it, that as long as he lived, he acknowledged the Civility and great Friendſhip of the *Scots* to him, in all kind of mutual Service..

Percys Poſterity reſtored to their Dignity.

Moreover, the ſame Year, another Embaſſy came from the Council of *Conſtance*, the Head whereof was the Abbat of *Pontiniack*; and another from *Peter Lune*, who had ſeized on the Papacy, and as pertinaciouſly kept it. He, by *Henry Haraing*, an *Engliſh Franciſcan*, had wrought over the Governor to his Party, but in vain, for the whole Body of the Prieſthood was againſt him; for they, having aſſented to the Council of *Conſtance*, had ſubſcribed to the Election of *Martin* the Fifth. In the mean time, the King of *France*, by means of a violent Diſeaſe, fell beſides himſelf, and his Diſtemper was encreaſed by the Monks, who pretended to Cure him. By which means, *France* was divided into Two Factions. The Head of the One, was the Duke of *Burgundy*, who having ſlain the Kings Brother, drew him to the *Engliſh* Party. The Head of the Other, was, the Kings Son, who being diſinherited by his diſtracted Father, was called by his Enemies in a jeer, the King of **Berry*, becauſe he uſually kept himſelf at *Burges* in *Berry*, a Town of the *Bernois*. He being forſaken by a great part of his own Country Men, and deſtitute alſo of Foreign Aid, in the Year 1419. ſent the Earl of *Vendoſme*, his Ambaſſador to the *Scots*, to demand Aid of them, according to the League made betwixt the Two Nations: The Aſſembly of the Eſtates ordered him Seven Thouſand Men, and indeed, at that time, in regard the Soldiers were increaſed by reaſon of the long Peace with *England*; it was no hard matter, to make up ſuch a Number of Men, being only Voluntiers. *John*, Earl of *Buchan*, the Governours Son, was made General of the Forces, and many eminent Perſons followed him; but *Archibald* Earl of *Wigton*, the Son of *Archibald* the Second, Earl of *Douglas*, was far more eminent than all the reſt. When they came into *France*, they were ſent by the Dolphin, (ſo they call the Eldeſt Son of the King of *France*) into *Turein*, a Country very plentiful in all ſorts of Proviſion, and near to the Enemy: For the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to the King of *England*, was then in *France*, inſtead of the King himſelf, and made great Havock of the Country of *Anjou*, whoſe Inhabitants remained in their Obedience to the *French* King. And it was thought, he would have come as far as the Town of *Beujeu*. This was done Two Days before *Eaſter*; whereupon the *Scots*, thinking, that the General would ceaſe from any Military Action thoſe few days of that Feaſt, (as the cuſtom is) and apply himſelf to Eccleſiaſtical Duties; or, (as others ſay) preſuming upon an Eight Days Truce, which was made, carried themſelves more ſecurely, than otherwiſe they were wont to do. The Duke of *Clarence* was informed thereof, either by *Andrew Fregoſe*, an *Italian*; or elſe, by ſome *Scots* Foragers, whom his Horſe had taken Priſoners, and having gotten a fair opportunity for Action, (as he thought) he roſe up preſently

Council of *Conſtance* ſend Ambaſſadors to *Scotland*, ſo doth *Peter Lune*, Anti-Pope.

The King of *France* diſtracted.

Diviſions in *France*.

A County of *France*, lying on the River *Carus*.

The French King craves Aid of the *Scots*, which is ſent him under the Command of the Earl of *Buchan*.

The *Scots* Auxiliaries Land in *France*.

presently from Dinner; and, with his Horse only marched toward the Enemy, he himself, besides his other Gallant Furniture and Armour, had a Royal Diadam on his Head, beset with many Jewels. Some few *French*, who were quartered neareſt the Enemy, in a Village called *Little Beaujou*, being terrified with his sudden coming, fled into the Tower of a Church adjoyning; whilst he was assaulting of these, the Alarum was given to the rest of the Army, and presently, in great dismay, they all cryed out, *To your Arms.* The Earl of *Buchan*, whilst the rest were fitting themselves, sent out 30 Archers, to take possession of a Bridge, which was the only Passage over a Neighbour River. There a Skirmish begun, and *Hugh Kenneay*, who quartered in a Church hard by, came in to them, with One hundred Men, who in so sudden a Fright were but half-armed. This Party with their Arrows hindred the Horse from passing over; whereupon *Clarence*, with the forwardest of his Men, leapt from his Horse, and maintained the Combat on foot; so that, in a Lusty Charge, they repelled the *Scots*, who were some unarmed, and some but half-armed, from the Bridge, and this opened the Passage for his Men. In the mean time, whilst *Clarence* was mounting his Horse, and his Men were passing the narrow Bridge, a few at a time; the Earl of *Buchan*, was at hand with 200 Horse; who being very earneſt to shew themselves on Both sides, a sharp Fight began, with equal courage and hatred: For the *Scots* were glad, that they had gotten an Opportunity, to give the first Proof of their Valour, and so to refute the Reproaches of the *French*, who were wont to upbraid them, as *Men given more to Eating and Drinking, than Fighting.* The like Reproach do the same *French* use to cast upon the *Britains*; The *Spaniards*, on the *French*; and the *Africans*, on the *Spaniards*: On the other side, the *Engliſh* took it in great disdain, That they should be attack'd by such an implacable Enemy, not only at home, but even beyond the Seas; and so they fought stoutly, but none more fiercely than *Clarence* himself; He was known by his Armour, *John Swinton* ran at him, and, with his Lance, grievously wounded him in the Face; and the Count of *Buchan* also smote him with a *Truncheon*, and struck him from his Horse; when he was fallen, the *Engliſh* ran away, and were slain in the pursuit, even until night. This Battel was fought the day before *Easter*, when the days are short in cold Countries, a little after the *Vernal Equinox.* There fell of the *Engliſh* in the Fight, above 2000, amongst which were 26 of eminent Rank. Many Prisoners were taken of good Accompt in their own Country; and, especially, some of the Dukes Allies: Few of the *Scots* or *French* were lost, and those of no great Note, neither: This is the most common report concerning the Death of *Clarence*, but the *Pluscarty Book* says, that he was slain by *Alexander Maccasland*, a Knight of *Lennox*, who took off the aforesaid Diadem from his Head, and sold it to *John Stuart* of *Derneley*, for 1000 Angels of Gold; and he again pawned it to *Robert Huston*, to whom he owed 5000 Angels; This, he says, was the Vulgar Opinion: The chief Praise of this Victory was ascribed to the *Scots*, neither could their greatest Detractors deny it. Whereupon *Charles*, the *Dolphin*, created the Earl of *Buchan* Lord High Constable, which is the highest Office in *France*,

The Duke of *Clarence*, Commander of the *Engliſh*, thinking to surprize the *Scots*,

Is overthrown by them,

And slain.

Buchan made Lord High Constable of *France*.

France, next the King: The rest of the Commanders had also Honours bestowed on them, according to their Rank and Valour.

September 3. *Robert* dies, and his Son *Murdo* made Governor of *Scotland*.

Whilst these Things were acted in *France*, in the year 1420, *Robert*, Governor of *Scotland*, died the same year, in the Third of the *Nones* of *September*, and Fifteen years after the Death of King *Robert*, the Third: His Son *Murdo* succeeded in his place, a Man of a sluggish disposition, and scarce fit to govern his private Family, much less the Common-wealth: So that either by his Slothfulness; or else, his too much Indulgence, he so spoiled his Children, (for he had Three) that, in a short time, he brought both them and himself into great Calamity, and, at last, Destruction. This change of Domestick Affairs caused the Earls of *Buchan* and *Wigton*, with many of their Kindred, to return from *France*: But Matters being soon setled at Home, the *Dolphin* recalled the Earl of *Buchan*, who, with his Son in Law *Archibald*, *James* his Son, and the Flower of the *Scotish* Soldiers, sailed into *France*, leaving his other Son, the Earl of *Wigton*, behind him, who, being grievously sick, could not follow him: They landed with 5000 Soldiers at *Rochel*, and so came to the *Dolphin* at *Poictou*, where they were joyfully received, and *Douglas* was made Duke of *Turein*.

Buchan returns to *Scotland*, but is recalled to *France*.

Douglas made Duke of *Turein*.

When *Henry* of *England* heard of the Death of *Clarence*, he substituted *John* Earl of *Bedford*, his other Brother, in his place, and sent him before into *France* with 4000 Horse and 10000 Foot. He himself followed soon after, and took with him *James*, King of *Scots*, in the Expedition: thinking, by that means, either to insinuate himself with the *Scots*, who fought against him in *France*; or else, to render them suspected to the *French*: But he obtained neither of his Ends, nor could he prevail with them, at the desire of their own King, so much as to return home, and to be Newters and Spectators only, of the War: For, addressing to all the Garisons held there by the *Scots*, They made him one General Answer, *That they could not acknowledge him for their King, who was under the Power of another Man*: *Henry*, being offended at their Peremptoriness and Constancy, having taken the Town of * *Meaux*, by Storm, hanged up 20 *Scots*, which he found there, alleging, *That they bore Arms against their own King*. Soon after, He and *Charles* the Sixth, King of *France*, died, immediately one after another. About Two years after, the *English* prevailed in a Battel at * *Vernevil*, where there were slain of the Prime *Scots*, the Earl of *Buchan* and *Douglas*, one Duke of *Turein*, the other Master of the Horse to the *French* King; and also *James Douglas*, his Son; *Alexander Lindsay*, *Robert Stuart*, and *Thomas Swinton*; and, of Common Soldiers above 2000. And about three years after, the Auxiliary *Scots* received another great Overthrow at * *Beaux*, when they were carrying Provisions to *Orleans*. They set upon the *English* in the way, in which Fight there were slain of *Scots* of note, *William Stuart* with his Brother, and two eminent Knights of the Family of the *Douglas*'s, whose Posterities do yet enjoy two Castles, and large Possessions about them, in *Scotland*, *viz.* one of them, the Castle of *Drumlanerick*, and the other the Castle of *Lough Levin* in *Fife*. Thus have I briefly touched at the Actions of the *Scots*, performed in a few years in

Earl of *Bedford* sent by *Henry* into *France*, who carries with him *James* I. King of *Scotland*.

A Chief Town of the County of *Brie* in *France*, situated near the *Matrona*.

A Town in, or near *Normandy*.

A large Country about *Orleance*, on the *Loyre*.

The *Scots* overthrown in *France* by the *English*, and their Chief Commanders slain.

France,

France, as External and Foreign Occurences, the farther Explication of them is to be had in the *French* Annals, which though they be not quite alien from the Affairs of *Scotland*, yet I had not ſtepped out of my way to mention them, if the calumny of ſome *Engliſh* Writers had not compelled me ſo to do: For they endeavour to undervalue and ſpeak evil of what they do not deny; if Hiſtories did not mention their Atchievements, yet the Munificence of the Kings, the Decrees of the Cities, and the Honourable Monument at *Orleance* and *Turein* do ſufficiently declare them; What, I pray, can they here object? The *Scots*, ſay they, are too poor to maintain ſo great a Force in a Foreign Country: I anſwer, Firſt, That if they be Poor, it is the fault of the *Soil*, not of the Men; neither would I have taken this for a Reproach, if it did not appear by their Writings, That the *Engliſh* intended it for Such; and therefore, I ſhall only anſwer them with this: That theſe Poor and Indigent *Scots* (as they call them) have got many great and famous Victories over the Opulent and Wealthy *Engliſh*: And if they do not believe me herein, let them conſult their own Hiſtories; and, if they ſuſpend their Belief of them alſo, let them not require of us, to receive them for True in other things. But to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*.

Reflections on ſome *Engliſh* Writers.

Murdo being ſet up, as I ſaid but now, in the place of his Father, he maintained a very looſe Diſcipline in his own Houſe, his Children (whoſe Names were *Walter*, *Alexander*, and *James*) did deſpiſe their Inferiors, and conſequently oppreſs them with many Injuries, and they infected the Youth, with thoſe Vices, to which they themſelves were addicted; and ſeeing their Father did not curb nor reſtrain them, at laſt he was puniſhed himſelf for giving them ſuch bad Education. The old Man did highly prize a certain Bird he had, of that ſort of *Hawks*, which they call *Falcons*: *Walter* had often begg'd him of his Father, and was as often denied; ſo that upon a time, he catched it out of his Fathers Hand, and wrung off his Neck. To whom his Father replied, *Becauſe thou can'ſt not find in thy Heart to obey me, I will bring in another, That both thou and I too ſhall be forced to obey.* And, from that time forward, he bent his Thoughts to reſtore his Kinſman *James*; and there was an Eminent Man of *Argile*, chief of the Country, named *Calen Cambel*, whom, before, *Walter* had affronted and wronged, who approved of his Deſign herein; ſo that, he aſſembled the Eſtates at *Perth*, and a Conſultation being had concerning the Revocation of their King; They all, either out of Favour to the true Heir of the Kingdom, or out of Wearineſs of the preſent poſture of Affairs, willingly agreed to ſend an Embaſſy about his Reſtitution: Some Nobles were choſen Embaſſadors, who coming into *England*, found the *Engliſh* more inclinable to it, than they expected: For the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who, in the Kings Minority, governed the Affairs of *England*, called the Council together, and eaſily perſuaded them, That *James*, Son to the King of *Scotland*, ſhould be ſent back, at the deſire of his People, into his own Country; ſeeing, he was not, in his preſent poſture, of ſo great Authority amongſt them, as to be able to recal the *Scots* Auxiliaries out of *France*, or to draw any Part of the Kingdom to an Alliance with *England*. And beſides, he thought to make another advan-

Fond Indulgence to Children, juſtly puniſhed in a Father.

The *Scots* ſend for King *James* the Firſt, out of *England*.

advantage of him, That he would not only be his ſure and faſt Friend, but would always be under the power and influence of *England*, for he had Married *Joan*, the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Daughter, the Beautifulleſt Woman of her Time, (which he then was mightily in Love with) he perſuaded himſelf, that, by her means, the League with *France* might be eaſily undermined; and, if he were freed, either he would be obliged by that Courteſy; or elſe, whilſt he was buſie in revenging the Wrongs his Kindred had done him, he would intangle his Country in a grievous inteſtine War; and, by this means, it would come to paſs, That either the *Engliſh* would be made ſtronger by the Acceſſion of ſuch a Friend; or, if their *Scotiſh* Enemies diſagreed amongſt themſelves; yet, they ſhould be more diſingaged, and readier for a Foreign War. And, indeed, theſe were no imprudent Conſiderations, if they themſelves, by the Narrowneſs of their Spirits, had not marred their own Market. For ſeeing they demanded a greater Sum of Money, for his Redemption, than the *Scots*, in their preſent Circumſtances, either durſt promiſe, or were able to pay, a Compremize was made, That the Dowry of his Wife ſhould be retained, as for One half, and that the Sons of ſome Noblemen ſhould be given in Hoſtage, for the payment of the Other. *James*, being ſet at Liberty upon theſe Terms, returned home, 18 years after he had been a Priſoner, in the year of our *Lord* 1423.

Who returns upon a Ranſom.

Amidſt the great Concourſe of People, which flocked in, to ſee him, and to Congratulate his Return, he was ſoon entertained with the Complaint of thoſe who grievouſly lamented, what Wrongs they had ſuſtained ſince the laſt Kings Death, partly by the Negligence, and partly by the Injuries of the late Governors: *Walter*, the Son of *Murdo*, *Malcolm Fleming*, and *Thomas Boyd*, were highly accuſed, who, to pacifie the Commons for the preſent, were committed to ſeveral Priſons, until the next Convention of the Eſtates, which was appointed to be the Sixth of the *Calends* of *June*. But *Fleming* and *Boyd* upon payment of Damages, and ſome kind of Compenſation; and alſo upon laying down a round Sum, which they were Fined at, into the Kings Exchequer, were ſet at Liberty.

May 27.

James I. *The Hundred and Second King.*

IN the mean time, the King, with the Queen, was Crowned on the Eleventh of the *Calends* of *May*; he being placed in the Chair of State, by his Couſin *Murdo*, (an Office belonging to the Earl of *Fife*.) A while after, many profitable Laws were enacted for the Good of the Publick, but eſpecially to reſtrain Robberies; which, by the Licentiouſneſs of former times, had grown to ſuch an heighth, that Laws and Magiſtrates were deſpiſed, as if Right had been only in Arms. Afterwards, they conſulted how to raiſe the Kings Ranſom, for, ſeeing the Publick Treaſure was very low, by reaſon of ſo many Wars, the Governours having pardoned the Offendors, and beſtowed Rewards on good Patriots, ſo that the Kings Revenue being Mortgaged, and Money taken up thereupon, he could not pay it of his Own, but was forced to crave Aid of his Subjects; And indeed, the Nobles, whoſe

April 20.

whoſe Sons were left Hoſtages, eaſily obtained, That an Act ſhould paſs to that purpoſe; but, in the payment of the Money, there was not ſo ready an Obedience. For, upon a Valuation of all Moveables, a Twentieth part was impoſed, which, in ſo great a want of Money; yet Plenty, and conſequently, Cheapneſs of other things, ſeemed intolerable to Men, who were not accuſtomed to Taxes: And who alſo were more concerned at the Example for the future, than for the preſent Damage: And moreover, the higher Sort were calumniated by the Vulgar, as if they had caſt too much of the Burden upon the Shoulders of the Poor. But that which troubled the Commons moſt, was, the ſhort Day appointed for the payment of the Tax, for it was Commanded to be brought in within 15 Days; and if any one did not pay, his Cattel were to be ſeized upon, either by the Lord of the Mannor, or the Sheriff of the County. And if any one alleged his being in Debt, or in Arrears of Rent to his Landlord, the Exception did not avail to abate his Contribution: And the Miſchief was increaſed by the Severity and Harſhneſs of the Collectors, who did not only thus vex the People; but, by falſe Reckonings; or, upon the accompt of Charges, they deducted a great part of the Money, which was Collected for the Publick Uſe: Beſides, the Impoſition ſeemed more Grievous, becauſe the former Governours had been very remiſs and moderate in their Levies and Ceſsments, that ſo they might inſinuate themſelves into the Love of the Commons, and thereby keep them off from deſigning the Reſtitution of their Lawful King: And for that cauſe, it was, that when the Aſſembly had given Liberty to *Robert*, the King's Uncle, to Levy a Tax, he, to ingratiate himſelf with the Commonalty, refuſed to let it paſs into an Act, affirming, *That he had rather pay down ſo much Money of his own, than that the Commons ſhould be burdened on ſuch an account.* When the King had exacted the Firſt Payment, which came in very hardly, and with the Ill-will of the People, who complained, That beſides the burden of the Wars, they had theſe new Taxes impoſed upon them, he forgave the reſt.

Conteſts in *Scotland*, about raiſing Money for the King's Ranſom.

The King remits one halfe of his Ranſom-Tax.

In this Aſſembly, *Murdo*, Duke of *Albany*, *Walter* and *Alexander* his Sons; *Dunac* Earl of *Lennox*, his Son in Law, and *Robert Grame*, who ſome Years before had killed the King, were taken, and committed to Priſon; ſo were 24 more of the Cheif Nobility, but the reſt were not long after ſet at liberty; *Murdo* only with his Son, and Son-in-law, being retained in Cuſtody. The ſame day that *Murdo* was taken, the King ſeized upon all his Caſtles, as *Falcoland* in *Fife*, and *Down* in *Menteith*, out of which, his Wife was carried to the Caſtle of *Tintallon* in *Lothian*. *James* his youngeſt Son, hearing of the Havock of his Family, gathered a Band of Men together, and burnt the Town of *Dunbarton*, and ſlew *John Howard* (the King's Uncle) Sirnamed *Rufus*, and 32 of his Followers; and then he fled into *Ireland*, where he dyed ſhortly after. And alſo *Eihlaw*, Biſhop of *Liſmore*, one of the *Dominican* Order, who fled with him, and was his Counſellor in all his Affairs, departed this Life there. The Wife alſo of *Walter*, with her Two Sons, *Andrew*, *Alexander*, and *Arthur* a Baſe-born Son, fled into *Ireland* alſo, who, in the Reign of *James* the Third, returned again, and were Endowed with great Honour. The ſame

Several Scots Nobles impriſoned.

Others fly to *Ireland*

Murdo brought to his Trial.

same Year, in an Assembly of the Estates at *Sterlin*, *Murdo*, with his Two Sons, and Son-in-law were had out of Prison to be Tryed, according to Law; the Procee,dings were after the Custom of the Country, which was This. Some Man, Eminent for Wisdom and Authority, is chosen out, to be President of the Court, and he hath at least Twelve Assessors joyned with him, who are to hear the Crimes Objected, and to pass Sentence on the Prisoner, or Party accused, according to their Oaths. These Judges are usually of the same Quality with the Party accused: Or, at least, of the next Condition to him, as near as may be: The Prisoner hath Power to except against his Judges, till the number of 12, and sometimes more, be compleated; and when the Crimes are weighed, the Sentence is Pronounced, according to the Majority of Voices. In this Case, Judges were chosen after the same manner, it is not much material to mention their Names, (but certainly, they were Persons of Repute, and some of them nearly related to the Accused) but the Prisoners were condemned by them of High Treason. The Two young Men were put to death the same Day; Their Father and Grandfather by the Mothers's side, the Day after, on a little Rising Hill, over against the Castle of *Sterlin*: There is a constant Report, tho' I find it not mentioned in History. That the King sent to *Isabella*, Wife of his Cousin-German, the Heads of the Father, Husband, and Son, to try, whether so fierce a Woman, out of impatience of Grief (as it sometimes comes to pass) would not reveal the Secrets of her Mind: But tho' She was much disturbed at the suddain Spectacle, yet She gave no intemperate Language, onely Answered, *That if the Crimes Objected were True; That the King had done Justly, and according to Law.*

The Ancient manner of Trying Nobles in *Scotland*.

Murdo, &c. found Guilty, and Beheaded.

When the Assembly was ended, *John Montgomery*, and *Humphry Cuningham*, were sent by the King to take a Castle, which was held in the Name of *James Stuart*, the Fugitive, and they reduced it accordingly. And not long after, *John Stuart* of *Dernely*, (who, when the *Scots* Commanders in *France* were destroyed, several ways, was made General of the Horse amongst them) together, with the Arch-bishop of *Rhemes*, came into *Scotland*, to renew the Antient League with the *French*, and to contract a Marriage between *Lewis* the Son of *Charles* the Seventh, and *Margarite*, Daughter of *James*, Both of them yet but Children. Which Matters being Accomplished the next Year, which was, 1426. All *Scotland* was subdued within the Mount *Grampius*: And the King took heart to proceed further in his Conquests. And First, he caused the Castle of *Inverness* to be Repaired, which is situate in a convenient place, in the furthest part of *Murray*. Two Years after, he went thither to Administer Justice, and Suppress Robberies; thither he sent for the Chief of all the Families, especially of those who were wont to issue out with great Troops, and fetch in Booties from the Neighbouring Countries: And when he had subdued them, he laid Taxes on them, and made the Commonalty provide Victuals for them which were Idle, themselves; Some of those Robbers had 1000, some 2000, some more Pattizans, at their Command, whereby Good People were kept under for fear of Danger: And the Bad, who found a sure Refuge amongst them, were made more bold to commit all

Embassadors from *France* to *Scotland*, about Peace and a Marriage.

K. *James* the First, his prosperous Beginnings.

manner

manner of Wickedneſs: The King had perſuaded moſt of them, ſome by Threatnings, others by Flatteries, but he committed about 40 of the chief of them to Priſon, and, upon Tryal, Two of the moſt Eminent, *Alexander Macrory*, and *John Macarthur* were hanged up, alſo *James Cambel* was put to death for the Murther of *John* the Iſlander, one of Note in his Country; The reſt were divided into ſeveral priſons, of which ſome afterward ſuffred, and others were freely ſet at Liberty. Thus the Heads of the Faction, being either Slain or kept Priſoners; the King judged the Common ſort, being deprived of their Leaders, would not ſtir, and therefore he perſuaded them by kind and gentle words, to do that which was juſt, and to place the hopes of their ſafety upon no other Baſis, as firm and ſecure, but Innocency of Life. If they would do ſo, he would be always ready to honour and reward them; if not, they might take Example by the Puniſhment of others, and, moſt certainly, expect the like Themſelves.

Free Booters punished by the King.

When other Matters were thus compoſed; yet the King had ſtill with Him, *Alexander* the Iſlander, one of the moſt potent Perſons in the Land, next the King himſelf; for he Commanded over all the *Ebudæ*; and beſides, he had an Acceſſion of the fertile County of *Roſs*, by means of his Mother, who was Daughter to *Walter Leſly*, Earl of *Roſs*. He having committed many cruel and flagitious Acts, was thereupon in great Fear of the King, whom yet he found very exorable, by the Mediation of his Friends; inſomuch that he was courteouſly invited to Court, kindly entertained there; and having obtained an *Amneſty* for what was paſt, great Hopes of Favour were propounded to him, if he would inure himſelf to a more quiet and obedient Carriage and Deportment for the time to come, and ſo he was ſent home. But he was ſo far from being thankful to the King for his Pardon, and afterwards for his Liberty, that, he thought, he had Great wrong done him, that he was kept ſome days in Priſon. And therefore, as ſoon as he was returned to his old Comrades, he gathered a Company of Them together, who were accuſtomed to live upon the Spoil, and went to *Innerneſs*, in a ſeemingly peaceable manner; where being hoſpitably entertained, he ſuffered his Followers to pillage the Town, and after he had ſet fire to the Houſes, he laid Siege to the Caſtle; but, hearing of a Force coming againſt him, was compelled to raiſe his Siege, and march in great haſte to *Loch-Abyr*. There, by reaſon of the opportunity of the Place, he reſolves to put himſelf upon the Fortune of a Battel, with that Army which he had with him, which were 10000 men, hardned to the Wars. But Two Tribes or Clans of Thoſe, who followed him chearfully to the Plunder, when they heard of the Kings Preparations made againſt them, deſerted him; to wit, The *Catans* and the *Camerons*, called vulgarly, *Clan-Chattan*, and *Clan-Cameron*.

Alexander the Iſlander, Riſes in Arms.

Being thus deprived of Part of his ſtrength, and having no great Confidence in the Fidelity of the reſt, he began to think of hiding himſelf again, and ſo, diſmiſſing his Army, he retired, with ſome few into the *Ebudæ*, and there conſulted concerning his Flight into *Ireland*. But, preſuming, that even *there* he could not be ſafe from

But is ſuppreſſed.

the wrath of the King, he thought it best to fly to his last Refuge, *viz.* the Kings Mercy and Clemency; which, before, he had so large experience of: But here his Thoughts were at a loss betwixt Hope and Fear; when he considered, what Mischiefs he had done at his first Revolt; and, after the King had graciously pardoned him, with what perfidiousness and cruelty he had again broke forth, and so had cut off all hopes of further Indemnity; and, therefore was in great Doubt and Perplexity, whether he would commit himself, his Life and Fortunes to the Kings Anger, so justly conceived against him. In these Circumstances, he resolved to take a middle Course, between Flight and Surrendring himself, which was, to send Agents to Court, to beg Pardon for his Offences; and to incline the Kings Heart to Lenity towards him. And, for this Service, he chose quiet, moderate, Men, and not at all infected with the same contagious Villanies, whereof he himself was Guilty; and on that account, not unacceptable to the King; yet notwithstanding, they could obtain no other Answer from him, but That he would hear nothing unless he would put himself into his hands; neither would he Treat with him, as long as he was absent. *Alexander* cast up all his dangers in his mind, and foreseeing, that he could be safe no where from the Kings Fury, resolved to choose a fit Time and Place, and so to cast himself upon him; for, he thought, he would count it a shame to injure, or punish, an humble Supplicant. Whereupon he comes privately to *Edinburgh*, where the King then was, and on the day wherein our * *Lord's Resurrection* is celebrated with great Solemnity, he threw himself at the Kings Feet, having a Linen Cloak, or Plad, about him, wherewith he was rather covered than cloth'd, and in a Speech composed to procure pity, put himself into his hands, and begg'd his Life and Estate. His Habit, the Place and Time, and so great and sudden a Change of Fortune, did much affect the By-standers. The Queen and the Nobles, who were present, interceded with the King for him, and did so far incline and affect his Mind, That they were commanded to stay, till their Devotions were ended. In the Interim, the King pondered every thing with himself, and thought it not safe to dismiss so perfidious, potent, and Factious a Person, without any Punishment at all; and yet, on the other side, to make some Gratification to the Request of the Queen, he thought it best to keep him alive, in safe Custody; for, by this means, he might gain an Opinion of Clemency; and also prevent his opportunity to do further Mischief; provide for the security of the Common People; and withal terrify others by his Example. Hereupon he was sent Prisoner to *Tantallon*-Castle, and his Mother, a fierce Woman, was Banished into the Isle of *Inch-colm*. For it was thought, That she would have excited him to new Attempts.

* *Easter.*

And submits to the Kings Mercy.

The Licentiousness of *Alexander* being thus repressed, yet all things were not quiet in the Northern Countrys. For the men of *Caithnes* and *Cameron*, who, the Year before, had deserted *Alexander*, fell out grievously amongst themselves; and fought one another with so great eagerness, That many of *Caithnes* were slain, but the *Cameronians* almost all lost. Also in the *Æbudæ*, where 'twas thought Things would be quiet by reason of *Alexander's* Exile, yet new Commotions

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ons were raiſed by *Donald Balock*, Coſin-German to *Alexander*, on pretence to revenge the wrong done to his Kinſman. To quell this Inſurrection, *Alexander* and *Alan*, both *Stuarts*; One Earl of *Caithnes*, the Other of *Marr*, gathered ſome of their Countrymen together, and went into *Loch-Abyr* to meet *Donald*, (for the Report was, that he would make his deſcent there) where they waited his Coming. He, perceiving that they kept no Order, but were without Tents or Guard, in the Fourth Watch landed his men without any Noiſe, and ſo ſet upon them unexpectedly whilſt they were half a ſleep, and made a great ſlaughter amongſt them. *Alan*, with almoſt all his Brigade, was loſt there; and *Alexander*, with a Few, ſaved his Life by Flight. *Donald* was exalted with this Succeſs, and ſo waſted all *Loch-Abyr*, with Fire and Sword, no man daring to oppoſe him; but, at length, hearing, That the King was making towards him with a greater Force, he truſſed up his large bundles of Pillage, ſent them a Shipboard, and returned into the *Ebudæ*. The King marched as far as *Dunſtafnage* after him, and there ſaw the ruin and fearful devaſtation which had been made; whereupon he conceived great wrath in his Breaſt, and was about to paſs over into the *Iſlands*; but the Chiefs of their Families came with their humble Supplications to him, alleging, That there was no general guilt in the Caſe, becauſe nothing had been acted by publick Advice, but all the fault lay at *Alexanders* own door, and of ſome indigent and lewd Perſons beſides, that ſided with him. The King anſwered, he would not admit of their Excuſe, unleſs they would apprehend the Authors of thoſe wicked Pranks, and deliver them up to him to be puniſhed; when they had promiſed to do their endeavour therein, the King let ſome of them go, to find out the Thieves; the reſt he kept in the nature of Hoſtages: Thoſe, who were diſmiſſed ſlew many of the Thieves, and brought 300 of them Priſoners to the King, (*Donald* himſelf, for fear of Puniſhment, being fled away) who cauſed them all to be hanged.

Donald Balock makes an Inſurrection.

But is quelled.

This puniſhment of the Robbers, tho' for the preſent, it made things a little more quiet in the *Ebudæ*, and the Neighbouring Parts; yet, the unquiet diſpoſitions of ſome wicked and turbulent Perſons would not ſuffer that Calm to be long-lived. The King, at the deſire of his Nobles, had releaſed Two of the *Augus's*, *Duffus*, and *Murdo*, Commanders of the Thieves. Theſe turned their Fury upon one another, meeting in equal Numbers (for each of them maintained about 1500 Partiſans, out of the Rapines of the People.) They fought ſo obſtinately, that there was ſcarce any one left, on either ſide, to be Meſſengers of the Slaughter made; for 'tis ſaid, that, on the one ſide there were but Twelve, on the other but Nine left alive; ſo that the King, who was equally Angry with Both, had ſcarce any left of them to inflict Puniſhment upon.

Tories fall out among themſelves.

And yet their Calamity did not reſtrain one *Macdonald* from his wonted Fierceneſs. He was a noted Robber, born in *Roſs*, whoſe wicked Diſpoſition was excited by the Impunity of the Former Times; ſo that he, (as we ſay) play'd *Rex*, along time, among his Neighbours. Amongſt the reſt, they ſay, he committed one Fact, ſuperlatively Cruel. A Widow-woman being robbed by him, grie-

Mackdonald a Free-booter.

grievouſly bemoaned her Caſe, and ever and anon cryed out, that ſhe would complain to the King; Wilt thou ſo, ſays he? Then to the intent thou mayſt better compaſs thy Journy, I my ſelf will aſſiſt thee, and ſo calling a Smith, he cauſed him to nail Horſe-ſhoes to the Soles of her Feet, and, not contented with that wrong, he added alſo contumelious and jeering words, telling her, now that ſhe was more fenced againſt the roughneſs of the ways, and, in a mockery, he ſhewed her thus ſhod to thoſe that paſſed by. The Woman being of a fierce and ſtern diſpoſition, and rather enraged than terrified by his Reproaches, as ſoon as ſhe was able to go, went to the King, and declared to him the Matter of Fact. The King had heard of the ſame, before, by others; and he having then the Authors in Priſon, bid the Woman be of good chear; for ſhe ſhould ſpeedily ſee the ſame Puniſhment inflicted on the Inventors of it; and hereupon, he cauſed *Mackdonald*, and Twelve of his Complices, to be brought out of Priſon, and to have their Feet ſhod with Iron-Nails, and ſo to be carried Three days about the City, a *Cryer* going before, and declaring the Cauſe of this new Puniſhment; then the Captain was beheaded, and his Twelve Aſſociates hanged, all their Bodies being ſet upon Gibbets in the High-ways.

His Cruelty to a Woman,

Retaliated on himſelf and his Followers.

Theſe new Crimes, which a Pardon, once obtained, had not prevented, made the King more eager to find out *Donald* the Iſlander. And therefore, being informed that he lay concealed in a Noblemans Houſe in *Ireland*, he ſent Meſſengers to him to give him up to Puniſhment, the Nobleman fearing, that if he ſhould ſend him away alive, thro' ſo long a Tract both by Land and Sea, he might poſſibly make an eſcape, and then his Maligners might allege, that it was done by his Connivence, cauſed him to be ſlain, and ſent his Head to the King by his own Meſſenger. Open Robberies being thus diligently ſuppreſſed, the King endeavoured to extirpate ſome hidden Crimes and evil Cuſtoms; and to accompliſh this Work; he made choice of eminent Perſons, much commended for their Prudence and Sanctity, giving them Power to Travel all over the Kingdom, to hear Complaints; and if their were any Offences complained of to them, which ordinary Judges, either for Fear durſt not, or for Favonr and Affection would not, intermeddle with, then They themſelves ſhould hear the Caſe, and determine it. And moreover, he added to them, One, who was to correct and rectify Weights and Meaſures, a Thing very neceſſary; ſeeing, then, not only every City, but almoſt every Houſe, uſed a different kind of meaſure; In a Parliament he made wholeſome Laws to this purpoſe, and cauſed Iron Meaſures to be ſet up in certain Places, and ſent out one to all Markets and Fairs, who was to regulate all the Meaſures according to that Standard, and a grievous Puniſhment was denounced on him, who uſed any other Meaſure, than That which was publickly thus Signed and Marked.

Donald's Head ſent to the K. from *Ireland*.

The King reforms Publick Manners.

He alſo rectifies Weights and Meaſures.

Whilſt he was Tranſacting theſe things for the Publick Good, in the year 1430. the Fourteenth day of *October*, his Queen was brought a Bed of Twins; and thereupon a publick Rejoycing was made, and the King, to add ſomething to the Popular Mirth, forgave former Offences to ſome Noblemen, the Chief whereof, were, *Archibald Douglas*,

His Queen brings forth Twins.

Douglas, and *John Kennedy*, who, because they had spoken too rashly and unadvisedly concerning the State and Government of the Realm, were made Prisoners, *Douglas* in the Castle of *Loch-Levin*, and *Kennedy* in the Castle of *Sterlin*. And, as a farther Testimony of his Reconciliation to *Douglas*, he made him *Godfather* (as we call him) at the Baptizing of his Children, which is wont to be accounted a matter of great Honour, and a Testimony of intimate Friendship; and moreover, he made his Son, one of the Knights, which were created in Testification of the publick Joy, on this occasion. The other parts of his Kingdom being thus purged and amended; he next bent himself to reform the *Ecclesiastical* State; but the Priests could not be corrected by the Civil Magistrate, for the Kings of *Europe* having been long engaged in mutual Wars, the *Ecclesiastical* Order had, by little and little, withdrawn themselves from their Obedience, and obeyed only the Pope of *Rome*; and he indulged their Vices, partly because he gained thereby, and partly because he might make Kings more obnoxious to him, by reason of the great power of the Clergy in their Kingdoms. Whereupon he resolved to prevent their Tyranny the Best and Onely way he was able; for, seeing it was not in his power to amend what was past; nor to Out unworthy Men of those Preferments which they once enjoyed; he thought to provide the best he could for the Future, which was, to set up publick Schools for Learning, and liberally to endow them; because these would be Seminaries for all Orders of Men; and whatsoever was eminent or noble in any Commonwealth, issued out from them, as from a Fountain. Hereupon, he drew Learned Men to him by Rewards; yea, himself would be sometimes present at their Disputations, and when he had any Vacation from Civil Affairs, he delighted to hear the Collations of the Learned, thereby endeavouring to eradicate the False Opinion which many Nobles had imbibed, *viz.* That Learning drew Men off from Action to Sloth and Idleness, and did soften Military Spirits, either breaking, or, at least, weakening all their Vigorous Efforts; so that the Study of Letters was only fit for *Monks*, who were shut up, as in a Prison, and good for no other use. But alas, the Monks, as they had degenerated from the Simplicity and Parsimony of their Ancestors, so they had turned themselves wholly from the Culture of their *Minds*, to the Care of their *Bodies*; and Learning was as much neglected by the rest of the Priesthood, also; and especially for this Cause, *That Benefices were bestowed on the most slothful and worst Persons of Noblemens Families, which were unfit for other Employments; or else they were intercepted by the Fraud of the Romanists; so that a Parsonage was nothing else but a Reward for some piece of Service, and that ordinarily none of the Best.* And besides, there was another Mischief which added much to the Corrupting of Ecclesiastical Discipline; and That was, the Orders of *Begging-Friers*. These Friers at the beginning pretended greater Sanctity of Life, and so easily imposed upon the People, to hear Them rather than their Parish-Priests, who were commonly grossbodied and dull-witted. Yea, those Parish-Curates, or Priests, as they grew Rich, did scorn to do their own Work themselves, but would hire These Fryars, (for so they called Themselves) for a small

Douglas and *Kennedy* released from Prison.

He reforms the Ecclesiastical Estate;

Which was Wofully degenerated and corrupted.

He Erects Publick Schools, and is present himself at their Disputations.

Parish Priests and Begging Friers the Causes of the Decay of Ecclesiastical Discipline, with the Manner, how.

ſmall yearly Stipend, to Preach a Few Sermons, in the year, to the People; In the interim, they withdrew into Cities, and there chaunted out their idle Songs, as it were, after a Magical manner, not knowing what they ſaid; and there was none of them, that ever hardly looked towards his own Pariſh, but when Tithes were to be gathered. Yea, and by degrees, they withdrew themſelves from this Office of Singing at certain hours in Cathedrals and Churches, too; which, though it were but a light, was yet a daily, Service; and hired poor Shavelings to ſupply their Places in Singing and Maſſifying; and ſo by muttering and mumbling out a certain Task and Jargon of *Pſalms*, which was appointed every day, they made a colluſive kind of a Tragedy, ſometimes contending in alternate Verſes and Reſponſes; otherwhiles making a *Chorus* between the Acts, which at laſt cloſed with the Image, or Repreſentation, of *Chriſts* Death. And the Friers, their Hirelings, on the one ſide, did not dare to offend their Maſters, on whom their Livelihood depended; neither yet, on the other, could they bear their Inſolence, conjoined with ſo much Avarice; ſo that they pitched upon a middle way, that they might engage them to make eaſier Payment of their Penſions; they oftentimes bitterly inveighed againſt their Luſt and Avarice before the People, who gave ear to their Doctrine; and, when they had raved enough in their Sermons to keep them in Fear; and alſo, to conciliate the minds of the Vulgar, they took up, and conſulted for themſelves alſo in time, ſeeing they were alſo in Eccleſiaſtical Orders. They told them, that whatever Diſorders were, yet the Order of Prieſthood was a *Sacred* thing, and that the Temporal, or Civil, Magiſtrate, had no Power to puniſh them; they were only reſponſible to *God* and to the *Pope*, (who had almoſt equal Power with God) and becauſe, their Avarice encreaſing with their Luxury, they thought they ſhould not ſqueez Gain enough from the People; therefore theſe Friers ſet up a new kind of Tyranny, holding forth, in their Sermons, the Merit of Works. Hence aroſe *Purgatory*, and the *Luſtration* of Souls (which the *Pope* was pleaſed to detain there) by the *Sacrifices* (forſooth) of the *Maſs*, by the ſprinkling of *Holy Water*, by *Alms* and *Penſions* given or offered, by *Indulgences*, *Pilgrimages*, and *Worſhipping* of *Reliques*; The Friers being exerciſed in this kind of Bartering Trade and Chaffer, in a little time, claimed the Power to themſelves, both over the *Living* and the *Dead*, too.

King *James* aims to prefer only Worthy Perſons to Benefices and Church Preferments.

In this ill Condition, *James*, the Firſt, found Church-Affairs in *Scotland*; and therefore he thought it the moſt Compendious Way to reſtore the Old Diſcipline, if Good and Learned Men were admitted to Benefices. And to Increaſe the Emulations of Young Scholars, he told the Maſters and Governors of Univerſities and Schools, that, becauſe he himſelf was hindred by the Publick Affairs of State, ſo that he could not conſider every Students particular Merit, they ſhould therefore be very careful to Commend Learned and Virtuous Young Scholars to him, that he might gratifie them with Church-Preferments; who being thus advanced, might not only be Uſeful to the People by their Doctrine and Example, but alſo might aſſiſt the Meaner and Poorer ſort of thoſe that were deſigned for Churchmen, with their Subſtance; and ſo far to Relieve their Tenuity,

that Good Wits might not be compelled, for Want, to break off their Studies and Courſe of Learning, and betake themſelves to Mechanical, Sordid, or Mercenary, Trades, and Employments. And to the intent, that good Men might, with more diligence, apply themſelves to Learning, and the Slothful might know, that their only Way to Preferment was by Virtue, he diſtinguiſh't Degrees of Studies, that ſo he might know who were fit for ſuch or ſuch Promotions; Which Courſe, if ſucceeding Kings had followed, certainly we had never fallen into theſe times, wherein the People cannot endure the Vices of the Prieſts; nor, the Prieſts, the Remedy of thoſe Vices. Neither was the King ignorant, that the Church was incumber'd with thoſe great miſchiefs, under which it then labour'd, by reaſon of the Immoderate Opulency thereof, and therefore he did not approve the Prodigality of Former Kings in exhauſting their Treaſury to inrich Monaſteries, ſo that he often ſaid, *That though* David *was otherwiſe the Beſt of Kings, yet his profuſe Piety, ſo praiſed by many, was prejudicial to the Kingdom*; yet notwithſtanding, He himſelf, as if he had been carry'd away by the Rapid Torrent of Evil Cuſtom, could not withhold his hand from building a Monaſtery, for the *Carthuſians*, near *Perth*, nor from endowing it with large Revenues. One thing in him was very admirable, that, amidſt the greateſt Cares for the high Affairs of the Publick, he thought the moſt inferior and private Matters not unworthy of his Diligence, provided ſome benefit came to the Publick by them. For whereas *Scotland* had been exerciſed with continual Wars, after the death of *Alexander* the Third, for almoſt 150 years, wherein her Cities had been ſo often ſpoil'd, and burnt, and her Youth generally made Soldiers, ſo that other Trades were much neglected, he invited Tradeſmen of all ſorts to come out of *Flanders*, propoſing great Rewards and Immunities to them; by which means he filled his Cities, (almoſt empty before, in regard the Nobility did uſually keep themſelves in the Country) with this ſort of Artificers, neither did he only reſtore the appearance of ancient Populouſneſs to the Towns hereby; but alſo ingag'd a great number of Idlers to fall to honeſt Labour; and hereby it came to paſs, that what was with ſmall coſt made at home, need not with far greater, be fetch't from abroad.

He invites Tradeſmen out of *Flanders*.

Yet, whiles he was thus ſtrengthning all the weak parts of his Kingdom, by proper Remedies, he ran into the great diſlike and offence of his Subjects, eſpecially for Two Reaſons. The *one*, ſeem'd light in appearance, yet 'was That, which is the beginning of almoſt all Calamity to a People. For when Peace was univerſally ſetled; Idleneſs, Luxury, and Luſt, to the deſtruction, firſt of ones ſelf, then of others, followed thereupon. Hence aroſe ſumptuous Feaſtings, Drinking Careſſes, by day and night, perſonated Masks, Delight in ſtrange Apparel, Statelineſs of Houſes, not for neceſſary Uſe, but to pleaſe the Eye; A corruption of Manners, falſely called Neatneſs, and, in all things, a general neglect of the Country Cuſtoms; ſo that nothing, forſooth, was accounted handſom or comely enough, but that which was New-fangled and Strange. The Commonalty did willingly caſt off the fault of theſe things from themſelves, and laid it on the *Engliſh* Courtiers, who followed the King, and yet they did not

Luxury and Prodigality, the truſt of Idleneſs.

not inveigh againſt ſuch wanton and pleaſurable Courſes, more bitterly in their Words, than they ſtudiouſly practis'd them in their Lives. But the King obviated this Miſchief, as much as he could, both by good Laws, and alſo by his own good Example, for he kept himſelf in his Apparel and Frugality, within the rate of the Richer ſort of private Men, and if he ſaw any thing of Immoderation in any part of a Man's Life, he ſhew'd by his Countenance, and ſometimes by his Words, that 'twas diſpleaſing to him. By this means, the courſe of increaſing Luxury was ſomewhat reſtrain'd, rather than the new Intemperance extinguiſht, and the old Parſimony reduc'd. His *other* Fault was bruited abroad by his Enemies, and afterwards broke forth into a Publick Miſchief. *Robert*, the King's Uncle, and *Murdo* his Coſin-German, who had the Regency of the Kingdom for many Years, ſeeing they themſelves aſpir'd to the Throne, and yet knew not how to remove *James* out of the way, they did what was next to it *i. e.* Engage the Affections of Men ſo to them, that the better ſort might have no extraordinary miſs of a King; nor any ardent Deſires after him, ſo that they us'd ſuch great Moderation in the management of Affairs,, that their Government ſeem'd to many, not only tolerable, but very deſireable, if *Walter*, *Murdo*'s Son, had carried it with a ſemblable Popularity and Moderation. For they ſo engaged the Nobles to them, by their Liberality and Munificence, that ſome injoyed the Lands, belonging to the King, by Connivence. To others they gave them, and, in favour of ſome particular Men, they Cancell'd Proceedings and Judgments in Law, and reſtor'd ſome, who had been baniſh'd, and, amongſt them, one Eminent and Potent Perſon, *George Dunbar*, Earl of *Merch*; who, during his Exile, had done much miſchief to his Country; and by this means, they hop'd ſo to ingage the Nobility, that they would never ſo much as think of calling home the King; and then, if *James* Dy'd without Iſſue, the Kingdom would come to them, without any Competitor; but if he ſhould chance to return from his Baniſhment, yet their Faction would be ſo powerful, that if the King bore them a Grudge, yet they were able to defend themſelves by force againſt him; but when the King did actually return, the old Favour and Reſpect born to the Uncle, ſeem'd to be quite extinguiſh'd by the new Injury and Flagitiouſneſs of *Murdo*, ſo that, it plainly appear'd, that *nothing was more popular than Juſtice.* And therefore the People were not only conſenting, but alſo contributed their aſſiſtance, to the Execution of *Murdo*, the Father, and his Two Sons; and to the Baniſhment of of a 3d. So that the King's Revenue was Augmented by the Confiſcation of their Eſtates: and alſo by the Acceſſion of the Eſtates of *John* Earl of *Buchan*, who Dyed Childleſs in *France*, and of *Alexander* Earl of *Merch*, who was alſo Childleſs, and a Baſtard, who Dy'd at home, concerning whom I ſhall ſpeak a few Words, by way of Digreſſion.

Robert and *Murdo* affect the Throne.

Murdo and his Sons put to Death.

This *Alexander* was the Son of *Alexander*, Son to King *Robert*; In his Youth, by the ill Advice of ſome bad Men, he turn'd to be a Commander amongſt Thieves; but when he came to Man's Eſtate, he was ſo Reform'd, that he ſeem'd plainly to be quite another Man, ſo that his Vices gradually decreaſing, by the benefit of wholſom Counſel, he

he ſo manag'd things, both at home and abroad, that he left a Memory behind him, precious to Poſterity. For at home, he quell'd the Inſurrection of the *Iſlanders* at *Harlaw*, making great Slaughter of them. And ſo he extinguiſht a dangerous War, in the very Riſe and Bud, and thô he had great Wealth well gotten, and had bought many ſtately Seats, inſomuch, that he much exceeded his Neighbours, yet he addicted not himſelf to Idleneſs or Pleaſure, but went with a good Party of his Country-men into *Flanders*, where he follow'd *Charles* D. of *Burgundy*, againſt the *Luick-landers*; in which War he got both Eſtate and Honour, and beſides, he Married richly in *Holland*, an Iſland of the *Batavians*, but the *Hollanders* not being able to bear the Government of a Stranger, he return'd back, and provided a ſtately Fleet, with great Coſt, yet no great Benefit, becauſe it was againſt Men, who were very well provided, both with Land and Sea-Forces. At length, he ſet upon their numerous Fleet, returning from *Dantzic*, which he took and pillaged, and ſlew the Mariners, and burnt the Ships, ſo that he repaid the Enemy for the Loſs he receiv'd from them, many times over; yea, he ſo ſubdued the Fierceneſs of their Minds, that they deſired a Truce for an Hundred Years, and obtain'd it; He alſo caus'd a Breed of brave Mares to be brought from as far as *Hungary*, into *Scotland*, whoſe Race continu'd there for many Years after. The Story of *Alexander* and his Exploits.

Theſe Rich Earls Dying without Iſſue, *Buchan* and *Marr*, their Patrimonial Inheritances, deſcended Rightfully to the King. And moreover, he alone injoy'd all the Poſſeſſions of the Three Brothers, Sons to King *Robert* the 2d, by his laſt Wife; but not without the Grudges of the Nobility (who had been accuſtomed to Largeſſes,) that he alone ſhould enjoy all the Prey, without ſharing any Part of it amongſt them. Further, they conceiv'd another, and freſher Cauſe of Offence, That the King had revok'd ſome Grants made by *Robert* and *Murdo*, the laſt Regents, as unjuſt. Amongſt thoſe Grants, There were Two noted ones, *George Dunbar*, who was Declared a Publick Enemy, was afterwards recall'd by *Robert*, and part of his Eſtate reſtor'd to him. His Son *George* ſucceeded him therein, to the Joy of many; who were well pleas'd, that ſo Ancient and Noble a Family, which had ſo often deſerv'd well of their Country, were reſtor'd to their Ancient Dignity. But the King, who look'd narrowly (and perhaps, too pryingly) into his Revenue, was of Opinion, that the Power to reſtore Incapacities, to recal Exiles, and to give back their Goods forfeited for Treaſon, and ſo brought into the King's *Exchequer*, was too great for One that was but a Guardian of another Man's Kingdom, and choſen but as a Tutor only, to Claim and Uſe; eſpecially, ſince Largeſſes made in the Minority of Princes, by the Old Laws of *Scotland*, might be recalled; if not confirm'd by their reſpective Kings, when they came to be of Age. And therefore *James*, that he might reduce the *Merch-men* into his Power, without noiſe, in regard they were a Martial People, and Borderers upon *England*, detains *George* with him, and ſends Letters to the Governour of the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, Commanding him, on receipt thereof, he ſhould immediately Surrender it up to *William Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, and *Alexander Hepborn* of *Hales*, whom he had ſent to receive it. Here-upon, Exceptions taken againſt *James*.

A Caſtle ſtanding upon the *Tine*, 3 Miles below *Hadington*.

upon, *George* complain'd, that he was wrongfully diſpoſſeſt of his Ancient Patrimony, for anothers Fault; and ſuch a Fault too, as was forgiven by him, who then had the Supreme Power. The King, to pacifie him, and to proclaim his Clemency amongſt the Vulgar, beſtowed *Buchan* upon him. This Fact of the King's was variouſly ſpoken of, as every ones Humour and Diſpoſition led him. And moreover, there was alſo another Action, which much haſtned his End, the Beginning whereof is to be fetcht a little higher.

The Diſpute between K. *Robert*'s Legitimate, and Natural-Children, occaſion great Troubles.

I ſaid before, that King *Robert* the 2d. had Three Sons by his Concubine, he had alſo Two by his Wife *Euſemia*, *Walter* Earl of *Athole*, and *David* Earl of *Stratherne*, yet when their Mother the Queen was Dead, he Married the Concubine afore-ſpoken of, that ſo he might, by that Marriage, Legitimate the Children he had by her, and leave them Heirs to the Crown; and accordingly, at his Death, he left the Kingdom to the Eldeſt of them. To the 2d. he gave great Wealth, and the Regency alſo. The 3d. was made Earl of ſeveral Counties. In this Matter, tho' his other Wif's Children thought themſelves wrong'd, yet being younger, and not ſo powerful as they, they ſmothered their Anger for the preſent. And beſides, their Power was ſomewhat abated, by the Death of the Earl of *Strathern*, who left but only one Daughter behind him, afterwards Marry'd to *Patrick Graham*, a Noble young Man, and one of a potent Family in that Age, on whom he begat *Meliſs Graham*; His Parents liv'd not long after, and the Child, after a few Years, being yet a Stripling, was ſent as an Hoſtage into *England*, till the Money for the King's Ranſom was paid.

The Earl of *Athol*'s Ambition.

But the Earl of *Athole*, tho' every way too weak for the adverſe Faction, yet never gave over his Project to cut off his Kindred, nor caſt away his Hopes to recover the Kingdom; and becauſe he was inferior in open Force, he craftily fomented their Diviſions and Diſcords, and invidiouſly made uſe of their Dangers, to promote his own Ends, ſo that by his Advice that large Family was reduc'd to a few. For many were of Opinion, that he gave the Counſel to take off *David*, King *Robert*'s Son; and *James* had not eſcap'd him neither, unleſs he had paſt a good part of his Life in *England*, far from home; for he gave Advice to the Earl of *Fife*, that ſeeing his Brother was a Drone, he Himſelf ſhould ſeize on the Kingdom. When the King loſt all his Children, and was obnoxious to his Brothers Will, and not long after, dyed of Grief himſelf; There was only the Regent of the Kingdom, with his Children, that hindred his hopes, in regard, he was an active Man, of great Wealth, Power, and Authority, and moreover, very Popular, and full of Children. Theſe Conſiderations did ſomewhat retard his Counſels, but when *Robert* Dyed of a Natural Death, and his Son *John* was ſlain in the Battel of *Vernevil*, then he reſum'd his former Project with greater earneſtneſs, and bent all his Mind and Endeavour how to free *James*, and ſet him at variance with *Murdo*, and his Children. And ſeeing they could not, all of them, ſtand ſafe together, which ſoever of them fell, he foreſaw, that his Hope would be advanced one ſtep higher, to the Kingdom. And when *James* was returned into his Country, he turn'd every Stone to haſten *Murdo*'s Deſtruction, he ſuborn'd Men fit for the turn, to forge Crimes

A Town of *Normandy* in *France*.

againſt him, and he himſelf ſate Judge upon Him and his Sons. And when they were cut off, there was only *James* left, and one little Son, a Child, not yet 6 Years old. And if he were ſlain by the Conſpiracy of the Nobles, he did not doubt, but himſelf, who was then the only remaining Branch of the Royal Stock, ſhould be advanc'd to the Throne. *Athole* was in theſe Thoughts Night and Day, yet he conceal'd his Secret Purpoſes, and made a great ſhew of Loyalty to the King, in helping to rid his Allies out of the way; for that was his only Contrivance, that, by the Offences of Others, he might increaſe his own Power, and diminiſh his Enemies.

In the mean time, *Meliſs Graham* (who, as I ſaid before, was given in Hoſtage to the *Engliſh*) was depriv'd of *Strathern*: becauſe the King making a diligent Enquiry into his Revenue, found, that 'twas given to his Grandfather, by the Mothers-ſide, upon condition, That if the Male-Line fail'd, it ſhould return to the King, in regard 'twas a Male-Feo, as Lawyers now ſpeak. This Young Man's Loſs, who was abſent, and alſo an Hoſtage, did move many to Commiſerate his Caſe; but *Robert* his Tutor took it ſo heinouſly, that it made him almoſt Mad. For he, taking the Caſe of his Kinſman more impatiently, than others, did not ceaſe to accuſe the King openly of Injuſtice, and being Summon'd to Anſwer for it in Law, he appear'd not, and thereupon was baniſh'd the Land. This made his fierce mind more enrag'd for revenge, as being irritated by a new Injury; So that he joyn'd ſecret Counſels with thoſe, who had alſo their Eſtates confiſcated; or, who took the puniſhments of their Friends, tho' juſtly inflicted, in great diſdain; or, who accus'd the King as a Covetous man, becauſe he was ſo intent upon his gain, that he had not rewarded them, according to their Expectations: And beſides, he bewailed, That not only many noble Families were brought to ruin, but that the Wardſhips of Young Nobles, which were wont to be the Rewards of Valiant Men, were now altogether in the Kings hands, ſo that all the wealth of the Kingdom was almoſt in one hand, and others might ſtarve for miſery and want, under ſuch an unjuſt Valuer of their labours. Plots againſt *James*.

Now that which he upbraided him, concerning Wardſhips, with, is This, 'Tis the Cuſtom in *Scotland*, *England*, & ſome Countrys of *France*, that Young Gentlemen or Nobles, when their Parents dye, ſhould remain in the Tutelage of thoſe, whoſe Feudatarys they are, till they arrive at the age of 21 Years, and all the Profits of their Eſtates, (beſides the Charges neceſſary for their Education) and alſo the Dowry given with their Wives, comes to ſuch their Tutors and Guardians. Now theſe Tutelages, or, (as they are commonly call'd) *Wardſhips*, were wont to be Sold to the next of kin, for a great Sum of Money; or ſometimes, well deſerving men were gratify'd with them; So that they expected Benefit upon the Sale of ſuch Wardſhips or Incomes, for a reward by their keeping of them. But now, they were much vex'd, that the King took them all to himſelf, neither did they conceal their vexation and diſpleaſure. When the King heard of theſe Murmurings and Complaints, he excus'd the thing, as done by Neceſſity, becauſe the publick Revenue had been ſo leſſen'd by former Kings and Governors, that the King could not maintain his Upon the Account of Wardſhips &c.

Family, like himſelf, nor be decently guarded and attended, nor yet give Magnificent Entertainment to Ambaſſadors, without them. Beſides, he alleged, that this Parſimony and Care of the King, in providing Money in all juſt and honeſt Ways, was not unprofitable to the Nobility, themſelves; whoſe greateſt damage was, to have the Kings Exchequer low. For then Kings were wont to extort by Force from the Rich, what they could not be without; yea ſometimes, they were forced to burden and vex the Commons too, by exacting Taxes and Payments from them, and that, the Parſimony of the King was far leſs prejudicial to the Publick, by impoſing a Mean to immoderate Donations, than his Profuſeneſs was wont to be, for then he was ſtill forc'd to ſeize on other Mens Eſtates, when his *Own* was conſum'd. This anſwer ſatisfy'd all thoſe who were Moderate, but thoſe who were more Violent, and who rather ſought after occaſions of complaint, than were willing to hear any juſt Compurgation of an imputed Crime, were more vehemently enraged by it.

Embaſſadors from *France* and *England*, to *Scotland*.

This was the State of *Scotland*, when Embaſſadors arrived out of *France* to fetch *Margarit*, *James* his Daughter, who had before been betrothed to *Lewis*, Son of *Charles* the 7th, home to her Husband; That Embaſſy brought on another from the *Engliſh*; For ſeeing that the Duke of *Burgundy* was alienated from their Friendſhip, and meditated a revolt, and that *Paris*, and other tranſmarine Provinces were up in a Tumult, leſt, when all the ſtrength of the Kingdom was drawn out to the *French* War, the *Scots* ſhould invade them, on the other ſide; The *Engliſh* ſent Embaſſadors into *Scotland*, to hinder the Renovation of the League with *France*, and the Conſummation of the Marriage, but rather to perſuade a perpetual League with them, who were born in the ſame Iſland, and us'd the ſame Language. And if they would do ſo, and ſolemnly Swear, That they would have the ſame Friends and Enemies with the *Engliſh*, then they promis'd that their King would quit his claim to *Berwick*, *Roxburgh* and other Places and Countrys, which were, before, in Controverſy betwixt the Nations.

The *Scots* joyn with the *French* againſt *England*.

James referr'd the Deſire of the *Engliſh* to the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, then met at *Perth*; where, after a long debate upon it, the Eccleſiaſticks were divided into two Factions; but the Nobility cry'd out, That they knew well enough the Fraud of the *Engliſh*; who, by this new League, ſought to break their old Band of Alliance with the *French*, that ſo when the *Scots* had loſt their Ancient Friend, they might be more obnoxious to them, if, at any time, they were freed from other Cares, and could wholly intend a War with *Scotland*; and that the liberal Promiſes of the *Engliſh* were for no other End; but as for themſelves, they would ſtand to their old League, and not violate their Faith, once given. The *Engliſh*, being thus repuls'd, turn from Petitions to Threats, and ſeeing they refus'd to embrace their Friendſhips, they denounc'd War; telling the *Scots*, that if their King ſent over his betroth'd Daughter into *France*, one that was an Enemy to the *Engliſh*; The *Engliſh* would hinder their Paſſage, if they could; yea, and take them Priſoners, and their Retinue too, having a Fleet ready fitted for that purpoſe. This Commination of the Embaſſadors was ſo far from terrifying

James, that he rigg'd his Navy, and Shipped a great Company of Noblemen, and Ladies, for her Train, and ſo caus'd his Daughter to ſet Sail ſooner than he had determin'd, that he might prevent the deſigns of the *Engliſh*. And yet notwithſtanding all this precaution, it was God's Providence, rather than Man's Care, that ſhe came not into the Enemies hand; for, when they were not far from the Place, where the *Engliſh*, concealing themſelves, waited for their Coming; behold! upon a ſudden, a Fleet of *Hollanders* appear'd, laden with Wine from *Rochel* to *Flanders*. The *Engliſh* Fleet made after them, with all their Sail, (becauſe the *Burgundian*, being a little before reconciled to the *French*, did oppoſe their Enemies with all his might) and being nimble Ships, they quietly fetcht them up, being heavy laden and unarm'd, and as eaſily took them; but before they could bring them into Port, the *Spaniards* ſet upon them unawares, and took away their Prey, and ſent the *Flandrians* ſafe home. Amidſt ſuch changeable Fortune betwixt Three Nations, the *Scots* landed at *Rochel*, without ſeeing any Enemy: They were met with many Nobles of the *French* Court, and were brought to * *Tours*, where the Marriage was Celebrated, to the great Joy and mutual Gratulation of Both Nations.

James Marries his Daughter *Margaret* to *Lewis* of *France*, and ſends her thither.

A Stately City on the *Loir*.

Upon this Occaſion, the *Engliſh* Writers, eſpecially *Edward Hall*, and he, that pilfers from him, *Grafton*, inveigh mightily againſt *James*, as Ungrateful, Perfidious, and forgetful of Ancient Courteſys, who, being Nobly entertain'd among the *Engliſh* for ſo many Years, honoured with a Royal Match, and large Dowry; and beſides, reſtor'd to Liberty, from a long Impriſonment, ſuffer'd all theſe Obligations to be poſt-pon'd, and preferr'd the Alliance with *France*, before That with *England*; But the thing it ſelf doth eaſily refute their Slanders. For, Firſt, their Detaining of him, when he landed on their Coaſt, being againſt their League, and alſo the Law of Nations, 'twas a Wrong, not a Courteſy; Next, as to their not killing him, but putting him to a ranſom for Money, rather than imbrue their hands in the Blood, not of an Enemy, but of a Gueſt, That was attributable not ſo much to their Love or Mercy toward Him, as to their Covetous and avaritious Minds; and grant, there were any Courteſy in it, yet what was it other, but like that of Thieves, who would ſeem to give the Life, which they took not away? and, if he were ingag'd to the *Engliſh* on that account, 'twas a private, not publick, debt. As for their beſtowing Education upon him, who was Innocent, by reaſon of his Age, a Suppliant by his Fortune, and a King by Deſcent, tho' moſt unrighteouſly detain'd, it bears, indeed, ſome ſhew of Humanity, which, if they had neglected, they might have been juſtly blamed; and indeed it had been a commendable piece of Kindneſs, if the Injury going before, and the Covetouſneſs following after, had not marr'd it; unleſs you will ſay, that if you purpoſely wound a Man, you may require him to give you thanks for his Cure, and ſo you imagin a light Compenſation for a great Loſs, is to be eſteem'd as a Courteſy; or, becauſe you have done ſome Part of your duty, that, therefore you ſhould expect the Reward, in full, of a benefit, beſtowed on another. For, he that takes Care that his Captive ſhould be Educated in Learning, either for his own

The *Engliſh* Writers imputing Perfidiouſneſs to *James*, are blamed by this Author, and their Reflections upon him Wiped off.

own pleaſure; or that he may yield him a better Price, thô ſome advantage accrue hereby to the Party educated, yet the Maſter doth not aim at the Good of the Slave, in his Inſtitution, but at his Own. But (ſays he) *the King honoured him with the Marriage of his Kinſwoman, and thus the Royal Young Man was as Royally beſtowed.* But, what if that Affinity were as honourable to the Father, as the Son in Law? He would elſe have Marry'd her to a private Man, but now he made her a Queen, and ingrafted her by Marriage into that Family, on which the Famouſeſt of the *Engliſh* Kings had often before beſtowed their Children, and from whom ſo many Former Kings had deſcended. But, *he gave a very large Dowry with her*; To whom, I pray, was it given, but to the *Engliſh* themſelves, who took it away, before it was paid, and made a ſhew of it in Words to the Husband, but, indeed, kept it for their own uſe? ſo that the Dowry was only ſpoken of, not given; and ſo ſpoken of, That they would have the Young Man, whom they alſo had otherwiſe grievouſly wrong'd, much indebted to them, that he carried his Wife away with him, without a Dowry. But, *they ſent him home a Freeman*, ſay they; Yes, as a Pyrate doth Diſcharge his Captive, when his Ranſom is paid: But how free, I pray? Even if we may believe the *Engliſh* Writers themſelves, under the inforc'd Obligation of an Oath, always to obey the *Engliſh* King, as his Lord, and ſo to bring a Kingdom, which he did yet injoy, into a perpetual Servitude, which if he had actually injoyed he could not alienate; and yet he muſt mancipate it, forſooth, before he received it. This is not to ſet one free, but to turn him looſe with a longer Chain, and that, not as a *King*, but as a *Steward* only, or *Vicegerent* of another man's Kingdom. I forbear to urge, that they compell'd a man in Captivity, and as yet under the Power of another, to make a Promiſe; yea a promiſe of That, which he could not perform; neither could he compel thoſe to perform it, who had Power ſo to do. This is that high piece of Liberality, which, they ſay, *James* was unmindful of: But let us ſuffer theſe unskilful Writers, and forgetful of all Moderation and Modeſty in their Stories, to account Profits receiv'd as Courteſys given; How great muſt we think, That Liberty of falſifying, or elſe Deſire of evil Speaking, to be, which they uſe againſt the Daughter of the aforeſaid King? For (whereas ſuch men, otherwiſe impudent enough, had nothing to allege againſt her Manners) they write, that ſhe was unacceptable to her Husband, becauſe of her ſtinking Breath? Whereas *Monſtrelet*, a Contemporary Writer of thoſe days, doth affirm, that ſhe was very faithful and beautiful, and he who wrote the *Pluſcartin Book*, who accompanied that Queen, both at Sea, and at her Death, hath left it on Record, that as long as ſhe lived, ſhe was very dear to her Father and Mother in Law, and to her Husband, too; as appeared by the Inſcription and Epitaph, in *French* Verſes at *Chalons*, by the River, *Matrona*, where ſhe dyed, which ſound much to her Praiſe, 'twas then publiſhed, and afterwards turned into the *Scotiſh* Lingue, which ſome of our Country men have by them, to this day. But I will leave theſe Men, who do ſo calumniate other mens Credits, and neglect their Own, that they care little, what they ſay of others, or what others think of them, and return to the Matter.

In *Champaign* in *France*.

When

When the King, having been at Charge to rig out his Navy, had try'd to exact a Tax from the People, and the greateſt Part plainly refuſed to pay a Penny, a Few paid a ſmall matter, and that grudgingly too, he commanded his Collectors, to deſiſt from levying the reſt, and to reſtore what they had already received. And yet he did not hereby ſhun the clamours of the People, for ſome malevolent Perſons, who were angry for ſome private loſs, did daily incite ſeditious Perſons and Innovators againſt him. At the ſame time, the *Engliſh* began to prey upon *Scotland*, both by Land and Sea, under the Command of *Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *William Douglas*, Earl of *Angus* was ſent to encounter him, with near an Equal number of men, for they were about 4000. on either ſide; of the *Scots*, there fell *Alexander Johnſton* of *Lothian*, a Noble Perſon, and of known Valour, ſome Write that 200. others, that only 40 were ſlain of both Armies, and about 1500 *Engliſh* taken Priſoners.

A Fight between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

James having been twice provoked by the *Engliſh*, Firſt, by their Fleet, which lay in wait to intercept his Daughter; and Next, by the late ſpoiling of his Country, reſolves to proclaim open War againſt them; whereupon he liſted as great an Army as he could, and made a fierce aſſault on *Roxburgh*, and, in a ſhort time, he expected the Surrender thereof, when, behold, the Queen came poſting to him in as long Journys, as ever ſhe was able to make, to inform him of a ſad Meſſage, which was, that there was a grievous Conſpiracy form'd againſt his Life, and unleſs he took ſpecial Care, his Deſtruction was at hand. The King, being diſmay'd at this ſudden news, Diſbanded his Army, and return'd home, but was very ill ſpoken of amongſt the Vulgar, becauſe, juſt upon the point of Surrender, at the beck of a Woman, he retir'd after the Kingdom had been at ſo much charge and trouble; ſo that, he ſeem'd to have ſought for nothing by his Arms, but Diſgrace. After he return'd, he went to the Monaſt'ry of the *Dominicans*, near the Walls of *Perth*, to make a private enquiry into the Conſpiracy, as well as he was able; but his deſign was ſmelt out, by Men, that Watcht all opportunities to do miſchief; for one of the Kings Domeſticks, who was in the Plot, (Hiſtorians call him *John*, but his Sirname is not mentioned) diſcovered to his Complices, what was doing at Court, ſo that, they haſtned the matter, leſt their ſecret Caballs ſhould be diſcovered, and Remedies apply'd againſt them. *Walter*, Earl of *Athole*, the Kings Uncle, tho' he were the Ring-leader of the Conſpiracy, yet did what he could to avert all Suſpicion from himſelf; He ſent for his Kinſman, *Robert Graham*, (of whom I have ſpoken before) as fit for Execution, but raſh in Counſel, and who bore an old grudge to the King, becauſe of his former Impriſonment and Baniſhment, and alſo upon the account of his Brothers Son, (to whom he was Guardian, in his hope) who had *Strathern* taken from him; he joyns with him *Robert* his Nephew by his Son, an active Young Man, he informs them, what he would have them to do, and that when the Deed was done, he ſhould be in high Authority, and then he would provide for their Safety well enough; they freely promiſe to do their Endeavour, and accordingly haſten to perpetrate the Fact, before the whole Series of the Plot was made known to the King.

James enters *England*, but retires upon notice of a Conſpiracy formed againſt him by his own Kindred.

Here-

Hereupon they privately gathered their Company together, that ſo, knowing the King had but a few about him in the Monaſt'ry of the *Dominicans*, he might with as little noiſe as might be cut him off; and that they might ſurprize him unawares, they adviſe *John* his Servant, above-mentioned, whom they had drawn to their Party, to be aſſiſtant to them; according to his promiſe, he brings the Conſpirators in the midſt of the Night into the Court, and placed them privately near the Kings Bed-Chamber, and ſhews them the Door, which they might eaſily break, in regard he had taken away the Bar thereof; Some think, that they were received into the Palace by *Robert*, Nephew of the Earl of *Athole*.

In the mean time, whilſt they waited there, being ſolicitous how to break the Door, which they thought would be their greateſt Obſtacle, Fortune did the Work without their Helps, for *Walter Straton*, who, a little before, had carried in Wine, coming forth, and perceiving Men in Arms, endeavour'd to get in again, and cry'd out with as loud a Voice as he could, *Traitors, Traitors*. Whilſt the Conſpirators were diſpatching him, a noble young Damſel, of the Family of the *Douglas*'s, as moſt ſay, tho' ſome write She was a *Lovel*, ſhut the Door, and not finding the Bar, which was fraudulently laid aſide by the Servant, She thruſt her Arm into the Hole or Staple, inſtead of a Bolt, but they quickly brake that, and ſo ruſht in upon the King. The Queen threw herſelf upon his Body, to defend him; and when He was thrown down, She ſpread Herſelf over him, and after She had receiv'd Two Wounds, She could hardly be pluckt off. And then, when he was left of all, they gave him 28 Wounds, and ſome of them juſt in his Heart, and ſo kill'd him. Thus this Good King came to his End, (and that a moſt Cruel one too, and much lamented by all Good Men) by the Conſpiracy of moſt wicked Aſſaſſins and Robbers; when his Death was divulg'd by the Noiſe and Lamentation which was made, a great Concourſe of People came preſently into the Court, and there ſpent the reſt of the Night (for the Paricides had made their Eſcape in the dark) in Bewailings and Complaints. There, every one ſpake variouſly according to their ſeveral Diſpoſitions, either bitterly, to raiſe a greater Odium againſt the Parricides; or, lamentably, to increaſe the Grief of their Friends; each Man reckon'd up what Proſperities, or Adverſities, he had undergone. In his Childhood, he was expos'd to the Treacheries of his Uncle; and endeavouring to eſcape them, he was precipitated into his Enemies hands: Afterwards, his Father died, and the reſt of his Youth was ſpent in Exile among his Enemies. Then Fortune chang'd, and he had an unlook'd for Reſtoration; and after his Return, in a few Years, he Govern'd ſo, that the turbulent State of the Kingdom was chang'd in a Calm and Serene One. And again, having a ſuddain Mutation of Affairs, He, whom his Enemies had ſpar'd abroad, was now ſlain by the Treachery of his Kindred at home; and that in the Flower of his Age, and in the midſt of his intended Courſe, to ſettle good Laws and Cuſtoms, in his Kingdom. And beſides, they gave him his deſerved Elogies for all his Virtues, both of Body and Mind, for Mens Envy was extinguiſh'd towards him, now he was dead. For tho his Bodily Sta-

K. *James* Cruelly Aſſaſſinated.

His Death highly lamented, with his Laudable Character.

† ture

ture was ſcarce of a full ſize, yet he was robuſt and ſtrong; ſo that he exceeded all his Equals in thoſe Exerciſes, wherein Agility and Manhood uſe to be ſhewn; and as to his Mind, he was endued with that quickneſs and vigor of Wit, that he was ignorant of no Art, worthy the Knowledge of an Ingenious Perſon; yea, he could make plain *Latin* Verſes, according to that Age, *Extempore*; Some Poems of his, written in the *Engliſh* Tongue, are yet extant, in which there appears excellency of Wit, tho' perhaps, ſome more polite Learning be wanting in them; he was excellently well skill'd in Muſick more than was meet or expedient for a King; for there was no Muſical, or Singing, Inſtrument, but he could readily Play thereon, and Tune his Voice ſo, that he might have been compar'd with the beſt Maſters of that Art, in thoſe Days. But, perhaps, ſome will ſay, Theſe are but the Flowers of his Studies, where is the Fruit? Theſe are more for Ornament, than Inſtruction or Uſe, to ſtrengthen a Man for doing of Buſineſs: Know then, that, after he had Learn'd other Parts of Philoſophy, he was alſo skill'd in *Politicks*, concerning the Regulation of Kingdoms, and of Mens Manners. How Great, and how Ripe, Civil Abilities were in him, doth ſufficiently appear, by the order of the Matters perform'd by him, and by the Laws which he made; whereby he exceedingly benefited, not only his own Age, but even Poſterity alſo. And his Death declar'd, that there is nothing more Popular than Juſtice; for they who were wont to detract from him, whilſt he was alive; now he was dead, had moſt flagrant Deſires after him. Inſomuch, that the Nobles, as ſoon as they heard he was Murder'd, came in of their own accord, from their reſpective Countries, and, before a Tryal was appointed, they voluntarily ſent out into all Parts, to apprehend the Murderers, and bring them to Juſtice; very many of them were taken. The Principal of them were put to new and exquiſite kinds of Death. The reſt were hang'd. The Chief Heads in perpetrating the Wickedneſs, were reckon'd to be, *Walter*, Earl of *Athole*, *Robert* his Nephew by his Son, and their Kinſman *Robert Graham*; the Puniſhment of *Walter* (becauſe he was the Chief Author, and Inſtigator, of the whole Plot) was divided into Three Days Suffering. In the 1ſt, he was put on a Cart, wherein a Stork-like Swipe or Engine was erected, and by Ropes, let through Pullies, was hoiſted up on high, and then the Ropes being ſuddainly loos'd, he was let down again, almoſt to the Ground, with grievous pains, by reaſon of the Luxation of the Joints of his Body. Then he was ſet on a Pillory that all might ſee him, and a Red-hot-Iron-Crown ſet on his Head, with this Inſcription, that he ſhould be called *King of all Traitors*. They ſay, the cauſe of this puniſhment, was, that *Walter* had been ſometimes told, by ſome Female Witches, (as *Athole* was always noted to have ſuch) That he ſhould be Crown'd King in a mighty Concourſe of People; for, by this means that Prophecy was either fulfill'd or eluded, as indeed, ſuch kind of Predictions do commonly meet with no other Events. The Day after, he was bound upon a Hurdle, and drawn at an Horſe-Tail thro' the greateſt Street in *Edinburgh*. The 3d Day, he was laid along upon a Plank in a conſpicuous Place, and his Bowels were cut out, whilſt he was alive, caſt into the Fire, and burnt

Earl of *Athole* and other of *K. James's* Murderers Tortured and Executed.

fore his Face, afterwards, his Heart was pulled out, and caſt into the ſame Fire, then his Head was cut off, and expos'd to the view of all, being ſet upon a Poll in the higheſt Place of the City. His Body was divided into Four Quarters, and ſent to be hang'd up in the moſt noted Places of the beſt Cities of the Kingdom. After him, his Nephew was brought forth to ſuffer, but, becauſe of his Age, they would not put him to ſo much pain; and beſides, he was not the Author, but only an Accomplice in another Man's wicked Deſign, as having Obey'd his Grandfather therein; ſo that, he was only Hang'd, and Quarter'd. But *Robert Graham*, who did the Deed with his own Hand, was carried in a Cart thro' the City, and his Right Hand was nail'd to a Gallows, which was ſet up in the Cart, and then came Executioners, which did continually run Red-hot-Iron Spikes into his Thighs, Shoulders, and thoſe Parts of his Body, which were moſt remote from the Vitals; and then he was Quarter'd, as the former. After this manner was the Death of *James* vindicated, 'tis true, 'twas a cruel one, but 'twas reveng'd by Puniſhments ſo Cruel, that they ſeem'd to exceed the very bounds of Humanity; for ſuch extreme kinds of Puniſhment do not ſo much reſtrain the Minds of the Vulgar, by the fear of Severity, as they do make them wild to do, or ſuffer, any thing; neither do they ſo much deter wicked Men from committing Offences by their Acerbity, as they leſſen their Terror, by often beholding them; eſpecially, if the Spirits of the Criminals be ſo hardened, that they flinch not at their Puniſhment. For among the unskilful Vulgar, *a ſtubborn Confidence is ſometimes prais'd for a firm and ſtable Conſtancy.* *James* departed this Life on the Beginning of the Year 1437. the 12*th* day of *February*, when he had Reign'd 13 Years, and in the 44*th* year of his Age: So great diligence was us'd in revenging his Death, that within 40 Days, all the Conſpirators were taken and put to Death. He left one Son, the younger of the Twins, halfe of whoſe Face was Red, as if it had been Blood-ſhotten.

Deſcants upon ſuch ſevere Executions.

The

The Eleventh BOOK.

James II. *The Hundred and Third King.*

AFTER the Punishment of the Parricides, *James* the only Son of the Deceased King, as yet scarce arriv'd at the Seventh Year of his Age, entred upon the Kingdom the Sixth of the *Calends* of *April*, in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-House* at *Edinburgh*. The King being as yet not fit for Government, there was a dispute among the Nobles, who should be Elected Vice King, or Regent. *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas* did exceed all the *Scots* at that time, in Wealth and Power; but *Alexander Levingstone*, and *William Creighton*, Both of them of worthy Families, did bear away the Bell in point of Authority and Opinion of Prudence, in the managing of many Affairs under the former King. To them therefore the consent of the Nobles did most incline, because they had some Suspicion of *Douglas*'s Power, (which even a King could hardly bear:) Whereupon, *Alexander Levingston* was made Regent, and *William Creighton*, Chancellor, which Office he had born under the former King. The Nobility was scarce gone from the Assembly, but presently Factions arose. For the Chancellor kept himself with the King in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and the Regent with the Queen, at *Sterlin*; and *Douglas*, fretting, that he was put by in the last Assembly, not knowing which Faction he hated most, was well pleas'd to see all things in Disorder; so that rather by his Connivance, than Consent, the Men of *Annandale*, who were always accustom'd to Theiveries and Rapin, did infest all the Neighbouring Parts, and drove Preys out of them, as if it had been an Enemies Country. When complaint hereof was made to the Governors, they sent Letters to *Douglas* to suppress them, (knowing that the *Annandians* were under his Regulation and Power) but these not prevailing, they wrote others in a sharper Style, to put him in Mind of his Duty, but he was so far from punishing past Offences, that, through his neglect, by impunity, the growing Mischief was increast; for he likewise gave forth a Command, that none of them should obey the Kings Officers, if they Summoned them into the Courts of Justice, or perform'd any other Act of Magistracy; in regard, (as he alleged,) That was a Priviledge granted to him (they commonly call it a *Regale*, or *Royalty*,) by former Kings, and he that should go about to infringe it, it should cost him his Life.

March 27.

Alexander Levingston made *Regent.*

William Creigton made *Chancellor.*

Douglas labours to imbroil things.

The *Regent*, and the *Chancellor*, did bewail this State of Things, but they could not Rectifie it; so that this Gangreen spread further and further, till it had soon infected all those parts of *Scotland*, which lay within the *Forth*. The other Two Factions did also disagree amongst themselves, insomuch, that Proclamations were publickly made in Market Towns and Villages, by *Alexander*, that no Man

The Regent and Chancellor disagree.

should yield Obedience to the *Chancellor*; and by the *Chancellor*, that none should obey *Alexander*. And if a Man addrest himself to either of them, to complain of his wrongs, at his return, he was sure to be Evil intreated by the Men of the contrary Faction; yea, sometimes his Mansion Houses and Farms would be burnt, and he utterly undone. So that both Parties, with a more than Hostile Enmity, destroyed one another, by mutual Slaughters. But the good Men, who had join'd themselves to neither Faction, not well knowing what to do, kept themselves at home, privately bewailing the deplorable State of their Country. Thus, whilst every Party sought to strengthen it self, the Publick was neglected, and stood as 'twere in the midst, forsaken of them all.

The Queen, who was with the Regent at *Sterlin*, that she might seem to make a considerable Accession to her Party, perform'd an attempt both Bold and Manly. For she undertook a Journey to *Edinburgh*, on pretence to visit her Son, and so was admitted into the Castle by the *Chancellor*. There she was Courteously entertained, and after some Complements had past, she turn'd her Discourse to bewail the present State of the Kingdom, making a long Oration, how many and great Mischiefs would flow from this publick Discord, as from a Fountain; for her Part, she had always endeavour'd, that the Differences might be composed, that so they might have, at least, some tolerable, if not a fully peaceable, State of a Kingdom: But seeing she could not prevail either by her Authority or Counsel, to do any good abroad, she was no come to try, what she could do privately, for she was resolved to do her utmost, that her Son might be liberally, and piously, educated in hopes of the Kingdom; that so, in time, he might be able to apply some Remedy to these spreading Evils. And, seeing this her Motherly Care was given her by Nature, she hop'd, that no Man would Envy her therein; as for other Parts of the Government, let them take it, who thought themselves fit to manage, and undergo, so great a Burden; yet, they should manage it *so*, as to Remember, that they were to give an account to the King, when he came to be of Age.

The Queen, by Policie, get the Kings Person out of the *Chancellors* Power.

This Harangue she made with a Countenance so compos'd, that the *Chancellor* was easily persuaded of her Sincerity; neither did he discover any thing in her Train of Followers, which gave him the least hint to suspect either Fraud or Force; so that hereupon, he gave her free Admission to her Son, when she pleased; and they were often alone together, and sometimes she staid with him all Night, in the Castle: In the mean time, the Crafty Woman did oft entertain the Governour with Discourse, concerning peicing up of Matters between the Parties; and she called also some of the contrary Faction to the Conferences; and thus she insinuated her self so far into the Man, that he made her acquainted with almost all his Designs: When she had thus chous'd and gull'd the *Chancellor*, she easily persuades the young King to follow her, as the Author of his Liberty, out of the Prison, and so to deliver himself out of the Hands of a Person, who pretended the Kings Name for all his Wickedness, and who had drawn all Publick Offices to himself; and thus neglecting the Good of the Publick, had highly advanced his own particular Fortune.

Fortune. To effect this, there wanted only a Will in him to hearken to the good Counsel of his Friends, for other Matters, let him leave Them to her Care. By such kind of Glozing Speeches, she, being his Mother, and crafty too, easily persuaded him, who was her Son, and but a Youth, to cast himself wholly upon her; especially, seeing a freer Condition of Life was proposed to him. Whereupon, she prepared all things for their Flight, and then goes to the Chancellor, and told him, that she would stay that night in the Castle, but early in the morning she was to go to * *White Kirk*, (that was the name of the Place) to perform a Vow which she had made, for the Safety of her Son, and she commended him to his Care, until she return'd. He suspected no deceit in her Words, but wisht her a good Journy, and a safe Return, and so parted from her. Hereupon, (as 'was agreed before) the King was put into a Chest, wherein she was wont to put her Womans Furniture, and, the day after, carried by faithful Servants out of the Castle to the Sea-side at *Leith*. The Queen followed after only with a few Attendants, to prevent all suspicion. There was a Ship there ready to receive them, into which they entred, and, with a Fair Gale, made for *Sterlin*. The Kings Servants waited late in the morning, expecting still, when he would awake, and arise out of his Bed; so that, before the Fraud was detected, the Ship was quite out of danger, and the Wind was so favourable, that, before the Evening, they landed at *Sterlin*. There the King and Queen were received with great Joy and mighty Acclamations of the Regent, and of all the promiscuous Multitude. The Craft of the Queen was commended by all, and the old Opinion of Wisdom which the Chancellor had obtained, became now to be a Ridicule, even to the Vulgar. This Jovialty and immoderate Joy of the Commons lasted (as is usual) Two days, and was celebrated by them all.

* Situate below *Linton* Bridge, on the *Tine*, in *East-Lothian*.

The Third day, those of *Alexander's* Faction came in, some out of new Hopes; others, invited by the Authority of the Kings Name, to whom, when the Series of the Project was declared in order; the Courage of the Queen in undertaking the Matter; her Wisdom in carrying it on; and her Happiness in effecting it, were extolled to the Skies. The Avarice, and Universal Cruelty, of the Chancellor, and especially, his Ingratitude to the *Queen*, and the *Regent*, were highly inveighed against. He was accused, as the only Author of all the Disorders, and consequently of all the Mischiefs arising therefrom; Moreover, That he had diverted the Publick Revenue to his own use; That he had violently seized on the Estates of Private Persons, and what he could not carry away, he spoil'd; That he alone had all the Wealth, Honour, and Riches, when others were pining in Ignominy, Solitude, and Want; Those Grievances, though great, yet were like to be seconded with more oppressive Ones, unless, by Gods Aid and Counsel, the Queen had, no less valiantly, than happily, freed the King out of Prison, and so deliver'd others from the *Chancellor's* Tyranny; for, if he kept his own King in Prison, it was evident, what private Men might fear and expect from him? What hope could there ever be, that he would be reconciled to his Adversaries, who had so perfidiously circumvented his Friends? And how could the inferior sort expect

The Chancellor highly accused,

Relief from him, whose unsatiable Avarice all their Estates were not able to satisfie and fill up? And therefore, seeing, by Gods help in the first place, and then by the Queens Sagacity, they were freed from his Tyranny, all Courses were to be taken, that this Joy might be perpetual: And to make it so, there was but One way, which was to pull the Man, as it were, by the Ears, out of his Castle, that Nest of Tyranny; and either to kill him, or so to disarm him, that for the future, he might do them no more Mischief; though (said they) his disarming was not very safe, in regard such a Beast as he, who had been accustomed to Blood and Rapin, would never be at quiet, so long as the Breath was in his Body.

This was *Alexander*'s Discourse in Council, to whom all did assent, so that an Order was made, that every one should go home, and levy what Force they could to besiege the Castle of *Edinburgh*, from which they were not to depart, till they had taken it. And that this might be done with greater Facility, the Queen promised to send thither a great Quantity of Provision, which she had in her Store-houses in *Fife*; but Haste was to be used, whiles their Counsels were yet private, and the Enemy had no Warning to provide things, fit and necessary for a Siege: And in the interim, they need not fear *Douglas*, who, they knew, was a mortal Enemy to the *Chancellor*, so that now, seeing they had all the Power, Treasure enough, and withal the Authority of the Kings Name, That being now taken from Him, he could have no Hope, but to fly to their Mercy.

And besieged in *Edinburgh* Castle.

Thus, the Assembly being Dissolved, all things were speedily provided for the Expedition, and a close Siege laid to the Castle. The *Chancellor* was acquainted well enough with their Designs, but he placed the greatest Hope of his Safety, and of maintaining his Dignity, in *Douglas* his Concurrence with him. Whereupon, he sent humble Suppliants to him, to acquaint him, 'That he would always 'be at his Devotion, if he would aid him in his present Extremity; 'urging, that he was deceiv'd, if he thought, that their Cruelty 'would rest in the Destruction of himself alone; but that they would 'make his Overthrow as a step to destroy *Douglas*, too. *Douglas* answer'd his Message, with more Freedom, than Advantage; *viz.* 'That both *Alexander* and *William* were equally guilty of Perfidiousness and Avarice, and that their falling out was not for any point 'of Virtue, or for the good of the Publick, but for their own private Advantages, Animosities, and Feuds; and that it was no great 'matter, which of them had the better in the Dispute; yea, if they 'fell Both in the Contest, the Publick would be a great Gainer thereby; and that no good Man would desire to see an happier sight, than 'two such Fencers to hack and hew one another. This Answer, being noised abroad in Both Armies, (for the Castle was already besieged) was the Occasion, That a Peace was sooner clapt up, than any one thought it would. There was a Truce made for Two days, wherein *Alexander* and *William* had a Meeting, where they discours'd one with another, how dangerous it would be, both for the Publick and their private Estates, too, if they should persist in their Hatred, even to a Battel; seeing *Douglas* did but watch the event of the Combate, that he might come fresh, and fall upon the Conqueror,

The *Chancellor* craves Aid of *Douglas*,

But receives an affronting Answer from him.

Whereupon he agrees with the *Regent*,

and

and ſo attract all the Power of the Kingdom to himſelf; when either One of them was ſlain, or Both weakn'd and broken; and therefore, the Hopes of Both their Safeties were plac'd in their common and mutual Agreement, ſo that the preſent Dangers eaſily reconciled thoſe Two, who were, upon other accounts alſo, otherwiſe prudent enough. *William*, according to Agreement, gave up the Keys of the Caſtle to the King, profeſſing, that both Himſelf, and It, were at his Service; and that he never entertain'd any other Thought, than to be obedient to the Kings Will; Hereupon, he was received into Favour with the univerſal Aſſent of all that were preſent. The King ſupped that night in the Caſtle, thus ſurrendred to him, and the next day, the Government of the Caſtle was beſtowed on *William*, and the Regency on *Alexander*. Thus, after a deadly hatred between them, it was hoped, that for ever after, the Foreſight of their mutual Advantage, and the Fear of their Common Enemy, had tied a firm and indiſſoluble Knot of Friendſhip betwixt them.

And ſurrenders up *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

After theſe Civil Broils between the Factions were compoſed; beſides Robberies, and the Murders of ſome of the common ſort, which were committed in many places, without puniſhment, there were ſome remaining Feuds, which broke out between ſome Noble Families. The year after the Kings Death, in the Third of the *Calends* of *October*, *Thomas Boyd*, of *Kilmarnock*, had treacherouſly ſlain *Alan Stuart* of *Darnly* in a Truce, as he met him between *Linlithgow* and *Falkirk*. The next year after, on the 7th of the *Ides* of *July*, *Alexander*, *Alan*'s Brother, with his Party, fought *Thomas*, where many were ſlain on both ſides, their Numbers being almoſt equal; and, amongſt the reſt, *Thomas* himſelf fell.

September 29. Lying on the River *Irwin* in *Cuningham*. *July* 9. Deadly Fewds.

The Death of *Archibald Douglas* fell out opportunely at this time, becauſe, in his Life time, his Power was formidable to all. He died of a Fever, the next year, after the Death of *James* the Firſt. His Son *William* ſucceeded him, being the Sixth Earl of that Family, he was then Fourteen years of Age, a young Man of great hopes, if his Education had been anſwerable to his Ingenuity. But, *Flattery, which is the perpetual Peſt of great Families*, did corrupt his tender Age, which grew a little more inſolent by the premature liberty in entring on his Eſtate; for ſuch Men, as were accuſtomed to Idleneſs, and who made a Gain of the Folly and Indiſcretion of the Rich, did magnifie his Fathers Magnificence, Power, and, almoſt more than, Royal Retinue; and, by this means, they eaſily perſuaded a plain, ſimple Diſpoſition, and unarmed againſt ſuch Temptations, to maintain a great Family, and to ride abroad with a Train, beyond the State of any other Nobleman; ſo that he kept his old Vaſſals about him, in their former Offices, by his Reſpects to them; and obtained alſo new *Clans* by his profuſe Largeſſes; he alſo made Knights and Senators, and ſo diſtinguiſht the Order and Degrees of his Attendants, as to imitate the publick Conventions of the Kingdom; in fine, he omitted nothing, which might equal the Majeſty of the King himſelf. Such Carriages were enough to create Suſpicions, of themſelves, but good Men were alſo much troubled for him, upon another account, that he would often go abroad with 2000 Horſe in his Train, amongſt whom ſome were notorious Thieves, and many of them worthy of Death,

The Death of *Archibald Douglas*.

With the Profuſeneſs of his young Heir.

Death, for the Murders they had committed; yet, with these, he would come to Court, and even to the Kings Presence, not only to shew his Power, but even to strike Terrour to the Hearts of others. This his Insolence was further heightned, by his sending some Eminent Persons as his Ambassadors into *France*, viz. *Malcolm Fleming*, and *John Lauder*, who were to declare the Merits of his Ancestors from the Crown of *France*, and to desire, that the Title of *Duke* of *Tours* might be bestow'd upon him; which he easily obtained, for his Grandfather had that Honour conferr'd upon him by *Charles* the *Seventh*, for his great Service performed in the Wars; and his Father also had enjoy'd it, after him. Being lifted up with this Accession of Honour, he undervalued the Regent and the Chancellor too, being, as he alledged, his Fathers Enemies, neither did he much fear the King himself. For these causes, the Power of the *Douglasses* seem'd too excessive; yet, a further cause of Suspicion was added.

* Or *Lother*, a great and ancient Family in *Lothian*.

William Stuart had a large Patrimony in *Lorne*; His Brother *James*, after the Kings Death, had Marry'd the Queen, and had Children by her, but disdaining and repining, that he was admitted to no part of the publick Government; to the end he might more easily obtain what he desired, and revenge his concealed Grief, he seemed not much averse from *Douglas* his Faction, and, it was thought, that the Queen was not ignorant of his Design, for she also took it amiss, that the Regent had not rewarded her Services, as she expected: By reason of these Suspicions, the Queen, her Husband, and her Husbands Brother were committed to Prison the Fourth of the *Nones* of *August*, in the year of our Lord . . . . The Queen was shut up in a Chamber narrow enough of it self, yet there she was diligently and watchfully guarded; for the rest were laid in Irons in the Common Prison; and they were not freed, before, in an Assembly of the Nobles held the day before the *Calends* of *September*; the Queen had clear'd her self from being any way privy to these new Plots; and *James* and his Brother had given in Sureties, that they would act nothing against the Regent; neither would they undertake any Office in the Government, without his Consent.

The Queen, with her Husband, *James Stuart*, and others, committed to Prison. *August* 2.

August 31. But she is Releast again.

In this Uncertainty of Affairs, the *Ebudians* made a Descent upon the Continent, and wasted all with Fire and Sword, without distinction of Age or Sex, so that their Avarice and Cruelty was not to be parallell'd by any Example; Neither were they contented to Prey only upon the Sea-Coast, but they also slew *John Colchon*, a Noble Person in *Lennox*, having call'd him out from *Inch-Merin* in the *Loch-Lomond*, to a Conference, and given him their Faith for his Security; This was done the 23d of *September*: Many Foul Offences of this Nature were committed, so that partly on the account of want of Tillage, and partly of Unseasonable Weather, Provision came to be very dear; and moreover, there was a Pestilence for Two years, so dreadful and fierce, that they who were visited with it, died within the space of a day. The Vulgar ascribed the cause of all these Calamities to the Regent; for Matters succeeding prosperously with him, he despised the Chancellor, and the Nobles of that Faction, and drew the Administration of all things into his own Power. Complaints were made against him, that he cast Noble and Eminent Persons

The *Ebudians* ravage the Continent.

A Two years Pestilence in *Scotland*.

The *Regent* and *Chancellor* again Disagree.

Persons into Prison, upon light and ungrounded Suspicions, and afterward most grievously punished them, and that he gave Indemnity to those who were really guilty, merely by his own Arbitrary Will and Pleasure, and that he held Secret Correspondence with *Burgh*. The *Chancellor* could not bear these Things in silence, neither was he able to prevent them by Force, and therefore he suppress his Anger for the present, and resolved to depart from the Court. And accordingly, upon the First Opportunity, he left the King and the Regent at *Sterlin*, and with a great Train of Followers came to *Edinburgh*; and there he fixt himself in that Strong Castle, being intent, and Vigilant in all Occasions of Change, which might evene.

When this matter was noised abroad, it rais'd up Envy on the Regent, because of his Power, and procur'd favour to the Chancellor, because of his Retirement; neither did *William* neglect his opportunity amongst their Feuds; for, he resolved, by some bold Attempt, to curb the Insolence of his Adversary, and to remove the Undervalue, he had set upon him. And therefore, having understood, by his Spys, that the King went every day a hunting, and was but Slightly guarded, watching the Season when *Alexander* was absent, and having made sufficient Enquiry into the Conveniency of the Country, the Fitness of the Time, and the due Number of the Undertakers, he chose out a Place not far from *Sterlin*, where the Faithfullest of his Friends, with what Force they could make, should meet and wait for his Coming. And he, with a few Horse, lodg'd himself in a Wood near the Castle of *Sterlin*, before day, and there waited for the Kings coming; neither did Providence deceive him, in this bold Attempt. The King came forth into the Wood, early in the Morning, with a smal Train, and those unarm'd, too, and so he fell amongst the arm'd Troops of the *Chancellor*, they saluted him, as King, according to Custom, and bid him to *be of good Cheer and take Courage*. The *Chancellor*, in a few Words, as the Time would permit, advis'd him to provide for himself and the Kingdom, and to deliver himself out of *Alexanders* Prison, that so he might live, hereafter, at Liberty, and as a King; and might not accustom himself to fulfil the Lusts and Dictates of Other men, but might, himself, lay those Commands, which were just and equal upon Others; and so might free all his Subjects from their present Misery, which they had been plung'd into by the Ambition and Lust of their Subordinate Governors, and that so deeply, that there could be no Remedy found for them, unless the King himself would undertake the Government; and This he might easily do without Peril or Pain, for he himself had provided a good Body of Horse near at hand, who would attend him to what fit Place soever, he would go. The King seem'd by his Countenance to approve of what he had said, either that he really thought so; or else, that he dissembled his Fear. Whereupon, the Chancellor took his Horses Bridle in's hand, and led him to his own Men; They which were with him, being few, and unarm'd, not able to Encounter so many Men, return'd back, in great sadness. Thus the King came to *Edinburgh*, guarded with 4000 Horse, well accoutred, where he was received, by the Commonalty, with great demonstrations of Joy.

The Chancellor surprizes the Kings Person.

The Regent being out-Witted by the Chancellor, inwardly frets.

After the Regent heard of what was done, his Mind was confounded betwixt Anger and Shame, insomuch, that he return'd to *Sterlin*, to consider of what was most advisable in the case. His great Spirit was mightily troubled to see himself so Childishly deluded by his own Negligence; he suspected, it was done by the Fraud and Connivance of his own Followers, and thus he stood long wavering whom to trust, and whom to fear; Shame, Anger, and Suspicion bustling together in his mind. At length, he took a little heart, and began to think with himself, what Remedy to apply to his present Malady; He knew, that his own Strength was not sufficient against the Chancellor, a Man politick in Counsel and strong in Force; and besides, he had the Favour of the People, and the Authority of the Kings Name, as Buttresses to support him; as for the Queen, he had so offended her by her close Imprisonment, that she was hardly ever like to be reconciled to him; and if she were, He had no great confidence in her Assistance. And for *Douglas*, 'tis true, he had Strength enough, but no Prudence; his Age was tender; his Mind infirm; he was corrupted by Flatteries, and carried about by the Persuasions of others; and (as in such Circumstances it usually falls out) the worst of Men could do most with him, and therefore he thought it below his Dignity to have any thing to do with such a Raskality of men; But the Chancellor, tho' he were of a Contrary Faction to him, yet was a Wise man, and his Age and Disposition might more safely be trusted; neither was the Cause of Offence, between them, so great, but that it was superable by their ancient offices of Respect one to another; but the greatest likelihood of their Reconciliation was grounded upon the Similitude of their Danger, and their joynt Consent to maintain the Safety of the Commonwealth. And besides, the Enmity of the Chancellor was most of all to be fear'd by him, for if he joyn'd himself to other Factions, he had Power in his hands either to reduce, or banish, him. Having pondered upon these things, for some days, in his Mind, and communicated them to some of his most familiar Friends, Good men and Lovers of their Country, by their Advice, he took a smal ordinary Train of Attendants, and went to *Edinburgh*. It happen'd, that the Bishops of *Aberdene* and *Murray* were then there; Men, according to the rate of those times, of Learning and Virtue. By their Means and Intercession, the Regent and Chancellor had a Meeting in St. *Giles*'s Church, with some few of their Friends on each Side. The Regent First began to speak; 'I think it not necessary (says he) to 'make a long Discourse, in bewailing those things, which are too 'well known to all, or in reckoning up the Mischiefs arising from in-'testine Discords, and the Good issueable from *Concord*; I wish, we 'might experience those Miseries rather by Foreign than Domestick 'Examples; I will then come to those things, which concern the 'Publick Safety of all the People; and, next to theirs, our Own, 'most of all. This Disagreement betwixt us ariseth, neither from 'Covetousness, nor from Ambition to rule, but because, in the Ad-'ministration of Publick affairs, which Both of us wish well to, 'we are not of one Mind, but take different Measures; yet, we are 'to take great Care, lest this our Dissension should be publickly Pre-

And Meditates a Reconciliation with him.

His Condescending Harangue to the Chancellor.

'judicial

'judicial to the Kingdom, or privately Injurious to our Selves. The 'Eyes of all men are upon us Two: Wicked Perſons propoſe to them-'ſelves a Licentiouſneſs to do any thing, when we are deſtroy'd; 'and Ambitious ones think then, alſo, to obtain an Opportunity to 'get Wealth and Power; and beſides, we have a great many Ma-'ligners and Envyers, *as uſually Men, raiſed up from a low Eſtate to 'the higheſt Dignity, are wont to have.* All Theſe, as they grieve 'at our Succeſſes, and calumniate our Proſperity; ſo they willingly 'receive the News of our Adverſity, as thereby hoping, and wiſh-'ing for our Ruin, and therefore it will be worth Both our labours, 'to conſult our Own Safety, which is conjoyn'd and twiſted with 'That of the Publick, and ſo to revenge our ſelves on our Enemies 'and Detractors, to our great Glory and Praiſe. And the only Way 'to accompliſh thoſe Ends, is This, That we forget our private In-'juries, and contribute all our Thoughts and Counſels for the Good 'of the Publick; let us remember, that the Kings ſafety is commit-'ted to our Cares, and ſo is alſo the Safety of the Kingdom; yet ſo, 'that we are Both lyable to an Account. And therefore, as, here-'tofore, we have been to blame in contending, which of us ſhould 'be the greater in Honour and Authority; ſo, for the Future, let our 'conteſt be, which ſhall exceed other in Moderation and Juſtice: 'And, by this means, we ſhall bring it to paſs, that the Commo-'nalty, who now hate us, and impute all their Calamities to us, will 'be reconciled to, and revere, us, again. And the Nobility, who, 'upon our diſunion, have broke forth into unbridled Licentiouſneſs, 'may be reduc'd to Moderation; and the Great Men, who ſlight us, 'as weakned by Diviſion, may fear us, when united and reconciled, 'and ſo carry themſelves with greater Sobriety toward us, than ever. 'As for me, I willingly give up the tender Age of the King to be 'modell'd and govern'd by you, as his Father, in his Life time, ap-'pointed; for, as often as I ſeriouſly think of that Function and 'Service, I judge my ſelf rather to be eas'd of a Burden, than deſ-'poil'd of an Honour, thereby; If I have received any private In-'jury from you, I freely forgive it for the ſake of the Publick; and 'if I have done you any Wrong, let honeſt Arbitrators adjuſt the 'damage, and I will make you Satisfaction to the full; and hereafter, I 'will ſo carry it, that neither my Loſſes, nor my Advantages, ſhall 'be the leaſt ſtop to the Publick Proſperity. And if you alſo be of the 'ſame Mind, we may Both of us reſt Secure for the preſent, and alſo 'leave our Memorys more grateful to Poſterity; but if you think o-'therwiſe, I call all men to Witneſs, both preſent and to come, 'that 'tis not my Fault, that the Evils, under which we now labour, 'are not, either fully cur'd, or, at leaſt, in ſome ſort reliev'd and 'mitigated.

The Chancellors Yielding, and Complying, Anſwer.

To This the Chancellor replied, 'As I unwillingly enter'd upon 'this Stage of Contention, ſo, I am very willing to hear any men-'tion made of an honeſt Agreement: for, as I did not take up Arms, 'before the Injuries, I ſuffer'd, provoked me thereunto; ſo your Mo-'deſty hath urg'd me, not to ſuffer the Publick to be indamag'd by 'my Pertinaciouſneſs. For, I ſee as well as you, by this our Diſcord, 'That Good Men are expos'd to the Injuries of the Bad; The minds

'of the Seditious are excited to hopes of Innovation; Our Country 'is left for a Prey; The Kingly Dignity is leſſen'd; Publick Safety 'betray'd; Authority bearded and ridicul'd, even by the mean'ſt of 'the People. And whilſt we thus betray the Safety of the Publick, 'our private Affairs are in no better a Poſture. In the mean time, 'Men, who are given to Sedition, make advantage of our Diſcords; 'and our Enemies behold them, as a pleaſant Sight, (for they hate 'us Both alike) and if the loſs fall on either of us, yet they count 'themſelves to gain, what either of us doth loſe: And therefore I 'ſhall not repeat the Cauſes of our Feuds; leſt I make old ſores to 'bleed afreſh, but, in ſhort, I declare, that I forgive all my private 'Wrongs and Injuries upon the Score of my Country, for there ne-'ver was, nor ſhall be, any thing more preferrable with me before 'the Safety of the People, and the Good of the Common-wealth.

A New Knot of Amity between the Regent, and the Chancellor.

Thoſe, who were preſent, did highly commend both their Reſolutions; and ſo, by joynt Conſent, Arbiters were choſen, to compoſe Differences; and, to the great joy of all, old Diſcords were pluckt up by the roots, and new Foundations of Amity laid; and thus they, by joynt Counſel, again undertake the Management of the Kingdom. After this Concord, an Aſſembly of the Eſtates was held at *Edinburgh*. Thither came not a Few Perſons, as is uſual, but even whole Clans and Tenantrys, (as if they had remov'd their Habitations) to complain of the Wrongs they had ſuſtain'd; and indeed, the Sight of ſuch a miſerable Company could not be entertain'd without deep Affliction of Spirit, every one making his woful moan, according to his Circumſtance; that Robbers had deſpoiled Fathers of their Children; Children of their Fathers; Widows of their Husbands, and all in general of their Eſtates; Whereupon, after Commiſeration of the Sufferers; The Envy (as is uſual) and Reflection was carry'd to, and fix'd upon, the Captains of thoſe Thieves; whoſe Offences were ſo impudent, that they could, in no wiſe, be ſuffer'd; and their Faction was ſo far diffus'd, that no man was able to defend his Life or Fortune, unleſs he were of their Party; yea, their Power was ſo great, that the Authority of the Magiſtrate could afford little help to the poorer and weaker Sort againſt their Violence and Force: Whereupon the Wiſer ſort of Counſellors were of Opinion, That, ſeeing their Power was inſuperable by plain Force, 'twas beſt to undermine it by degrees; They all knew well enough, that the Earl of *Douglas* was the Fountain of all thoſe Calamities, yet no Man durſt name him publickly; whereupon the Regent, diſſembling his Anger for the preſent, perſuaded the whole Aſſembly, That it was more adviſeable for them to cajole *Douglas* by Flatteries, than to irritate him by Suſpicions; for he was of ſo great Power, that he alone, if he remain'd refractary, was able to hinder the Execution of the Decrees of All the Eſtates; but if he joyn'd himſelf with the Aſſembly, then he might eaſily heal the preſent Miſchiefs.

The Miſeries of the Commons,

Occaſioned Principally by the Earl of *Douglas*.

Semblable to this Advice, a Decree was made, that Letters of Complement, in the Name of the Eſtates, ſhould be ſent to him, to put him in Mind of the Place which he held; and of the great and Illuſtrious Merits of his Anceſtors, for the Advantage of their Coun-

try;

try; and withal to desire him to come to the Publick Assembly of the Estates, which could not be well Celebrated, without the presence of him and his Friends. If he had any Complaint to make in the Assembly, they would give him all the Satisfaction they were able to do; and if he or his Friends had done any thing prejudicial to the Publick; in respect to his Noble Family, which had so often well deserv'd of their Country, they were ready to remit many things upon the account of his Age; of the Time; of himself, and the great Hopes conceiv'd of him. And therefore they desired, he would come and undertake what part of the Publick Government, he pleas'd; for, seeing *Scotland* had often been deliver'd from great Dangers by the Arms of the *Douglas*'s, they hop'd, that, by his Presence, he would now strengthen and relieve his Country which labour'd under Intestine Evils.

The Young Man, who, by his Age and Disposition, was desirous of Glory, was taken with the Bait; and his Friends also persuaded him, for they were all blinded by their particular Hopes; so that their Minds were turn'd, from all Apprehension of Danger, to the sole Consideration of their particular Advantages. When the Chancellor heard, that he was on his Journey, he went out several Miles to meet him, and gave him a Friendly Invitation to his Castle, which was near the Road, (it was called *Creighton*) where he was Magnificently entertain'd, for the space of Two Days; in which time, the *Chancellor* shew'd him all imaginable Respect, that he might the more easily intrap the unwary Young Man: For, to shew that his Mind was no way alienated from him, he began, in a familiar manner, to persuade him to be mindful of the Kings Dignity, and of his own Duty; that he should own him for his Leidge Lord, whom his Birth, the Laws of the Country, and the Decree of the Estates had advanc'd to be King; that he should transmit the great Estate, which his Ancestors had got by their Blood and Valour, to his Posterity, in like manner as he had receiv'd it; that so the Name of the *Douglasses*, which was Illustrious for their Loyalty and Atchievements, might be freed from the foul Blot of Treason; yea, and from all Suspicion of the same; that he and his Tenants should forbear oppressing the poor Commons; that he should put all Robbers out of his Train; and for the future, he should so addict himself to the maintenance of Justice, that if he had offended heretofore, it might be thought attributable to the ill Counsel of Bad Men, and not to the Wickedness of his own Nature; for, in that tender and infirm Age, his Repentance would pass for Innocence. By these and the like Speeches, he persuaded the young Man, that he was his entire Friend, and so drew him on to *Edinburgh*, with *David* his Brother, who was privy to all his Projects and Designs. But his Followers smelt out some suspicion of Deceit, by reason of the frequent Messages that past betwixt *Alexander* and the Regent; for almost every Moment, Posts ran betwixt them; and besides, the Chancellors Speech seem'd to some more glozing and kind, than was usual for one of his Place and Dignity. His Train did secretly mutter this, and some freely told him 'That if he were resolv'd to go on, yet he should send back '*David* his Brother, and (according to his Fathers advice to him, on

his

'his Death Bed,) not give up his whole Family to one ſtroke of 'Fortune. But the improvident Youth was Angry with his Friends, that had thus advis'd him; and caus'd a Word to be given forth to all his Followers; to ſurceaſe all ſuch private Whiſperings: And to his Friends he made Anſwer, 'That he knew well enough, that 'twas 'the common Plague of great Families, to be troubled with Men, 'who loved not to be quiet, and who made a gain of the Dangers 'and Miſeries of their Patrons: And that ſuch Men, becauſe in time 'of Peace, they were bound up by Laws, were the Authors and 'Adviſers to Sedition, that ſo they might Fiſh the better in troubled 'Waters; but for his part, he had rather caſt himſelf on the known 'Prudence of the Regent and Chancellor, than give Ear to the Te-'merity and Madneſs of Seditious Perſons. Having ſpoken theſe Words, to cut off any occaſion of further advice in the Caſe, he ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and with his Brother, and a few more of his Confidents, haſtned to the Caſtle, with more ſpeed than at the rate of an ordinary March; and ſo, Fate drawing him on, he precipitated himſelf into the Snares of his Enemies.

In that very Moment of time, the Regent came in too, for ſo it was agreed, that the whole weight of ſo great Envy might not lye on one Mans Shoulders only. *Douglas* was kindly received, and admitted to the Kings Table; but in the midſt of the Feaſt, ſome Armed Men beſet him, being Weaponleſs, and put a Bulls Head upon him, which, in thoſe Times, was a Meſſenger and Sign of Death. When the young Man ſaw that, he was troubled and ſought to ariſe, but the Armed Men laid hold on, and carry'd him to a Court near the Caſtle; where, by the loſs of his Head, he paid for the Intemperance of his Youth. *David* his Brother, and *Malcolm Fleming*, whom, next to his Brother, he truſted moſt of all, were alſo put to Death with him. 'Tis ſaid, that the King, who was now fully entring on his being of Age, wept for his Death; and that the Chancellor did greatly Rebuke him for his unſeaſonable Tears, at the Deſtruction of an Enemy; whereas the Publick Peace was never like to be ſettled, as long as he was alive. *William* dying thus without Children, *James* (Sirnamed *Craſſus*, or the *Groſs*, from his Diſpoſition,) ſucceeded him in the Earldom, (for 'twas a *Male-Feo*, as Lawyers ſpeak) the reſt of his Patrimony, which was very great, fell to his only Siſter *Beatrix*, a very beautiful Perſon in her Days. This *James*, the *Groſs*, though he were no bad Man, yet was no leſs ſuſpected by the King, and hated by the Commons, than the former Earl; becauſe, though he did not maintain Robbers, as the former Earl had done; yet he was not very Zealous in ſubduing them; but he was ſubſtracted from this Envy, by his Death, which happen'd Two Years after.

Where he and his Brother *David* were ſlain.

William, the Eldeſt of his Seven Sons, Succeeded him, he being Emulous of the ancient Power of the Family, that he might reſtore it unto its Priſtine Splendor, reſolv'd to Marry his Uncles Daughter, who was the Heireſs of many Countries: Many of his Kindred did not approve of the Match, partly becauſe 'twas an unuſual, and by conſequence, an unlawful thing; and partly becauſe, by the Acceſſion of ſo much Wealth, he would be envy'd by the People, and alſo

William Douglas Marries *Beatrix* his Uncles Daughter.

also formidable to the King. For a Rumor was spread abroad, and that not without ground, that the King himself would do his utmost, to hinder the Match. This made *William* to hasten the Consummation of the Marriage, even in the time when Marriages were forbidden, that he might prevent the Kings endeavours, to the contrary. Thus having obtained great Wealth, he grew insolent, and envy follow'd his Insolence, in regard Troops of Robbers did swarm every where, whose Captains were thought to be no Strangers to *Douglas* his Design. Amongst them there was one *George Gorm*, of *Athole*, who pillag'd all the Country about him, and set upon *William Ruthven*, Sheriff of *Perth*, because he was leading a Thief of *Athole* to the Gallows, and fought with him, as it were, in a set Battel. At last *Gorm* the Captain, and 30 of his Followers, were slain, and the rest fled to the Mountains. This Bustling Fight was in the year of *Christ* 1443.

The high effrontery of Thieves.

A few days after, the Castle of *Dunbarton*, impregnable by Force, was twice taken in a little time: *Robert Semple* was Commander of the Lower Castle; and *Patrick Galbreth* of the Higher, and their Government was so divided, that each had a peculiar entrance into his own Part. These Two were not free from Factions, amongst themselves. For *Patrick* was thought secretly to favour the *Douglasses*; whereupon *Semple*, perceiving that his Part was but negligently guarded, seiz'd upon him, and commanded him to remove his Goods. The day after, *Patrick* entred with four Companions attending him, without Arms, to fetch out his Goods; where, first, he light upon the Porter alone, and then, catching up Arms, drave him and the rest out of the Upper Castle, and thus, sending for Aid out of the Neighbouring Town, he beat them out of the Lower Castle also, and so reduc'd the whole Fort into his own hands.

Dunbarton Castle twice surprized.

About that time, there were very many Murders committed upon the inferior Sort, which were partly perpetrated by the *Douglassians*, and partly charg'd upon them, by their Enemies. The King was now of Age, and manag'd the Government himself, so that *Douglas*, being unable to stand against the Envy of the Nobles, and the Complaints of the Commons, too, resolves to become a New Man, to satisfie the People, and, by all means possible, to atone the Heart of the King, which was alienated from him; and, in order thereunto, he came with a great Train to *Sterlin*. And when he had Intelligence by some Courtiers, whom he had greas'd in the Fist, and made his Own, that the Kings Anger was appeas'd towards him, then, and not before, he came into his Presence, and threw down his Life, and Fortune, and all his Concerns, at his Feet, and to his Disposes he partly excused the Crimes of his former Life, and partly, (because That seemed the readier way to Reconciliation,) ingenuously confest Them, withal affirming, that whatever Fortune he should have hereafter, he would ascribe it solely to the Clemency of the King, not to his Own Innocency; but if the King were pleas'd to receive Satisfaction from him, by his Services and Obsequiousness, he would do his utmost endeavour for the future, that no Man should be more Loyal and observant of his Duty, than himself, and that in restraining and punishing all those exorbitant Offences which his Enemies cast upon

King *James*, being of Age, enters on the Government.

Douglas throws himself at the Kings Feet, acknowledges his Offences, is Pardoned, and Received into Favour.

upon him, none ſhould be more ſharp and ſevere than he; in regard he was deſcended from that Family, which was not raiſed by oppreſſing the Poor, but by defending the Commons of *Scotland*, by their Arms: By this Oration of the Earls, and the ſecret Commendation of the Courtiers, the King was ſo chang'd, that he forgave him all the Crimes of his former Life, and received him into the Number of his *Privadoes*, and communicated all his ſecret Deſigns to him.

The *Regent* and *Chancellor* lay down their Offices.

And indeed the Earl, in a very little time, had ſo obliged the King to him by his Obſequious Carriage; and had won ſo much on his Miniſters by his Liberality; yea, had ſo ingratiated himſelf into all Men, by his modeſt and courteous Condeſcenſion, that the ordinary ſort of People conceiv'd great Hope of his gentle and pliable Deportment; but the Wiſer were ſomewhat afraid, whither ſo ſudden a change of Manners would tend: And eſpecially *Alexander Levingſton*, and *William Creighton*, imagining, that all his Counſels would tend to their Deſtruction, having laid down their publick Offices in the Government, went away, ſeverally; *Alexander*, to his own Eſtate; and *William* into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, there to watch and obſerve, where the Simulation of *Douglas* would terminate and end; Neither did their preconceiv'd Opinion deceive ſuch Wiſe Men, as they were: For *Douglas* having gotten the King alone, and deſtitute of graver Counſel, and who was ſomewhat unwary too, by reaſon of the Greenneſs of his years, thought now, that he had a fit Opportunity to revenge the Deaths of his Kinſmen, and ſo eaſily perſuaded the King to ſend for *William Creighton*, and *Alexander Levingſton*, with his two Sons, *Alexander* and *James*, to give him a Legal Account of the Adminiſtration of their former Offices. His Deſign herein, was, that if they came to the Court, he might either deſtroy them, or elſe bring them under, by the power of his Faction; but if they refuſed to come, then to declare them publick Enemies; and ſo having the Authority of the Kings Name, as a pretence for his Power, to deſpoil, and out them, of all their Eſtates. Hereupon, they were ſummoned to appear, but return'd Anſwer, by Letters, 'That they had never 'any thing more prevalent and ſuperior in their Thoughts, than the 'Good of the King and Kingdom, and that they had ſo managed 'their Offices, that they deſired nothing more than to give up a full 'Account; provided, it were before equal Judges, but, for the preſent, they deſir'd to be excus'd, in regard they perceiv'd, that the 'Minds of thoſe, who were to be their Judges, were prepoſſeſs'd in 'favour, and by the Largeſſes, of their Enemies; and beſides, all 'Paſſages were beſet with Armed Men; not that they ſhunn'd a Legal Hearing, but only withdrew from the Violence of their Mortal 'Enemies at the preſent, and reſerv'd their Lives for better Times, 'till the Commanders of Thieves being driven from the Kings Preſence, as they had often done in doubtful times before, they might 'then juſtify and aſſert their Innocency to the King and all Good 'Men.

Douglas by his Power at Court, ſummons them to Appear.

They excuſing themſelves, are declared publick Enemies.

When this Anſwer was receiv'd, an Aſſembly was Indicted to be held at *Sterlin* the Fourth day of *November*, wherein *Douglas* ſo carry'd the Matter, that they were declared Publick Enemies, and their Goods Confiſcate. And then he ſends out *John* * *Froſter* of *Gorſtorphin*,

* Or *Forester.*

phin, his Confident, with Forces to ſpoil their Country, and bring their Goods into the Kings Exchequer: He took in their Caſtles by Surrender, part of them he demoliſht, and part he put new Gariſons into, and thus making a vaſt ſpoil, without any reſiſtance, he carried off a great Booty; The *Douglaſſians* had ſcarce retired, before *Creighton* had gathered an Army of his Friends and Vaſſals, ſooner than Men thought; and with them, he ran over the Lands of the *Foreſters*, and of the *Douglaſſes*, even as far as *Corſtorphin*, *Strabrock*, *Abercorn*, and *Blackneſs*, he burnt their Houſes, ſpoil'd their Corn, and brought away as much Prey, as he was able, and amongſt the reſt, a ſtately Breed of Mares; and thus he did his Enemy much more Miſchief, than he receiv'd. *Douglas*, knowing that *Creighton* had done this, by the aſſiſtance of Others, rather than his own Force, turns his Anger upon his Friends, who (he was inform'd) had ſent him Aid privately (for few durſt do it openly.) The Chief of them were *James Kennedy* Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, *George* Earl of *Angus*, *John* Earl of *Morton*, Both the later of *Douglas*'s his own Family; but One Born of the King's Aunt, the Mother of *James Kennedy*; the Other had Marry'd the King's Siſter. Theſe Perſons did always prefer the Publick Safety, and their Duty for the Conſervation thereof, before the private Reſpect to their own Family: But *Kennedy* exceeded the reſt, in Age, Counſel, and conſequently in Authority; and therefore his Wrath was, principally, incenſed againſt him: Whereupon, the Earl of *Craford*, and *Alexander Ogilby* gather'd a reaſonable Army together, and ſpoil'd his Lands in *Fife*; and following the Prey, rather than the Cauſe, they plunder'd the Neighbor Farms alſo, with a great devaſtation; and then, without any Oppoſition, return'd into *Angus*, laden with Spoil. In this caſe, *Kennedy* betook himſelf to his proper Church-Arms of Defence; and, in regard *Craford* avoided the Deciſion of theſe Diſputes by Law, he proſecuted him with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; which when he deſpis'd, according to his wonted Contumacy, a little while after, he was juſtly puniſh'd for his contempt of all Divine and Human Laws. For, the ſame Year, wherein theſe things were acted, the Colledge of the *Benedictins* at *Aberbrothock*, (in regard, Monks might not intermeddle to judge in Civil Cauſes) had made *Alexander Lindſy*, Eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Craford*, their Chief Judge in Civils, or, as they call him, *Sheriff*, or *Bayliff*. He, with his huge Train of Followers, became burdenſome to the Monaſt'ry; and beſides, he carried himſelf as their *Maſter*, rather than their *Servant*, ſo that they diſpoſſeſt him of his Offices, and put *Alexander Ogilby*, in his Place; *Lindſy* lookt upon This as a Wrong to him, in his Opinion, ſo that each of them gather'd together what Force they could, as if a War had been denounc'd between them; when Both Armies ſtood in a readineſs to Fight, the Earl of *Craford* having notice of it, made all the haſte he could, and rode in betwixt Them Both, thinking, that the ſole Authority of his Name had been Armour of proof to him; and whilſt he was hindring his Son from ingaging, and calling out *Ogilby* to a Conference, a Soldier darted a Spear into his Mouth; it was not known, Who he was, nor What he aim'd at, and ſtruck him down dead from his Horſe; His Death

In *Mid-Lothian*, two miles Weſt of *Edinburgh*.

A Town on the River *Brock*, in *Weſt-Lothian*.

A Caſtle ſtanding on a Rock, lying near the *Firth* of *Forth*, above *Abercorn*.

Creighton, late Chancelor, defends himſelf by force.

Douglas incenſed againſt *Creighton*'s Friends.

The Clans of the *Lindſys* and *Ogilbys* Fight.

was as an Alarm to Both Armies, and after a sharp Conflict, many being wounded on Both sides, the Victory fell to the *Lindsys*: They say, the Cause thereof was, that, whilst Both Armies stood with their Spears upright, representing the fashion of a Wood, a certain Man cry'd out, Why do you bring those Goads with you, as if you had to do with Oxen? Pray, cast them away, and let us fight it out with our Swords, hand to hand, by true Valour, as becomes Men? Upon which Words, they all cast away their Pikes, on both sides, except 100 *Clydesdale* Men, whom *Douglas* had sent in to Aid the *Lindsys*; These held the Tops, or Points, of their Pikes in their Hands; and drew the rest of them behind their Backs; but when they came to Handy-blows, then they held them out as a thick Fence, before them, and their Enemies, being terrified with the sudden Spectacle, had their Ranks broken thereby. The Conquering side lost 100; the Conquer'd 500, and amongst them, some Men of Note; *Alexander Ogilby* was taken prisoner, and Dyed a few Days after, either of his Wounds, or for Grief; *Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, was put upon a Horse by a Friend of his own, and so escap'd. The Slaughter had been much greater, if the Night had not cover'd the Flyers away, for the Battel began a few hours before Night, on the 9*th* of the *Calends* of *February*.

Jan. 24.

The *Lindsys* prevail.

The *Lindsys* manag'd their Victory with great Cruelty, they pillaged and demolisht Houses, and utterly spoil'd the Country. The War was as hotly carried on between the Factions in other Parts; *Douglas* had besieg'd *William Creighton*, some Months in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and to make a more close Siege, he remov'd the Assembly of the Estates, which was summoned to be held on the *Ides* of *July*, and was already begun at *Perth*, to *Edinburgh*; when the Siege had lasted 9 Months, both the Besiegers, and the Besieged, grew equally weary, and so a Surrender was made on these Conditions, That, *William should be Indemnify'd for whatsoever he had done against the King, and He and His should march safely off.* Thus in every Dispute, *he, who is most powerful, would seem to be most innocent.* And not long after, *Creighton* was received into the King's Favour, and was made Chancellor again, by the general Consent of all, but he refrain'd the Court, and all Publick Business, as much as ever his Office would suffer him to do. *Douglas*, having thus rather terrified, than overthrown, *Creighton*, turn'd the rest of his fury upon the *Levingstons*. But before I come to that Part of my History, I will touch upon the Slaughter of some of these Noble Persons, (for 'twould be infinite to name the *Deaths* of all,) who were put to Death in those Days.

July 15.

Creighton received into Favour, and is made Chancellor again.

James Stuart, a Noble Knight, was slain by *Alexander Lisle*, and *Robert Boyd*, at *Kirk-Patrick*, about Two Miles from *Dunbarton*; neither was their Cruelty satisfy'd with his Death, but they endeavour'd to get his Wife also, who was then great with Child, and almost ready to lye down, into their Power; In order whereto, they sent a Priest to her, as in great haste, to tell her, That all the Roads were full of Horse and Foot, and that there was no Way for her to escape the present Danger, but to go a Shipboard, and fly to *Robert Boyd* at *Dunbarton*, who had solemnly promis'd to return her safe home;

Deadly Fewds betwixt particular Persons and Families.

home; The credulous Woman, who did not know, that *Robert* was preſent at the perpetration of the Murder, being carried from *Cardros* into the Caſtle, perceiving, that She was circumvented by the Fraud of her Enemies, being overcome by the Greatneſs of her Grief, Fear, and Indignation, brought forth an Abortive Birth, which, with the Mother, Dyed a few hours after.

An Abby in *Lennox*.

About the ſame time, *Patrick Hepburn*, Earl of *Hales*, kept the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, and had with him *Joan* the Wife of *James* the I. who in thoſe tumultuous times, had fled thither for refuge; *Archibald Dunbar*, thinking this to be a juſt Cauſe for a Quarrel, ſet upon *Hales*, *Hepburn*'s Caſtle, in the Night, kill'd the Gariſon Soldiers on the Firſt Onſet, and took it; yet, in a few Hours, for fear, he gave it up to the Earl of *Douglas*, upon condition, That He and His ſhould march ſafely off. Not long after, Queen *Joan* Dyed, leaving theſe Children by her later Husband, *John* Earl of *Athole*, *James* Earl of *Buchan*, and *Andrew*, afterwards Biſhop of *Murray*. After She was Dead, *Hepburn* deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, un-Gariſon'd, and empty, to the King.

A Caſtle ſtanding upon *Tine*, near *Hardington*.

In *Angus*, *Alexander*, Earl of *Craford*, put *John Lyons* to death in the Market-place at *Dundee*, becauſe he had been rais'd up to great Wealth, and Honour, even to a Match in the Royal Family, by his Father; yet he prov'd ungrateful, and forgot the Courteſies he had received.

Amidſt theſe Diſcords, the Men of *Annandale* did vex the adjoyning Countries with all ſorts of Calamities. The Cauſe of all theſe Miſchiefs was caſt upon the Earl of *Douglas*, who yet did all he could to conceal theſe Facts of his *Clans*, for he openly Studied nothing more than to afflict the Men of different Parties, in regard, he was grown to that height of Power, that 'twas a Capital Offence to queſtion any of his Doings. He caus'd *James Stuart* the King's Uncle to fly the Land, becauſe he ſpoke ſomething freely concerning the State of the Kingdom, but his Ship being taken by the *Flemings*, he liv'd not long after.

Now, he thought, it was high time to attempt the *Levingſtons*, whereupon, he caus'd *Alexander*, the Head of the Family, and his Son *James*, and alſo *Robert* the King's Treaſurer, and *David*, to be ſummon'd to an Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*; and, of his Friends, *Robert Bruce*, *James* and *Robert Dundaſſes*; of theſe, *Alexander*, and the Two *Dundaſſes*, were ſent back to priſon to *Dunbarton*; the reſt were put to Death; of what Crime they were guilty, meriting ſo great a Puniſhment, the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times do not mention, neither will I interpoſe my own Conjectures, in a buſineſs ſo remote from our Memory; only I will relate what I have heard, That *James Levingſton*, when he came to the place of Execution, complain'd heavily, and expreſly, of the Inconſtancy of Fortune. 'That his Father, 'who was Honour'd with a Power next to the Kings, did yet freely 'give up the invidious Title of Regent, and went to his own Eſtate 'far from Court, and out of his Enemies ſight, whoſe Cruelty was 'never ſatiated with his Miſeries, and therefore he was forc'd to take 'Arms to preſerve his Life, which he again laid down at the Kings 'Command; if there were any fault, in that; he had long ago ob-

Douglas attempts the *Levingſtons*, of whom, *James* is put to Death. &c.

'tain'd his Pardon; and since that time, he had liv'd remote, and 'free from all suspicion of any Crime, of which, this was an evident Token, That the Nobility thought them innocent, and did solicitously deprecate their Punishments, and yet notwithstanding, the severe 'Cruelty of their Enemies prevailed more, than the former Demerits 'and good Offices of their Family; or, than the Kings Pardon ob-'tain'd, or, than the interceding Supplications of the Nobility. And 'therefore he intreated all, who were there present, to look upon 'those lofty Titles of Empire and Dominion, to be nothing else but 'the Glosing Complements of Fortune, who then intended to do most 'Mischief; and that they were rather flowry Embelishments for ones 'Funeral, than Safeguards to a Man's Life; especially since Bad men 'can always do more to destroy the Good, than the Consent of the 'Good can do to save them. And having thus spoken, to the great grief of all the Spectators, he submitted his Neck to the Executioner.

Creighton sent Embassador to *France*.

Amidst these Combustions, *Creighton* was sent into *France*, partly to renew the Ancient League, and partly to obtain from thence a Royal Bride; *Douglas* took his Absence very well, tho' in an Honourable Employment, because, tho' he was a prudent and potent person, yet, out of the Relicks of their former discords, he was not over-fond of him. In this troublesome state of the Kingdom, the same Disease which vext others, did also infect the Ecclesiastical Order: *James Cameron*, Bishop of *Glasco*, had, himself, committed many acts of Cruelty and Avarice, upon the Husbandmen of his Dioceſs, (which was very large) and he had also given Encouragement to Those who were in power, to do the like, that so, when the Owners were unjustly condemn'd, their Estates might be Confiscated to him; so that, he was believ'd to be the Author, or the Favourer, of all the Mischiefs which were acted abroad. 'Tis reported, that the Man came to an End worthy of his wicked Life; The Day before the Nativity of *Christ*, as he was asleep in a Farm of his own, about 7 Miles from *Glasco*, he seem'd to hear a loud Voice calling him to the Tribunal of *Christ*, to plead his Cause. That sudden Fright wakened him out of his Sleep, he call'd up his Servants to bring a Candle, and sit down by him; he took a Book in his hand, and began to read, but presently the same Voice was heard louder than before, which struck all, there present, into a Great horror. Afterwards, when it sounded again more terribly and frightfully, than before, The Bishop gave a great groan, put out his Tongue, and was found Dead in his Bed. This so evident an Example of God's Vengeance, as I shall not rashly credit, so I have no mind to refute; yet, it being deliver'd by others, and constantly affirmed to be true, I thought good not to omit it.

The Bishop of *Glasco* frightned by a Voice from Heaven for his wicked Life, which does him to Death.

James Kennedy retires from a Corrupt Court.

At the same time, *James Kennedy*, One of a far different Life and Manners, as referring all his Counsels to the Good of the Publick; when, neither by his Authority, nor Counsel, he could resist the daily new-springing Evils of his Country; and seeing likewise, That the Kings Power was not able to oppose the Conspiracies of Wicked men, he left all his Estate for a Prey, and shifted for himself. Neither, in these Domestick Miseries, were Matters much quieter abroad; When the Truce made with the *English* was expir'd, the *Scots* made

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an Inrode into *England*, and the *Engliſh* into *Scotland*; and where-ever they went, they waſted all with Fire and Sword; in *England*, *Alnwick* was taken and burnt by *James*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglas*: In *Scotland*, the Earl of *Salisbury* did the like to *Dumfreiz*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* to *Dunbar*; great Booties of Men and Cattel were driven away, on Both ſides. But the Commanders agreed amongſt themſelves, that the Priſoners ſhould be exchang'd, for they were in a manner equal, both for Number and Degree. By theſe Incurſions, the Country was depopulated, and yet the main chance of the War not concerned; ſo that a Truce was again accorded for 7 Years.

Mutual Incurſions between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*.

In this ſtate of Affairs, *James Dunbar*, Earl of *Murray*, departed this Life, he left two Daughters his Heireſſes, the Eldeſt of them was Marry'd, by her Father before his Death, to *James Creighton*; The Younger, after her Fathers deceaſe, marry'd *Archibald*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglas*. He, againſt the Laws and the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, was called Earl of *Murray*; ſo ſuperlative was *Douglas*'s Power then at Court; neither was he contented with this Acceſſion of Honour; but, that he might further propagate the Dignity of his Family, he caus'd his Brother *George* to be made Earl of *Ormond*; his Brother *John* had many fair and fruitful Farms and Lands beſtowed upon him, and was alſo made Baron of *Balvany*, againſt the mind of many of his Friends, who had in Suſpicion the Power of that Family, too great before, that it would be at laſt formidable, even to the King himſelf; yea, they imagined that theſe immoderate Acceſſions & Frolicks of Fortune would not be long-lived. But his Enemies did, as invidiouſly as they could, inveigh againſt This unſatiable Ambition; 'for 'who (ſay they,) could ſafely live under the Exorbitant rule of ſuch 'a Tyrant, for whoſe Avarice nothing was enough, and againſt 'whoſe Power there was no Safeguard; who, right or wrong, in-'vaded the Patrimony of the Nobles, and expos'd the Countrymen 'to be a Prey to his Tenants; and thoſe who oppos'd his Luſt, he 'caus'd them, by Thieves and Cut-Throats, either to loſe all they had, 'or elſe to be put to death; that he advanced Upſtarts to high Ho-'nours, whom he grafted on the ruin of Noble Families; ſo that, all 'the Power of the Kingdom was now brought into one Houſe; be-'ſides many Knights and Barons, there were five Opulent Earls of 'the Family, inſomuch that the King himſelf did but Reign preca-'rioufly, and men were like to ſuffer all Extremities under the Cruel 'Bondage of the *Douglas*'s, and he that utter'd the leaſt word tending 'to Liberty, muſt pay his Life for his Boldneſs. Theſe, and other diſcourſes of this kind, ſome true, others to create greater Envy, ſtretcht beyond the Lines of Truth, were ſpread abroad amongſt the Vulgar; which made Thoſe, who were of neither Faction, to ſit looſe from the Care of the Publick, and every one to mind his own private Concerns: The wiſer ſort of his Enemies were glad to hear, that a man of ſuch Power, againſt which there was no making Head, ſhould thus voluntarily run headlong to his own Deſtruction. Neither did they preſage amiſs, for his Mind was grown ſo proud and inſolent, by reaſon of his Great Succeſſes, that he ſhut his Ears againſt the free Advices of his Friends; yea, many could not,

Dunbar, E. of *Murray* Dies, and *Archibald Douglas* ſucceeds him.

A Barony lying on the River *Spey*.

The immoderate Power of the *Douglas*'s, expoſes them to Envy.

Pride goes before Deſtruction.

not, with any safety, dissemble and cover, by their silence, what they did dislike, because he had Parasites, which did not only lie at catch for Words, but observ'd mens very Countenances; As for his old Enemies, many of them were hal'd to Judgment, before him, who was both their Adversary and Judge too, so that some of them were outed of their Estates, some depriv'd of their Lives, and others, to avoid his unrighteous and partial Judgment, fled out of their Country.

The Miserable Estate of the Commons under Douglas.

The men also of *Douglas*'s Faction lived in no Fear, at all, of the Law, (for no man durst implead them) but letting the Reins loose to all Licentiousness, they invaded and made havock of things Sacred, as well as Profane; Those which were obnoxious to them they slew, and kill'd out of the way, neither was there any End of their Wickedness; sometimes, when they had no sufficient Cause to do a man a Mischief, they then did it unprovok'd, and gratuitously, as it were, lest thro' disuse of offending any honest and tender Thoughts should arise in their Minds, so as to allay their Brutish Cruelty; Every one thought himself the noblest and bravest Fellow, that could cast the greatest Contumely on the Commons. When such great Miseries were diffus'd into so many Parts of the Kingdom, *Scotland* had certainly sunk under the Burden, unless *England*, at the same time, had been as much embarassed with civil Combustions; which, at last, being somewhat allay'd, the *English* violated their Truce and invaded *Scotland*; When they had run over a great Circuit of Ground, and pillaged many Villages; They drove away a Vast Number of Cattle, and return'd home; neither was it long before the *Scots* cry'd quits with them; for they also entred *England* with a good Force, and did the Enemy more Damage than they receiv'd. Thus, the Minds of Both were irritated by these alternate Plunderings, so that a mighty Desolation was made in the Territories of either Kingdom; but the greatest share of the Calamity fell upon *Cumberland*, which had been the Rise of the Injury and Wrong, for that Province was so harassed by the War, that it was almost quite destroy'd. When this was related at *London*, it occasion'd the *English* to levy a far greater Army against the *Scots*, for thereby, they thought easily to reduce the Country into their Power, they being poor, and also weakned by Civil Discords. Hereupon an Army was rais'd of the Better sort of People, and the Earl of *Northumberland* made their General, in regard he knew the Country well; and besides, his Name and Power was great, in those Parts. To him they joyn'd one *Main*, of a Knightly Family, but who had long serv'd in *France*, and was commended for his Industry and Valour. 'Tis said, that he, out of his Mortal hatred against the *Scots*, had bargain'd with the King of *England*, that what Lands he took from the *Scots*, either by killing, or driving away, the Inhabitants, he, and his Posterity after him, should enjoy. On the other side, the *Scots*, hearing of the Preparation of their Enemies, were not negligent in gathering Forces, on their Part. *George Dunbar*, Earl of *Ormond*, was made Captain General, who presently marcht into *Annandale*, whither his Intelligence inform'd him, that the Enemy would come. And indeed, the *English* had prevented him, and entred *Scotland* before. They had

Mutual Incursions betwixt the *Scots* and *English*.

past

paſt over the Rivers *Solway* and *Annand*, and pitch'd their Tents by the River *Sarc*, from whence they ſent out Parties on every ſide, to pillage; but hearing of the coming of the *Scots*, they recall'd them all, by Sound of Trumpet, and contracted all their Force into One Body. As ſoon as ever they came in ſight one of another, they fell to it without delay, *Main* commanded the Left Wing of the *Engliſh*, and *John Penington*, the Right, he had the *Welſh*, the Relicks of the Ancient *Britains*, for his Aſſiſtants, the Earl himſelf commanded the Main Battel. *George Douglas* appointed *Walter*, Laird of *Craig*, to fight *Main*; and *Maxwel* and *Johnſton*, each with their Troops to attack *Penington*; he himſelf took Care of the Main Body, he gave them a ſhort Exhortation, to conceive a good Hope of Victory, becauſe they had taken up Arms in their own Defence, as provoked by the Injuries of their Enemies; and that a proſperous Iſſue muſt needs attend ſo juſt a Cauſe; and if they could abate the Pride of their Enemy, by ſome Notable overthrow, they would reap a laſting Fruit of their ſhort Labour: The *Engliſh*, who abounded in the number of Archers, wounded many of the *Scots*, with their Darts, at a diſtance: Whereupon *Wallace*, who commanded the Left Wing, cryed out aloud, ſo as to be heard of moſt of his men, *Why they ariſled ſo, and Skirmiſh'd at a diſtance, they ſhould follow him, and ruſh in, upon the Enemy, hand to hand, and then their Valour would truly appear, for that was the Fighting, fit for Men.* Having thus ſpoken, he drew the whole Wing after him; And preſently with their long Spears, wherewith the *Scots*, both Foot and Horſe, were furniſh'd, they drove the Enemy back, routed, and put them to Flight; *Main* perceiving his Wing to give back, being more mindful of the juſt Glory of his former Life, than of his preſent Danger, ruſhes, with great Violence, upon *Wallace*, that ſo, by his Boldneſs, he might either renew the Fight; or elſe, breath out his laſt, in the Glory of ſome Illuſtrious Attempt; but unwarily Charging, he was intercepted from his own Men, and, with thoſe few that follow'd him, was ſlain. When Both Armies heard, that he was ſlain, the *Scots* preſt on more chearfully, ſo that the *Engliſh* Army did not ſtand long; as they fled home ſtraggingly and in great haſte, more were ſlain in the Purſuit than Fight; but the chiefeſt Slaughter was upon the Banks of the *Solway*; for there the Tide had ſwollen up the River, ſo that they could not paſs. About 3000 of the *Engliſh* were ſlain in this Fight, and 600 of the *Scots*. There were many Priſoners taken, the Chief were *John Penington* and *Robert Huntington*. The Earl of *Northumberland*'s Son might have eſcap'd, but, whilſt he was helping his Father to Horſe, he himſelf was taken Priſoner. The Booty was greater than had been ever known, in any Battel betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, before. For the *Engliſh*, truſting to the Number and Goodneſs of their Soldiers, and depending alſo on the diſcord of the *Scots*, came on ſo ſecurely, as if it had been to a *Shew*, not to a *Fight*; ſo great was their Confidence and Undervaluing of their Enemy: *Wallace* was wounded, carried home in a Litter, and in 3 Months after died of his Wounds.

Or *Sark*.

The *Engliſh* overthrown by the *Scots*.

Ormond

Ormond, being thus a Conqueror, took a view of the Prisoners, the chief Commanders he sent Prisoners to the Castle in *Loch Maban*, he himself return'd to Court, where every Body went out to meet him, and he was received with all kind of Honour. The King did highly extol his Military Services, but withal, advis'd him and his Brother, That as they had often given a Proof of their Courage abroad, and had defended the State of *Scotland*, by their Labour and Valour, even in Perillous Times; so, at home, that they would accustom themselves to a modest Deportment, and that they themselves should refrain from Injuring the Poorer sort; and also, inhibit their *Clans* from doing it; and that they should shew their Puissance and Grandeur, which their Ancestors had obtain'd by their many Merits, both of King and Subjects, rather in restraining of Robbers, than in cherishing them; that This was the only thing which was wanting to compleat their Praise, and make it absolute; and if they would do this thing, they should certainly find, that he would esteem the Honour of the *Douglas*'s, and their Family, before any thing else whatsoever. They answer'd the King submissively, and so took their leave, and went joyfully home.

A Truce between the *Scots* and *English*.

After this Fight at *Sarc*, as the Borders of *Scotland* were quieter from the wrongs of their Enemies; so, when the matter was reported at *London*, it did rather irritate the *English*, than deject them: For, a Council being call'd about a War with *Scotland*, a new Army was order'd to be rais'd, to blot out the former Ignominy. Whilst they were all intent hereupon, presently Civil Wars arose amongst themselves, and a strong Conspiracy of the Commons, made against the King, took off their Thoughts from a Foreign War; so that Embassadors were sent into *Scotland*, to treat of a Peace, which were so much the more welcome, because their own Affairs were not well settled at home. Yet they could not well agree on Terms of Peace, but only made a Truce for Three Years, and so returned home: These things were acted in the Year of Our *Lord* One Thousand Four Hundred Forty Eight.

James Married to *Mary* of *Gelderland*.

This Publick Joy was soon after increast by a Message, sent out of *Flanders*, from the Chancellor, who went Ambassador to *Charles* the Seventh, about contracting a Marriage. By his endeavours, *Mary* the Daughter of *Arnold*, Duke of *Gelderland*, was betroth'd to *James*; she was of the Kingly Race by her Mothers side, who was a Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Year after, she came with a great Train of Noble Persons into *Scotland*, and, in *July*, was Crowned in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-House*, near *Edinburgh*.

This Universal Joy, for the Victory, for the Peace, and for the Marriage, was soon disturbed by the Death of *Richard Colvil*, a Man of Note; which, though perhaps, in it self, not undeserv'd, yet was of very bad Example to the Common-Wealth. This *Colvil* having receiv'd many and great wrongs, from one *John Affleck*, a Friend of *Douglas*'s; and, after many complaints, could get no Remedy in Law nor Equity, he fought with and slew him, and some of his Followers. *Douglas* took the Fact so hainously, that he made a Solemn Oath never to rest, till he had expiated the Murder by *Colvil*'s Death: Neither were his Threatnings in vain, for he Storm'd his Castle,

Colvil put to Death by *Douglas*.

ſtle, took and plunder'd it, and killed all therein, that were able to bear Arms. This Fact, though 'twas performed againſt Law and Cuſtom, yet ſome did excuſe, and, in effect, commend, as proceeding from Indignation, a Paſſion not unbeſeeming a Generous Mind. Thus, as it commonly happens in degenerate Times, *Flattery, the perpetual Companion of Greatneſs, did clothe the higheſt Offences with Honeſt and Plauſible Names.* Moreover, *Douglas* was ſo lifted up with the Flatteries of Fortune, which did now incline to his Deſtruction, that he had a great Ambition to make an Oſtentation of his Power, even to Foreign Nations; as if the ſplendor of ſo great a Family ought not to be ſtraitned within the narrow Theatre of one Iſland only; ſo that he had a Mind to go to *Rome*; he pretended Religion, but the principal deſign of his Journy, was, Ambition; the Church of *Rome* had adopted the old Rites of the *Jewiſh*; for, as the *Jewiſh* Church, every Fiftieth year, was to forgive all the Debts of what kind ſoever, to their Country Men, and to reſtore all Pledges, *Gratis*; and alſo to ſet their *Hebrew* Servants at Liberty: So the *Pope*, taking an Example therefrom, as *Gods Vicar* on Earth, did arrogate the Power of forgiving all Offences. For, whereas at other times he trucked out his Pardons by Peice-Meal; every Fiftieth Year, he open'd his full Garners thereof, and pour'd out whole Buſhels full of them publickly to all; yet, I will not ſay *Gratis*.

Douglas goes vain-gloriouſly in a year of Jubilee to Rome.

Douglas, with a great Train of Nobles, who were deſirous, partly to ſee Novelties, and partly allur'd by hopes of Reward, ſail'd over into *Flanders*. From thence he Travelled by Land to *Paris*, and took with him his Brother, appointed Biſhop of *Caledonia*; who, afterwards, ſeeing *Douglas* had no Children, was, by the Kings Permiſſion, put in hopes to be his Heir. In *France*, he was highly careſſed, partly upon the account of their Publick League with the *Scots*, and partly in Memory of his Anceſtors Demerits, from that Crown; hereupon all *Rome* was filled with the Expectation of his coming.

About Two Months after his departure from *Scotland*, his Enemies and Rivals began to lift up their Heads; they durſt not, for Fear, complain of him, when he was preſent; but now they laid open all the Injuries they had received from him. And when it was once noiſed abroad, that the Acceſs to the King was eaſie, and that his Ear was open to all juſt Complaints. The Troop of Complainants, lamenting their Sufferings, did daily increaſe, ſo that all the ways to the Palace were almoſt ſtopt by them. The King could not well either reject the Petitions of the Sufferers, nor yet condemn the Earl, in his abſence, without hearing of him; ſo that he gave a middle Anſwer, which ſatisfi'd their Importunity for the preſent, *viz. That he would Command the Earls Proctor, or Attorney, to appear; that ſo, in his own Preſence, a fair Tryal might be had.* Whereupon, the Proctor was ſummon'd, but did not appear, ſo that the Kings Officers were ſent out to bring him in by force; when he was brought to Court, ſome alledged, that he ought to be immediately puniſht for diſobeying the Kings Command; in regard, that, by too much Patience, the Kings Authority would be deſpis'd and run low, even amongſt the meaner ſort; for, under the pretence of Lenity,

In his abſence, his Enemies ſue him, and obtain Damages for wrongs received.

the Audaciousness of the Bad would increase, and the Impunity of Offendors would open the way for more Crimes. The King was not mov'd by those Instigations, but remain'd constant to his Resolution, which was, rather to satisfie his greatest Accusers, by the Compensation of their Losses, than to satiate their Vindicative Minds, with the spilling of his Blood. Hereupon he caus'd the Earls Proctor to be brought out of Prison, and to plead in his Masters behalf, telling him, That *if he had any thing to allege in Purgation of the Crimes objected, he should freely declare it, without any fear at all.* When he was cast in many Suits, and the King Commanded him immediately to pay the Damages; The Proctor answer'd, *He would defer the whole matter, till the return of the Earl, who was expected in a few Months.* This he spake, as 'twas thought, by the advice of *Ormond* and *Murray*, the Earl's Brothers: When the King was inform'd of his Resolution, he sent *William Sinclare*, Earl of the *Orcades*, who was then Chancellor, first into *Galway*, and then into *Douglasdale*; he appointed Sequestrators to gather up the Rents of *Douglas*'s Estate, and so to pay the Damages adjudg'd by Law. But in regard, *Sinclare* had not Power enough to inforce his Order, some eluded, others Contumeliously abus'd him, so that he return'd without effecting his Business.

Which are answered out of his Estate.

The King, being provokt by this Contempt of his Authority, Commands all the Favourers of *Douglas* his Faction to be Summon'd to appear, which they refusing to do, were declared Publick Enemies; an Army was Levy'd against them, which marcht into *Galway*. At their first coming, the Commanders were driven into their Castles, but a small Party of the Kings Forces, pursuing after the rest through Craggy Places, were repuls'd, and not without Ignominy driven back to the King. The King, taking it in great Indignation, that a few Vagabond Thieves should dare to make such Attempts, resolv'd to redeem their slighting of him, by attempting their Strongs Holds; he took the Castle of *Maban*, with no great difficulty; but his Soldiers were so much toil'd and weary'd in the taking of *Douglas Castle*, that therefore he wholly demolisht it. As for the Vassals and Tenants who had submitted themselves, and their Fortunes to him, he Commanded them to pay their Rents to his Treasurers, till *Douglas*'s Estate had fully satisfi'd what was awarded against him by Law. And when this was almost done, he dismist his Army, having obtain'd a good Report for his Lenity and Moderation, even amongst his very Enemies.

When these Matters were related to the Earl at *Rome*, his great Spirit was mightily mov'd; yea, his Esteem did then abate amongst his own Attendants, so that a great Part of them deserted him, and he enter'd upon his Journy homewards, with but a few Followers. He came through *England*, and drawing near to the Borders of *Scotland*, he sent his Brother *James*, to feel the Kings Pulse, how he stood affected towards him. And when the King was appeasable, he return'd home, and was kindly receiv'd, only he was admonisht to abandon and subdue all Robbers, especially those of *Annandale*, who had plaid many Cruel and Avaritious Pranks in his absence; *Douglas* undertook to do so, and confirm'd his Promise by an Oath.

Douglas at his return from *Rome*, received into Favour.

Whereupon,

Whereupon, he was not only reſtor'd into his former Grace and Favour, but alſo made Regent over all *Scotland*, ſo that every one was injoin'd to obey his Commands. And made *Regent*.

But his vaſt Mind, which was always hankering after Supremacy and Height, was not content with this Honour, which was the greateſt he could be advanced to, under the King; but, by his Temerity, he gave the State new Occaſions of Suſpicion: For he undertook a Journy, very privately, into *England*, and after his Addreſs to that King, he told him, that the cauſe of his coming was, That *his Eſtate, though Claimed by him, was not yet reſtor'd.* But this ſeem'd to *James*, a light, and no way probable, cauſe of his Journey; and therefore the King conceiv'd a greater Suſpicion in his Mind, which before was not well Reconcil'd, againſt him; neither did he conceal his Anger, as ſuppoſing that there was a deeper Deſign hid under that his Diſcourſe with the Engliſh King; *Douglas*, having now an offended King to deal with, fled preſently to his wonted Refuge, the Kings known Clemency, and caſt himſelf at his Feet. The Queen alſo, and many of the Nobles, intereeded for him; and after a Solemn Oath, that, for the future, he would never act any thing which might juſtly offend the King, his Fault was forgiven; only he was deprived of his Office. Whereupon the Earl of the *Orcades*, and *William Creighton*, who had always remained Loyal, were advanc'd again, to ſit at the Helm. *Douglas* gives *James* new occaſion of Suſpicion.

Douglas was very angry with all the Courtiers for this Diſgrace, (for ſo he interpreted it) but he was moſt of all incens'd againſt *William Creighton*, for, he thought, that 'twas by his Prudence, that all his Projects were diſappointed, and therefore he was reſolv'd to diſpatch him out of the World, either by ſome Treachery; or, if that ſucceeded not, by any other way, whatſoever. And that he might do it with the leſs *Odium*, he ſuborn'd one of his Friends to Witneſs, that he heard *Creighton* ſay, *That* Scotland *would never be at quiet, ſo long as any of the Family of the* Douglas's *were left alive; and that the ſafety of the King and Kingdom, the Concord of the Eſtates, and the Publick Peace, did depend upon the Death of that one Man: For, he being of a Turbulent Nature, and ſupported by many and great Affinities, and Irreconcileable by any Offices of Reſpect, and Advancements to Honour; 'twere better to have him taken out of the way, that ſo the publick Peace might be confirm'd and ſettled.* This Tale, when noiſ'd abroad, and believed by many, by reaſon of the Probability thereof, rais'd up a great deal of Ill-Will againſt *Creighton*. *Douglas*, being inform'd by his Spies, when he was to depart from *Edinburgh*, lays an Ambuſh for him, late in the Night, as ſecretly as he could; and when he and his Train came to it, the liers in wait ſet upon them with a great ſhout; they, who were firſt aſſaulted, were ſo aſtoniſht at the ſuddenneſs of the Danger, that they could not lift up an Hand to defend themſelves. But *William*, being a Man of great Courage and Conduct, aſſoon as he had a little recover'd himſelf from his Fright, ſlew the firſt Man that Aſſaulted him, and Wounded another; and ſo he, and his Attendants, brake through the midſt of their Enemies, having only received ſome Wounds. He fled to *Creighton* Caſtle, and there ſtaid ſome days, to cure his Wounds; and ſoon after, he got a *Douglas* deſign againſt *Creighton's* Life. *Creighton* defends himſelf againſt his Ambuſh.

Douglas joyns with *Craford* and *Ross*.

great Number of his Friends and Tenants about him; and in great silence came to *Edinburgh*: His speed did so prevent the Noise of his coming, that he had almost surpriz'd his Enemy unawares.

Douglas, being thus freed from an unlook'd for Danger, either out of Fear, Shame, or Both, when he saw the Power of the Adverse Faction to increase with the good liking of the People, endeavour'd also to strengthen his own Party, as much as ever he could, and therefore he joins himself in League with the Earls of *Craford* and *Ross*, which were the most Noted and Potent Families in *Scotland*, next to the *Douglas*'s; a mutual Oath was entred into betwixt them; *That each of them should be aiding and assisting to the Friends, and Confederates, one of another.* And, in Confidence of this Combination, they slighted the Forces of their opposite Faction; yea, and the Kings, too. The King took this in great Indignation; and besides, he had other fresh Causes of Provocation against him, which hastned his Destruction. *John Herris*, a Knight, of a Noble Family in *Galway*, being averse from the ill Practices of the *Douglas*'s, ordinarily kept himself within the Walls of his own House; but the *Annandians* were sent in upon him, which did him much mischief; he often complain'd hereof to *Douglas*, but in vain; so that, at length, he determin'd to revenge himself, and to repel Force by Force. And accordingly, he gather'd a Company of his Friends together; and, entring *Annandale*, he, and all his Followers, were there taken Prisoners by those *Bandity*, and being brought to *Douglas*, he hang'd him up as a Thief; though the King had earnestly interceded for him, by his Letters. That matter seem'd very hainous, as indeed it was; so that Speeches were given out, *That* Douglas, *by evil Practices, did endeavour, and that not obscurely, to make his Way to the Crown; for now there was nothing else remaining, which could satisfie his vast and aspiring Mind*; Which Suspicion was soon after increast by another Fact, which he committed, as foul, as the former. There was a certain Family of the *Macklan*'s in *Galway*, one of the best and chiefest, there: The prime Person of that Family had slain one of *Douglas* his Attendants, from whom he had received continual Wrongs and Affronts, whereupon, he and his Brother were, by *Douglas*, cast into Prison: The King being made acquainted with it, was very much importun'd by the Friends of the Prisoners, not to suffer so Noble, and otherwise a very honest Man, to be hal'd forth, not to a Legal Tryal, but to an undoubted Destruction, the same Man being both his Capital Enemy and his Judge too; and that it was not his present Crimes, which did prejudice him so much, as that he had always been of the Honest or Royal Party. Hereupon, the King sent *Patrick Gray*, *Macklan*'s Uncle, a worthy Knight, and Kin also to *Douglas*, to Command him to send the Pris'ner to Court, that the Matter might be Tryed there, in due course of Law. The Earl receiv'd *Gray* very courteously, but, in the mean time, he caused Execution to be done upon the Pris'ner, and intreated *Gray* to excuse him to the King, as if it had been done by his Officers, without his Knowledge: But he, perceiving how manifestly he was deluded, was in such a Rage, that he told *Douglas*, That from that Day forward, he would renounce all Alliance, Friendship, or any other Obligation to him, and

He provokes the King,

In the Case of *Herris*,

And *Macklan*.

was resolv'd to be his perpetual Enemy, and do him all the Mischief he could; when the news hereof was brought to Court, the Fact seem'd so unworthy to all that heard it, that Speeches were openly scatter'd, That now *Douglas* did exceed the bounds of a Subject, and plainly carry'd himself as a King; For, to what other purpose else did his Combinations with the Earls of *Craford*, *Ross*, *Murray*, and *Ormond* tend? And moreover, his private Discourse with the King of *England*, his putting Good Men to Death, and his allow'd Licentiousness in pillaging the People, were Indications of the same Design: Now, Innocency was accounted Cowardize, and Loyalty to the King punish'd as Perfidiousness; that the Enemys of the Common-wealth grew insolent, by the overmuch Indulgence of the King; That 'twas time for him now to take the Reins of Government into his own Hand, and to act as a King, himself; and then it would appear, who were his Friends, and who were his Enemies; or, if he did not dare to do it openly, by reason of the Powerfulness of some Men; yet, by some private way or other, he should punish Treachery; but, if he were so fearful, as not to do so, neither; what remain'd, but that they, who had hitherto been constant in their Loyalty to him, should now at length provide for themselves? These Discourses, tho the Life of the *Douglas*'s, and the Credulity of the King, (prone to Suspicion) did confirm to be true: Yet the King, out of his innate Clemency, or else, having, before, laid his Design, sends for *Douglas* to Court; He, being conscious of so many mischievous pranks he had plaid, and calling to remembrance, how often he had been pardon'd; and withal, understanding, how distastful his new League with *Craford* was to the King, tho' he put great confidence in the King's Clemency; yet, being more inclin'd to Fear, refus'd to come; alleging, that he had many powerful Enemies at Court, and some of them had lately lain in wait to take away his Life. Hereupon, to remove this his Fear, many of the Nobles about the King sent him a Schedule with their Hands and Seals to it, promising upon Oath, that if the King himself should meditate any thing against his Life, yet they would dismiss him in safety; so that *Douglas*, encourag'd by the King's Clemency, and by the Publick Faith, testify'd by the Subscriptions of so many Noble Persons, with a Train of Followers came to *Sterlin*, where he was courteously Treated by the King, and invited into the Castle. After Supper, with great hilarity, was ended, the King took him aside into his Bed-chamber, with but a few of his Confidents, he did not so much as admit Those, to whom he was wont to communicate his most secret Counsels. There, he ript up, from the very beginning, the Loyalty and Valour of his Ancestors, and his own Indulgence towards their Family; and especially towards himself; who, having committed many hainous Offences, either by the Greenness of his Years, or by the Persuasions of wicked Men, he had freely pardon'd; always hoping, that either by his courteous Clemency toward him, or else by the Maturity of his Age he would be Reform'd; and as yet, says he, I despair not, but it may be so; and, if you repent of what you have impiously committed, the door of my Clemency shall never be shut against you. This last League (proceeded he) with *Craford* and *Ross*, as it is not Creditable for you;

Douglas, on safe Conduct, comes to Court.

you; ſo it is ignominious to me, and therefore, tho' I take it much amiſs, that you entred into it, yet I put it into your Power, and, as yet give you liberty to cancel and break it off; which tho', by my Prerogative, I may command, yet I had rather, by fair means, perſuade you ſo to do; that ſeeing all Mens Eyes are upon you, you may avert all cauſe of Suſpicion with greater Diligence: *Douglas* anſwer'd ſubmiſſively enough to all other Points; but when he came to the Mention of the League, he was ſomewhat perplext, and did not clearly declare, what he would do; but that he would adviſe with his Aſſociats, neither did he ſee any Cauſe, why the King at preſent ſhould tye him to a Breach of it, ſeeing there was nothing contain'd therein, which might juſtly offend him. The King, either having reſolv'd upon the Fact before, or e ſe provok'd by his contumacious Anſwer (as the Courtiers ſay) replyed, *If thou wilt not break it, I will*; *and immediately ſtruck his Dagger into his Breaſt.* Thoſe that ſtood at the Door, hearing the Noiſe, ruſht in, and deſtroy'd him quite with many Wounds; Some ſay, that next after the King, *Patrick Grey*, of whom mention was made before, ſtruck him into the Head with a Bill; and the reſt that came in, to ſhew their Duty to the King, every one gave him a Blow. He was ſlain in the Month of *February*, in the Year 1452. according to the *Roman* Account.

Where the King Stabs him with his own Hand.

He had then 4 Brothers in *Sterlin*, whom a great number of the Nobility had accompany'd thither; they, as ſoon as ever they heard of what was done, ran in great amazement to their Arms (as in ſuch ſuddain Hurly-burlies it uſes to happen,) and filled the Town with Noiſe and Clamour; but when the Tumult was appeas'd by the Nobles, they were Commanded to go, each Man to his reſpective Lodging. The next Day they met to conſult, and Firſt of all, *James* was call'd Earl, in the room of his Brother, who was ſlain; he mightily inveigh'd againſt the Perfidiouſneſs of the King and the Courtiers, and adviſes to Beſiege the Caſtle with what Force they then had, and with all ſpeed, to Levy more; and ſo to pull out thoſe Men out of their lurking holes, who were valiant only to commit perfidious Miſchiefs, whilſt they were yet in ſome Fear and Trepidation for the Guilt of their Offence. The Company commended the Piety of *James*, and the Couragiouſneſs of his Spirit, but were averſe from his advice to a Siege, becauſe they were not prepar'd with any Materials for ſo great an Enterprize; ſo that they all departed home, and after Conſultation with the Chief of their Friends, the 6th of the *Calends* of *April*, they return'd again, and tyed a Cord to an Horſe Tail, on which they faſtned the Schedule of the King and Nobles, promiſing the Publick Faith to *Douglas* for his Security; This they drew through the Streets, abſtaining from no manner of Reproach, either againſt the King or Council; when they came to the Market-place, they Proclaim'd the King, and Thoſe that were with him, *Truce-breakers*, *Perjur'd Perſons*, *and Enemies to all Good Men.* Moreover, they were angry with the Town, tho' that had committed no Offence, and after they had pillaged it, they ſent *James Hamilton* back to Burn it; yea, their Fury continued for ſome Days, ſo that they rang'd all over the Country, and made Havock

March 27.

Whereupon, the reſt of the *Douglaſſes* riſe in Arms.

of

of the Lands of all thoſe, who were Loyal to the King; they beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Dalkeith*, and took an Oath not to depart from it, till they had taken it; for they were very Angry with *John*, the Owner of it, becauſe he, and the Earl of *Angus*, had ſeparated themſelves from the Counſels of the reſt of the *Douglaſſes*; The Siege laſted longer than they expected, for *Patrick Cockburn*, Commander of the Gariſon, made a ſtrenuous Reſiſtance againſt all the Efforts of the Enemy; So that, after they had loſt a great many men, they were worn out with Toils and Watchings, and ſo broke up the Siege. In the mean time, the King levied an Army, to relieve his diſtreſſed Friends, but ſeeing he had not Strength enough to encounter the *Douglaſſes*, he reſolv'd to wait the coming in of *Alexander Gordon*, to his aſſiſtance, who had levy'd a good Force in the Northern Parts, and was marching towards him; but as he was coming thro *Angus*, *Craford*, with a conſiderable Body, met and oppos'd him at *Brechin*, where a ſharp Battel was fought, betwixt them; when the King's main Battel was giving ground, as not able to indure the ſhock of the *Anguſians*, *John Colace*, who commanded the Left Wing, forſook *Craford*; having born him a Grudge, and ſo left the main Body of the Army naked. Hereupon, thoſe who were almoſt Conquerors, being ſtruck with terrour, turn'd their Backs and fled away. Thus *Gordon* unexpectedly got the Victory, yet with much loſs on his ſide, his two Brothers, and a great Number of his Friends and Followers being Slain; of the *Anguſians* alſo, there fell ſeveral men of Note; and, amongſt the reſt, the Earl's own Brother. As for the Earl himſelf, he turn'd his Wrath from the Enemy to thoſe who had deſerted him, he ſtorm'd their Caſtles, and ſpoil'd their Lands with Fire and Sword; and he had the better Opportunity ſo to do, becauſe that *Gordon* made a ſpeedy Return into his own Country, when he heard, that the Earl of *Murray* was exerciſing all manner of Cruelty againſt his own Territories; ſo that, he was forced to march back with his Victorious Army, where he not only revenged his Loſs upon his Enemy, but alſo quite expell'd him out of his Country of *Murray*. Theſe things were acted toward the End of the Spring.

In the interim, the King, by the advice, chiefly of *James Kenneay*, caus'd an Aſſembly of the Eſtates to meet at *Edinburgh*, to which he Summon'd, by an Herald, the Earl of *Douglas*, and the Nobles of his Party, to come. But he was ſo far from obeying him, that, the next Night, he caus'd a Libel to be hung on the Church doors, That he would not truſt the King with his Life, nor yield Obedience to him, for the future, any more, who had ſent for his Kinſman to *Edinburgh*, and his Brothers to *Sterlin*, under the Protection of the Publick Faith, and there had perfidiouſly ſlain them, without Hearing their Cauſe. In this Aſſembly, the Four Brothers of the late Earl which was ſlain, *James*, *Archibald*, *George* and *John*, with *Beatrix* the Earls late Wife, and *Alexander*, Earl of *Craford*, were declar'd Publick Enemies to the Common-wealth. Many perſons were advanc'd to be Noble men, and Rewards were aſſign'd them out of the Rebels Eſtates; An Army was levy'd to purſue the Enemy, which, after ſome devaſtation of the Country, driving of Booty's, and burning Corn in the Granarys, was again diſmiſt in Winter, becauſe the

The *Douglaſſes* proclaimed publick Enemies.

Soldiers

Soldiers could not then keep the Field, and an Expedition was appointed againſt the Spring.

James Douglas Marries his Brothers Wife.

In the mean time, *James Douglas*, leſt the wealth of his Family, which was mightily increas'd, by rich Matches, ſhould paſs away to others, took *Beatrix*, the Relict of his Brother to Wife, and treats with the Pope to confirm the Marriage; But the King, by his Letters, interpos'd and hindred him from giving his Ratification to it. This Year, and the next following, there was Bandying between the Parties, Lands were pillag'd, ſome Caſtles overthrown; but they came not to decide the main Controverſy in a Set Battel; the greateſt Part of the damage fell on the Countys of *Annandale*, *Foreſs*, and the Neighbouring Countys of the *Douglaſſes*: After this Devaſtation of the Lands, there follow'd a Famine, and after the Famine, a Peſtilence; yet the Wiſeſt of *Douglas*'s his Friends ſought, many times, to perſuade him to endeavour a Reconciliation with the King, and ſo to lay himſelf and all his Concerns at his Feet, whom his Anceſtors had before found very merciful; Eſpecially, ſince he had a King, who was eaſily exorable in his own Nature; and moreover, might be made more reconcilable by the Mediation of his Friends, and that he would not ſuffer ſo noble a Family, as His was, to be extirpated by his Obſtinacy; nor betray the Lives of ſo many brave Men, who follow'd his Party; neither yet bring them to that Point of Neceſſity, that, after having ſuffer'd ſo many Calamities, they ſhould be forc'd to make Terms for themſelves: Whilſt he was in a good Condition, he might make an eaſy Pacification; but, if once his Friends deſerted him, there would then be no Hope for him to obtain his Pardon. The Man, being in his Youthful Age, and of a Fierce Diſpoſition too, made Anſwer, *That he would never ſubmit himſelf to their Power, who were reſtrain'd by no Bonds of Modeſty, nor by any divine or human Law; who under fair Promiſes had inticed his Coſins, and his Brother to come to them, and then, perfidiouſly and cruelly, Slew them: In a Word, he would ſuffer the height of all Extremities before he would ever put himſelf into their hands.*

A Famine and Peſtilence in *Scotland*.

Douglas perſuaded to a Reconciliation with the King.

Which he refuſes.

This his Anſwer was either approv'd, or diſlik'd, according to every Man's Humour; Thoſe who were Violent, or who made a Gain of the publick Miſeries, commended the Greatneſs of his Courage; but the Wiſer ſort perſuaded him to take Opportunity by the Forelock, leſt, after his Friends had forſaken him, he might complain, that he had neglected the Time for a Pacification, when 'twas not to be redeem'd, which is uſually the end of Headlong Counſels. But the Earl of *Craford*, being weary'd out with ſo long a War, and withal, conſidering with himſelf the very Unjuſtneſs of his Cauſe, together with the common Mutations of human Life, as alſo knowing that Pardon might eaſily be Obtain'd, if he did preoccupy the Kings Favour; but very difficultly, if he ſtood it out; and beſides, being forſaken by ſome of his Friends, and ſuſpecting the Fidelity of the reſt, put himſelf into ſuch an Habit, as might moſt move Pity, and thus bare-headed & bare-footed, in moſt humble manner, he came to the King, as he was paſſing thro' *Angus*; he ingeniouſly confeſt the offences of his former Life; he caſt himſelf and all his concerns upon the King's Mercy, having firſt prefaced ſomething concerning

the Fidelity and good Services which his Anceſtors had performed to their Kings; he was conſcious, that his fault had deſerv'd the Extremity of Puniſhment, but whatſoever hereafter he had either of Life or Fortune, it would be a Debt wholly due to the Kings Clemency. Having ſpoken theſe, and other words, of the ſame import not without Fear, all the Spectators were much moved and affected, eſpecially ſome of the Nobility of *Angus*, and tho' they themſelves had, in former times, followed the Kings Party, yet they were unwilling, that ſo eminent and ancient a Family ſhould be deſtroy'd. *James Kennedy* carry'd himſelf, at the ſame time, like a good Biſhop and a Friendly Patriot, for he not only forgave the Earl the many grievous Injuries he had done him, but further commended his Suit, and ſpake in his Favour, to the King, for he foreſaw, as it after hapned, That, by this Acceſſion, the Kings Party, would be ſtrengthen'd, and his Enemies weaken'd daily, for the future; in regard many were likely to follow the Example of this Great Man. And beſides, the King thinking, that his former Fierceneſs was tam'd, and that he was really penitent for what he had done, was not hard to be intreated, but gave him his Pardon, reſtor'd him to his former Eſtate and Honour, only adviſ'd him, for the future, to keep within the Bounds of his Duty: And indeed, *Craford*, being thus ingag'd by the Lenity and Facileneſs of the King, did afterwards endeavour to perform him all the Service he poſſibly could, he followed him with his Forces in his March to the furtheſt Parts of the Kingdom, and having ſetled Things there for the preſent, he entertained him nobly at his Houſe, in his return, and when he march'd to make a full end of the Civil War, he promis'd him all the Force, he could make; and, indeed, the whole courſe of his Life was ſo chang'd, that, laying down his former Savageneſs, he liv'd courteouſly, and in Complaiſance, with the Neighbouring Nobility; ſo that his Death, which followed ſoon after, brought the greater Grief to the King and to all the People.

Craford forſakes *Douglas*, and is pardoned by the King.

The King thus weakning *Douglas*'s Party by degrees, his remaining Hopes were from *England*, if poſſibly he might obtain Aid from thence. Hereupon, he ſent *Hamilton* to *London*, who brought him back Word, that the *King of* England *would undertake a War againſt* Scotland, *on no other Terms, but that* Douglas *muſt ſubmit himſelf and all his Concerns to that King, and acknowledge himſelf a Subject of* England; So that, his Hopes thence were cut off; and, on the Other ſide, the King of *Scotland* preſt hard upon him by his Edicts, Proſcriptions and Arms; yea, by all the Miſeries, which accompany Rebellious Inſurrections; So that, *Hamilton* adviſ'd the Earl, not to ſuffer the King to nim away his Forces by piece-meal; and, by catching a Part, to weaken, and in time, overthrow the Whole; he ſhould rather march out with his Army, truſt Fortune, put it to a Battel, there to dye Valiantly, or conquer Honourably. This Reſolution (ſaid he) is worthy of the name of the *Douglaſſes*, and the only Way to end the preſent Miſeries. Being alarum'd with this Speech, he gather'd as great an Army as he could, of his Friends and Dependants, and marched out to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle of *Abercorn*; for the King, after he had demoliſh'd many Caſtles of the

Douglas aplys to *England* for Aid, but in vain.

Douglasses, had at last beseiged That. It was a very strong Hold, scituate almost in the Mid-way between *Sterlin* and *Edinburgh*. When *Douglas* came so near, that he saw, and was seen by, the Enemy, his Friends advis'd him to push at all, and either to make himself renown'd by some Eminent Victory; or, by a Noble Death, to free himself from Reproach and Misery; but when all his Party were ready for the Onset, he daunted all their Spirits by his own Delay, for he retreated with his Army again into his Camp, and determin'd to draw and eke out the War, at length: His Commanders dislik'd his Design; and *Hamilton*, not enduring his Cowardize, and despairing of the Success of his Arms, that very Night revolted to the Kings Party. Upon this his Defection, the King gave him his Pardon, but not putting any great Confidence in him, because of his Subtilty, he sent him Prisoner to * *Rosseline*, a Castle belonging to the Earl of the *Orcades*, but afterwards, by the Mediation of his Friends, he was releas'd, and receiv'd into Favour, and that unbloody Victory ascribed to him, as the main Occasion thereof.

Hamilton deserts Douglas.

* Standing upon *North-Esk* in *Mid-Lothian*, 4 Miles above *Dalkeith*

The rest of the *Douglassians* follow'd *Hamilton*'s Example, and slipt away from him, every one, whither he thought most convenient for himself; so that, at length, the Castle, after much Loss on both sides, was taken, the Garison put to the Sword, and after 'twas half demolished, it was left as a Monument of the Victory. *Douglas*, being thus deserted by, almost, all his Friends, with a few of his Familiars fled into *England*, from thence, not long after, he made an Inrode with a smal Party into *Annandale*, which was then possest by the Kings Garisons; but, being worsted in a Skirmish, He, and his Brother *John* escap'd; *Archibald*, Earl of *Murray*, was slain; *George* was much wounded and taken Prisoner, and after his Wounds were cur'd, was brought to the King, and put to Death. In an Assembly of the Estates held at *Edinburgh*, in the *Nones* of *June*, in the Year 1455. *James*, *John*, and *Beatrix*, all *Douglasses*, were again proscrib'd: The Publick Acts do make *Beatrix* their Mother, which seems not very probable to me, unless, perhaps, they might be called her Sons, by Adoption. Earl *James* having thus lost his Brothers, being deserted by his Friends, and distrusting the *English*, that he might leave no Stone unturn'd, apply'd himself to *Donald*, King of the *Æbudæ*, a man bad enough in his own Nature: They met at *Dunstafnage*, where he easily persuaded him to joyn with him, in the War; whereupon, they committed great Outrages on the Kings Provinces, near adjoyning, without distinction either of Age or Sex; there was nothing spar'd which could be violated by Fire or Sword; the like Cruelty was us'd in *Argyle* and *Arran*, and then being laden with Booty, he return'd home; and afterward, having wasted *Loch-Abyr* and *Murray*, he turn'd to *Innerness*, he took the Castle, pillag'd and burnt the Town.

June 5.

Douglas joyns with the *English*, and then with *Donald* the *Islander*.

Neither were the *English* quiet all this while, but, watching their Opportunity, they made Incursions into *Merch*, where they slew some men of Note, who endeavoured to oppose their furious Ravaging, and so returned home without Loss, but full of Plunder, from that opulent Country. The next Year after, *Beatrix*, Wife to the former Earl of *Douglas*, and also living for some years with *James*, his

Douglas's Wife forsakes him, and flys to the King.

his Brother, as his Wife, came in to the King; She laid all the Fault of her former Miscarriages upon *James*, that she being a Woman, and helpless, was inforc'd to that Wicked Marriage; but at the first Opportunity, as soon as *James* was absent, she was fled from that Servitude; that *now* she laid her self, and all her Concerns, at the Kings Feet, and whatever Order he should please to make concerning her, or her Estate, she would willingly obey it. The King receiv'd her into his Protection, gave her an Estate in *Balvany*, and Married her to his Brother, the Earl of *Athole*, by the same Mother; The Wife of *Donald*, the *Islander*, followed her Example, she was the Daughter of *James Levingston*, and was Married to *Donald*, by her Grandfather, the Regent, by the persuasion also of the King, that so He might a little soften the rugged disposition of the man, and keep him firm to the Kings Party: But then, her Kinsman being restor'd to the Favours and Graces they formerly had, and her Husband having joyned himself to the *Douglassian* Faction, she was every day more and more slighted and despis'd by him, so that she implor'd the Kings Assistance against his barbarous Cruelty. There was no need of her making such an Apology, in regard, the King himself had been the Author of the Match, so that she was nobly treated, and had a large Revenue setled upon her for her Life.

Lying on the River *Spey*.

So doth *Donald's* Wife, too.

About the same time, *Patrick Thornton*, who had followed the Court a great while, yet was secretly of *Douglas's* Faction, slew *John Sanderland* of * *Caldar*, a Young man of about 20. years of Age, and *Alan Stuart*, of Noble Families, Both, and of eminent Faithfulness to the King, having got a convenient Opportunity so to do at *Dunbarton*, and soon after he himself was taken by the Clans of the Adverse Party, and Executed for the same.

In *Mid-Lothian*.

Thornton put to death for Murder.

This Year was remarkable for the Death of many Noble Personages, but especially of *William Creighton*. He, tho' born of an Equestrian Family, yet, by reason of his great Prudence, Fortitude, and his Singular Loyalty to the King, even to the last day of his Life, left a great Loss behind him to all Good men. The next Year, the *English*, being incouraged by their Impunity for former Injuries made great spoil in *March*, under the command of *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *James Douglas*, the Exile; to hinder their devastations, *George Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, gathered a Party of his Countrymen together, and made an Assault on the Plunderers, and drave that Part of them, which he assaulted, in great Confusion, back to their own Standards; the *English*, being mov'd at this Indignity, marched on their Army, before the rest had recover'd their Colours, and the *Scots* were as ready to receive them.

The death of *Wil. Creighton*

The Fight was manag'd on both sides, with greater Courage than Force, a great while, neither did any odds appear, till the *English*, who were scatter'd up and down the Country by the Noise and Tumult, perceiving that the Enemy was come, for fear of losing the rich Booty they had gotten, hasted directly home; their departure gave an easier, but yet not unbloody, Victory to the *Scots*, there being almost an equal number slain on Both Sides, but many of the *English* taken in the pursuit: The News of this Victory, being brought to the King, did something relieve his Mind, which was

A Party of *English* worsted in *Scotland*.

oppreſt with Thoughtfulneſs between the Arms of his own Subjects, and of the *Engliſh*; afterwards, *Donald* the *Iſlander*, perceiving the ill ſucceſs of his Affairs, was inforc'd to ſend Agents to the King, to intercede for a Peace; They, in an humble Oration, commemorated the King's Clemency ſhew'd to *Craford*, and the reſt of his Partiſans, in the ſame Cauſe; as for their own Crimes, they laid them on the Fatality of the Times; but, for the future they made large Promiſes, how Loyal and Obſequious *Donald* would be. The King ſeem'd to be ſomewhat affected with their Speech, yet gave them but a middle Anſwer; neither quite pardoning *Donald*, nor utterly excluding all hopes of his Pardon; he told them, That his many Crimes were 'very evident, but he had diſcover'd no *Specimen* of a chang'd Mind 'in him; if they would have the Penitence, which they pretended 'in Words, to be believ'd as really True and Hearty, he ſhould make 'Reſtitution for the Loſs, he had formerly caus'd; and reſtore their 'Eſtates to ſuch, as he had outed of them; and thus to cancel the Me-'mory of his former Miſchiefs, by ſome Eminent and Loyal Service. 'Tis true (ſaid he) no Virtue becomes a King more than Cle-'mency, but Care muſt be had, leſt the Reins of Government be not 'let looſe by too much Lenity; and ſo Evil Men rather made more 'inſolent, than Good Men excited to their Duty, thereby; that he 'would give Time to *Donald*, and his Party, to manifeſt by ſome To-'kens, that they repented of their Miſcarriages, and that they ſhould 'always find him towards them, ſuch as their Actions and their 'Words did Declare them to be. In the mean time, they need not 'fear, for *Now* it was put into their own Power, whether they would 'every Man be Happy or Miſerable, for the future.

Donald the *Iſlander* ſubmits to the King.

By this means, inteſtine Diſcords were either compos'd, or elſe laid aſleep, ſo that the King now bends all his Care againſt *England*; whilſt he was conſulting concerning a War with them, and concerning their frequent violations of Truces; behold! Embaſſadors came from the *Engliſh* Nobility, to Deſire Aid againſt *Henry*, their King; For *Henry* had ſlighted the Nobles, and advanc'd Upſtarts; by whoſe Advice, his Wife, a Woman of a Manly Spirit and Courage, Ruled the Roaſt. And, beſides, the King had incurr'd the Diſpleaſure and Contempt of his Friends, becauſe things had not ſucceeded well in *Aquitane* and *Normandy*; for they, having loſt ſo many Provinces, and being now pent up within the Ancient Bounds of their own Iſland, did mutter and grumble, that the Kings Sluggiſhneſs, and the Queens Pride were no longer to be endur'd. The Heads of the Conſpiracy, were, *Richard* Duke of *York*, with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*; when the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors had diſcours'd much concerning the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe to begin a War; and alſo concerning their own Power, and the Cowardly Temper of their King, they crav'd Aid againſt him, as againſt a Common Enemy, who was fearful in War, ſordid in Peace; and who had nouriſh'd Civil Diſcords amongſt the *Scots*, and had aſſiſted their Exiles; withal, they promis'd, if they got the Victory, to reſtore the Caſtles and Countries which were taken in former Wars from the *Scots*. The King, by Advice of his Council, made Anſwer, That he, before, knew the State of the *Engliſh* Affairs, and that he was not ignorant of the

The *Engliſh* Nobles crave Aid of *James*, againſt *Henry* their King.

Right

Right or Demands of either ſide; but that he would not interpoſe Himſelf an Arbiter in another Mans Kingdom, unleſs he were choſen by both Parties to that Office. As to the War, he had long ſince determin'd to revenge the Injuries of the former Times, and if he could not otherwiſe obtain the Places he had loſt, on the Occaſion of theſe Diſcords, he would recover them by Force; But if the Duke of *York*, and his Party, would promiſe to reſtore Them, then he would aſſiſt him againſt *Henry*. The Embaſſadors agreed to the Terms, and ſo return'd home. The King prepar'd his Forces, and was about to enter *England*, when, behold! an *Engliſh* Impoſtor, ſent by *Henry*, met him, he had been a long time at *Rome*, and was well acquainted with the Speech and the Cuſtoms of the *Italians*; his Habit and Train was all Outlandiſh, and he had counterfeit Letters, as from the *Pope*; whereby he was eaſily believ'd by Men, ſuſpecting nothing, but to be a *Legate* ſent from him; and to gain the greater Credit to his Impoſtures, he had a *Monk* with him, whoſe fained Sanctity made the Fraud leſs ſuſpected; they were brought to the King, and in the *Popes* Name, Commanded him to proceed no further with his Army; if he did, they threatned to Excommunicate him with *Bell*, *Book*, and *Candle*. For the *Pope* (ſaid they) is wholly intent upon a War againſt the Common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*, and ſo would have the differences compos'd all over *Europe*, that they might be free for that War; and that they were ſent before to give him Notice hereof; but there was a more Solemn Embaſſy, which would ſhortly arrive, and which, they believ'd, was already come as far as *France*, to decide the Civil Diſcords of *England*, and to give ſatisfaction to the *Scots*, for the Wrongs they had ſuſtain'd. The King did not imagine any Fraud in the Caſe, and deſiring nothing more than an Honourable Peace, in regard, things at home were not quite ſetled to his Mind, Obey'd the *Legate*, and Disbanded his Army. He had ſcarce diſmiſt it, but he was advis'd from *England*, that this ſuppos'd Embaſſador was a Cheat, ſo that he gather'd again ſome Forces; and becauſe he could not joyn the Duke of *York*, that he might keep off ſome of the King's Force from him, and alſo revenge his own Wrongs, he march'd directly to *Roxborough*; the Town he took, and deſtroy'd it at his firſt coming; but whilſt he was laying Siege to the Caſtle, Embaſſadors came from *York*, and his Aſſociats, informing him, that their King was overcome, and the War ended in *England*; They gave him Thanks for his Good-Will, and his Deſire to aſſiſt them in the maintenance of their Lives and Honours, and that they would, in time, be mindful to requite the Courteſie; but, at preſent, they deſir'd him to raiſe the Siege, and draw off from the Caſtle, and likewiſe to forbear any other Act of Hoſtility againſt *England*. For otherwiſe, they ſhould be laden with great Envy amongſt the People, who could hardly be contain'd, or ſatisfy'd, but that an Army muſt preſently march againſt the *Scots*. *James* congratulated their Victory, but ask'd the Embaſſadors, Whether the Duke of *York*, and his Allies, had given them nothing in Command concerning reſtoring the Places promis'd. He Anſwer'd, Nothing: Then, (ſaid he) before your laſt Embaſſy came to me, I was determin'd to pull down that Caſtle, which is built upon my Land; neither, ſince that

He marches to their Aſſiſtance, but is diverted by a Counterfeit *Legat* from *Rome*.

James takes *Roxborough* Town.

that time, am I so much obliged by the Courtesies of that Faction, as to give over an Enterprize, which is begun, and almost finisht: As for the Threatnings made, either by the People, or by Them, let them look to it, goe you and tell them, that, *I will not be remov'd hence by Words, but Blows.* Thus the Embassadors were dismist without their Errand, and whilst he did press upon the Besieg'd, by all the hardships of War; *Donald*, the *Islander*, came into his Camp with a great Band of his Country-men. He, to obtain the easier Pardon for his past Offences, and fully to Atone and Reconcile the King, promis'd him, that if he would march forward into the Enemies Countries, as long as he was there, he would march a Mile before his Army, and endure the sharpest, and first, of all Brunts and Hazards: But he was Commanded to be near the King, yet some of his Troops was sent out to prey upon the Country. It happen'd also, that, at the same time, *Alexander Gordon* Earl of *Huntly* brought in new Forces to the King. This Accession of Strength made the King more resolute to continue the Siege, tho' a strong Defence was made by Those within; So that, whereas before it was a *Blockade* only, a well-laid and close Siege was now made; when he had Soldiers enough, some presently succeeded in the Places of others, insomuch, that the Garison Soldiers (of whom many were Slain, many Wounded, and unfit for Service, the rest tired out with continual Toil and Labour) were not so eager to run into the Places of most Danger, as before; and to strike the more Terror into them, the King gave Command to batter part of the Wall with Iron pieces of Ordnance, which were then much us'd, and were very terrible: And whilst the King was busie about one of them, to press on the work, the Fire catcht within it, and with its force drove out a wooden Wedg, or Plug, which immediately fell'd the King to the Earth, and slew him, without hurting any body else. Those Courtiers who stood next him, tho' they were terrify'd at this sudden Accident, yet they cover'd his Body, lest, if his Death were divulg'd, the Common Soldiers should run away. The Queen, who that very Day came to the Camp, did not give up her Mind to Womanish Lamentations, but call'd the Nobles together, and exhorted them to be of good Courage, and that so many valiant Men should not be so dismayed at the Loss of One, as counting it dishonourable to desert a Business, that was almost ended; She told them, She her Self would speedily bring them another King in the place of him that was slain; in the mean time, they should press with might and main, upon the Enemy, lest he might grow more resolute, upon News of their Generals Death, and so imagin, that all the Courage of so many valiant Men was extinguisht in in the Fate of one Person only: The Officers were asham'd to be exceeded in Courage by a Woman. Whereupon, they assaulted the Castle with such Violence, that neither Party was sensible that the King was lost. In the mean time, *James* the King's Son, being about 7 Years of Age, was brought into the Camp, and Saluted King. And 'twas not long after, before the *English*, being tired out with Watching, and continued Service, surrendred up the Castle to the new King, upon Condition, to march away with Bag and Baggage. The

And besieges the *Castle.*

Where he is casually slain.

The Queen shews Herself a *virago*, immediately after her Husbands Death.

Roxburgh Castle Surrendred and Demolisht.

Caſtle, that it might be the Occaſion of no new War, was levell'd to the Ground. This End had *James* the 2d, in the Year of *Chriſt*, 1460. a few Days before the Autumnal Equinox, in the 29*th* Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign; he had been exercis'd always, even from his Youth, with Domeſtick or Foreign Wars; he bore Both Eſtates of Life, the Proſperous and Adverſe, with great Moderation of Mind, he ſhew'd ſuch Valour againſt his Enemies, and ſuch Clemency to thoſe that ſubmitted themſelves, that All Eſtates were much afflicted for his Loſs; and his Death was the more lamented, becauſe 'twas ſudden, and that in the Flower of of his Youth, too; after he had eſcap'd ſo many Dangers, and when the Expectation of his Virtues was at the higheſt: And he was the more miſs'd, becauſe his Son was yet immature for the Government; whilſt Men conſider'd, what Miſeries they had ſuffer'd for the laſt 20 Years, the Aſhes of which Fire were hardly yet rak'd up; ſo that from a reflective Remembrance of what was *Paſt*, they ſeemed to Divine the Eſtate of *future* Things.

James II. his Character.

The

The Twelfth BOOK.

James III. *The Hundred and Fourth King.*

James III. begins his Reign about 7 years of Age.

JAMES II. as I have related, being slain in his Camp, to prevent all Controversy concerning the Right of Succession, (which had happen'd at other times) his Son *James* a Child of about 7 Years Old, who was the younger of the Twins, and surviv'd his Brother, enter'd upon the Government in the Town of *Kelsoe*. Afterwards, when the Nobles, according to Custom, had taken their Oaths of Allegiance to him, 8 Days after he began his Reign, he left his Army, and retir'd home to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to be under the Tutelage of his Mother, till an Assembly of the Estates were Celebrated, to determin of the Grand Affairs of the Kingdom. The Assembly was Indicted later than ordinary, because Matters was not compos'd in *England*, and yet quiet in *Scotland*: So that, the Nobility were of Opinion, That War was first of all to be thought on, that so they might revenge old Injuries, and punish their Enemies by some notable Loss, who did always lye at catch, to take Advantage of the Distresses of Others. Hereupon, they marched into the Enemies Country, without any resistance, where they committed much spoil, and demolished many Castles, from whence the Enemy was wont to make suddain Incursions, the Chief of which was *Work*, situate on the Banks of the River *Tweed*, formerly very injurious to the Country of *Merch*. The Army ravaged over the Enemies Country, as far as they could, for the time of the Year, and, at the very beginning of Winter, returned home.

Henry of *England*, taken Prisoner by the Duke of *York*.

This Year, *Henry* King of *England* was Taken by the Duke of *York*, and brought to *London*; there a Form of Peace was concluded betwixt them, for *Henry* durst not deny any thing; *That He, as long as he lived, should bear the Name, and Ensigns or Badges, of a King, but the Power of Government should be in* York, *under the Name of a* Protector. *And when* Henry *Died, Then the Name also of King was to be transferred to* Edward, *and his Posterity*. Whilst these Things were acted at *London*, News was brought, That the Queen was marching up with a great Army, to Redeem her Husband out of Prison. *York* went out to Engage her with about 5000 Men with him, leaving the Earl of *Warwick*, and King *Henry* behind; he marched as far as *Yorkshire*, and, lest He, who, in *France*, had Defended himself against great Armies, not with Walls, but with Arms, should now shun a Battel with a Woman; He Fought against a far greater Number than his Own; and, in the Fight, He, his youngest Son, and a great many Nobles were slain. The Heads of the Commanders were set up as a Spectacle, upon the Gates at *York*. The Queen, thus Victorious, and marching on further to Deliver the King; the Earl of *Warwick* met her, bringing the King along with him,

York overthrown by the Queen.

him, as if he would Defend the Pact made concerning the Kingdom, under his good *Omen*. Both Armies met at *St. Albans*, which is thought to be the *Old Verulam*, where the Queen was again Victorious; She slew the Commanders of the adverse Army, released her Husband, and marched directly up for *London*; but considering, that the Earl of *Pembroke* was sent by Her to gather Forces, as was also *York*'s Son by his Father, and that these Two had had a Fight in their March; wherein *Edward* the Son of her Enemy was Victorious; and withal, knowing, what cruel Hatred the *Londoners* bore against Her, She withdrew towards *Northumberland*, because She looked on that Part of *England*, as the Seminary, or Source, of Her Strength. There She was also Overcome in a Bloody Fight, more than 36000 valiant Men being reported to be slain, and the Enemy pressing upon Her, and giving Her no Time to recollect Her Forces, She, her Husband and Son, fled into *Scotland*.

So is *Warwick*.

The Queen, overthrown, and flies with her *Husband* into *Scotland*.

The Conqueror call'd himself *Edward* the *Fourth*, King of *England*; *Henry* desired Aid in his Distress, and, by means of *James Kennedye*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who then surpassed all in *Scotland* in point of Authority, and Opinion of his Prudence, he was Entertain'd with a great deal of Honour and Respect; so that he was erected to some Hope of recovering his former Dignity; and to nourish that Hope, by all the actual good Offices which he could, he restored the Town of *Berwick* to the *Scots*, (which the *English* had held ever since the Days of *Edward* I.) The *Scots*, upon this Obligation, did assist *Henry*'s Faction in all things, not only in piecing up the Relicks of his former Misfortunes, but promising him more Aid, in time, to recover his Own. And, that the Friendship now begun might be the more firmly established; the Two Queens, Both of Them of *French* Descent, began to Treat concerning a Marriage between *James* his Sister, and *Henry*'s Son, whom they called *Prince of Wales*, tho' neither of them, as yet, were above Seven Years old. *Philip* of *Burgundy*, Uncle to the Queen of *Scots*, but a Mortal Enemy to the Queen of *England*, endeavoured by all means possible to hinder this Marriage; For he sent *Grathusius* a Nobleman, his Embassador for that purpose: For *Philip* was at such deadly odds with *Renatus*, Grandfather to the Lady by the Mother's side, that he sought all Occasions to hinder his Stock from increasing; so that in Favour of him the Matter was, at that time, rather delayed, than broke off. But the Fortune of *Henry* kept off the Event, which *Philip* of *Burgundy* feared. For, being something encouraged by the Kindness of the *Scots* towards him, and also by some comfortable Letters sent from his Friends out of *England*, he sent his Wife beyond Sea to * *Renatus* her Father, to procure what Aid she could from her Foreign Friends; She prevailed so much in *France*, that her Faction were to have a safe Place of Retreat there, but her Adversaries were excluded; and, moreover, she obtained 2000 Men, as *Monstrelet* says, under *Warren* their General; but as Ours, and the *English*, Writers, (to whom I rather assent) 500, Commanded by *Peter Brice*, or, as some call him, *Brace*, a *Britton*, rather as Companions for her Journy, than as any Auxiliary Aid; With this small Band she returned into *Scotland*, and thought fit to attempt something, not doubting, but at

Berwick surrendred to the *Scots* by King *Henry*.

Henry's Queen sues for Foreign Aid.

* Or *Renny*.

Which having obtained, she enters *Scotland* and *England* again.

the Noiſe of Foreign Aſſiſtance, her Countrymen would riſe and join with her, whereupon ſhe made a Deſcent at *Tinmouth*; but this ſmall Company, being diſmayed at the report of a great Force coming againſt them, without the performance of any thing remarkable, returned to their Ships; where alſo, as if Fortune had croſſed them on all hands, they were encounter'd with a grievous Tempeſt, which drove the greateſt Part of them, who followed the Queen to *Scotland*, into *Berwick*; but ſome few of them were caſt upon the Iſle *Lindisfarne*, where they were taken by the Enemy and ſlain.

Holy-Iſle, ſeven miles South-Eaſt of *Berwick*, on the Coaſt of *Northumberland*.

But the Manly ſpirited Queen was nothing diſcouraged at this Misfortune, but levied a great number of *Scots* to join with her own Soldiers, and reſolves to try her Fortune, once again. Whereupon ſhe left her Son at *Berwick*, and ſhe and her Husband entred *Northumberland*, where ſhe made great Devaſtation, by Fire and Sword, in all the adjacent Parts. At the report of this new Army, ſome of the Nobles, as the Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Ralph Percy*, and many of *Henry*'s old Friends beſides, who, for fear of the Times, had retired to King *Edward*, came in to Them; but there was a far greater Confluence from the adjacent Parts of *England*, of ſuch Perſons as had lived Rapacious Lives, in hopes of ſome new Prey. To appeaſe this Commotion, *Edward* makes great Military Preparation both by Land and Sea; he commanded the Lord *Mountague*, with a great part of the Nobility, to march againſt the Enemy, and he himſelf would follow with his whole Army. Both Armies pitched their Tents not far from *Hexham*; but the Common Soldiery who came in for Booty, beginning to ſlip away, *Henry* thought it beſt, in ſuch a deſperate Caſe, to put it to a Puſh, and accordingly a Fight begun, wherein he was overthrown, his chief Friends were either ſlain, or taken Priſoners, and he himſelf made an haſty Retreat to *Berwick*; of the Priſoners, ſome had their Heads cut off preſently; and ſome, a while after. *Edward* having thus got the Day, by the Generals of his Forces, came himſelf to *Durham*, that ſo he might prevent the Incurſions of the *Scots* by the Terrour of his Neighbouring Army; and alſo, that, by his Preſence, he might quell any Domeſtick Inſurrections, if any ſuch ſhould happen. Whilſt he was there, he ſent out part of his Army under ſeveral Commanders to take in the Places poſſeſſed by his Enemies, of which having taken many by Storm, or by Surrender, at laſt he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Alnwick*, which was greater, and better fortified, than the reſt, and which was maintained by a Gariſon of *French*, who defended the Caſtle very well, in hopes of Relief from *Scotland*, which was ſo near at hand. But the *Scots* having lately had ill ſucceſs in *England*, an Army could not be ſo ſoon levyed, as the preſent Exigent required, for the raiſing of the Siege; inſomuch, that whilſt others were backward, and delayed to give in their Opinion, *George*, Earl of *Angus*, undertook, with great Audacity, the Matter, which was ſo full of hazard. He collected about 10000 Horſe, of his Friends, Vaſſals, and the Neighbouring Province, of which he was Governor; He came to the Caſtle, and Horſed the *French*, that were in Gariſon, upon ſome empty Horſes he had brought for that purpoſe, and ſo brought them off ſafe, even to a Man, into *Scotland*, whilſt the *Engliſh* ſtood and looked on, as amazed at the Boldneſs of his Miraculous Enterprize;

Henry's Army overthrown at *Hexham*.

Alnwick Caſtle beſieged, and *Douglas*'s gallantry in bringing off the Gariſon.

or, thinking that *Douglas* had help near at hand; or rather, hoping to have the Caſtle given up without a Battel, and ſo they would not put the Whole to an hazard, by joining in Fight with that ſmall, though ſelect, Party. *Edward* ſettled Guards at all convenient Places, that ſo, no Rebellious Troops might march to and again; and then, as if he had quieted the whole Kingdom, he returned to *London*.

In the mean time, Exiled *Henry*, either on the Accompt of ſome Hopes caſt in by his Friends, or elſe weary of his tedious Exile, determines to ſhelter himſelf privately amongſt his Friends in *England*. But Fortunes Malice followed him to the laſt; he was there known, taken, brought to *London*, and committed Priſoner to the *Tower*. And his Wife *Margaret*, diſtruſting her preſent Affairs, with her Son and a Few Followers left *Scotland*, and Sailed over to her Father *Renat*, into *France*.

Henry of *England* taken Priſoner, and his Queen flies.

To return then to the Affairs of *Scotland*: The time for the Aſſembly, which was Indicted to be held at *Edinburgh*, was come: where there was a Full Appearance, but the Body of them was divided into Two Factions; Part of the Nobles followed the Queen; but the Major Part, by far, ſtuck to *James Kennedy*, and *George Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, the Heads of the contrary Faction. The Queen lodged in the Caſtle; the Biſhop and the Earl lay in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, at the furtheſt part of the Suburbs, towards the Eaſt. The Cauſe of the Diſſenſion, was, That the Queen thought it equal and juſt for her to have the Tutelage, or Guardianſhip, of her Son; the other Party judged it moſt fit, that One ſhould be choſen out of the whole Aſſembly, for that careful Work. The Queen alleged the Maternal Name, her Intereſt, and Propinquity; the Adverſe Party inſiſted on the old Law, confirmed by perpetuated Cuſtom. In the Third day of the Aſſembly, the Queen comes down from the Caſtle with her Followers, and cauſed her ſelf to be Decreed *Tutrix of the King, and Governeſs of the Kingdom, by her own Faction*, and ſo returns into the Caſtle, again. When *Kennedy* heard of this, he haſtned, with his Party, into the Market-place, and there, in a long Speech, he told the Multitude, which was thick about him, 'That he and his Aſſociates did aim at nothing, but the Publick Good, 'and the Obſervation of their Ancient Laws; but their Adverſaries 'were led, each one, by his private advantage; And That he would 'evidently make appear, if he might have a Place Free to diſpute the 'Point. Having thus ſpoken, he retired with his Followers to his Lodging, but was not gone far from the Market-place, before he heard That the other Party was coming down Armed from the Caſtle. *Douglas* looked upon This as an intolerable Thing, That Valiant Men ſhould yield to the Threats of a Few and That their Retirement ſhould be looked upon, as a Flight; and therefore was hardly kept in by *Kennedy*, from aſſaulting the adjoining Gate of the City; and, Weaponleſs, as he was, to encounter Armed Men; and unleſs the Three Biſhops of *Glaſgo*, *Galway*, and *Dumblane*, upon Noiſe of the Uproar had come in, his Indignation would not have been ſtopp'd, till they had come to Blows. But, by the Mediation of thoſe Biſhops, the Matter was ſo far compoſed, That a Truce was agreed upon, for one Month.

Diſputes in the Aſſembly of Eſtates about the *Regency*.

Which the Queen claims.

But *Kennedy* and *Douglas* oppoſe.

A Truce for a Month betwixt the Parties.

The Commonalty diſlike the Queens Regency.

Though the Chief of the Faction were thus quieted; yet the Multitude could not be reſtrained from expreſſing their Wrath and Indignation, in rough and cutting Language; as, that the Deſire of the Queen was Diſhonourable to the Kingdom, and Undecent for Herſelf. 'What (ſaid they) is the Valour of the old *Scots* at ſo low an 'Ebb, That, amongſt ſo many Thouſand Men, there is none worthy 'to Govern the Affairs of *Scotland*, but a Woman muſt do it? What, 'was there no Man, that could Rule over the Nation? And That 'would live the greateſt part of his Life in Arms? What likeli-'hood was there, That thoſe who had not been altogether Tra-'ctable to their King, when weak, ſhould now yield Obedience to a 'Woman, and that a Stranger, too? What, had they undergone ſo 'much Labour, and loſt ſo much Blood, theſe many years, by Sea 'and Land, That Men, born and brought up in Arms, ſhould freely 'give up themſelves to the Servitude of a Woman? What, if the '*Engliſh* ſhould invade them, as they had often done at other times, 'in revenge of their Loſſes, with a great Army? Who could (in 'that caſe) Give, or Accept, Terms of Peace or War? Theſe were the Diſcourſes of the Commonalty in all their Clubs.

But when the Month was expired, their Minds were a little calmer; and, the Truce ended, there was another Convention, where the Queen alleged This for her ſelf, in Juſtification of her Cauſe, 'That, ſeeing ſhe had not entred upon the Government the Year 'before by Force, or againſt the minds of the Nobility, but was cho-

The Queens Plea for the Regency.

'ſen to that Dignity by their Unanimous Conſent, ſhe had but 'uſed her own Right, and therefore ſhe took it amiſs to be degraded, 'and no Crime at all imputed, as to her Mal-Adminiſtration. If, '(ſaid ſhe) as it is uſual, Degrees of Affinity be regarded in Pupil-'lages, there is none nearer than a Mother; if the Safety of the King 'were Ey'd, none could be more Faithful; for if the King ſhould die, 'other men may have their various and diſtinct Hopes, but ſhe could 'hope for, or expect, nothing but Orbity, Solitarineſs, and Tears. 'And, if they had reſpect to the Good of the Publick, ſhe was a ſtran-'ger, and concerned in no Intereſt of Feuds or Friendſhips, and That 'was eſpecially to be eyed in ſuch who ſate at the Helm of Govern-'ment; That ſo their own Lives might not only be free from actual 'Vice; but alſo, that they might have as few Temptations, and In-'citements as may be, to thoſe Luſts, which do diſturb and hurry 'the Mind, and pervert righteous Judgment. Some had Aſſiſtance 'of Parents, Kinſmen, Allies, by whoſe aid they might hope for 'an Excuſe for their Offences, or, at leaſt, an eaſier Pardon. Yea, 'ſometimes the Rulers were compelled to ſquare and accommodate 'their Actions to ſuch mens Wills and Humours. As for Her ſelf, 'her Hope of Defence was in Innocency alone; She had but one Son 'to eye, and both their Benefits and Advantages were combined and 'twiſted together. And unleſs ſhe had reſpect to theſe Things, ſhe 'would chooſe much rather to live a quiet and happy Life in Retire-'ment with the good Liking of all, than to undergo the Enmity of 'Evil men, by puniſhing all their Crimes; yea, and ſometimes to 'incur the Diſpleaſure of the Good, too. Neither was it a New Thing for a Woman, to deſire the Regency of another's Kingdom,

'ſithence,

'ſithence, not only in *Britain*, but even in the Greateſt and moſt 'Puiſſant Kingdoms of the Continent, Women have had the Supreme 'Power, and their Reigns have been Such, that their Subjects never 'repented of their Government.

When ſhe had thus ſpoken, Many aſſented to her; Some to prepoſſeſs a Place in in her future Grace and Favour; Others, in Hopes, that the Fruits of another's Envy would redound to their advantage; Yea, there were ſome, who had an evil Jealouſy, That, if the Election ſhould be made out of All, they themſelves might be paſſed by, as leſs fit; and therefore, they rather deſired, that the Queen ſhould be preferred over them all, than that Others, of the ſame Order with themſelves, or even of a Superiour one, ſhould be preferred before Them.

Nowithſtanding, the more uncorrupted Part of the Nobility did, both by their Countenance and Speeches, highly diſguſt the Queens Oration; but that which did moſt Vehemently affect the whole Aſſembly, was, the Authority and the Speech of *James Kennedy*, who, as 'tis reported, ſpake in this manner.

Kennedys Grave and Prolix Oration, in Anſwer thereunto.

IT is my chief Deſire, Noble Peers, That they whoſe aims are at the Good of all, in general, might freely declare their minds without offence to any one particular Perſon. But, in our preſent Circumſtances, when things ſpoke for publick Advantage are diſtorted to the Reproach of thoſe private perſons, who ſpeak them, it is a very difficult thing to obſerve ſuch a Mean between diſagreeing heats, and different opinions, as not to incur the offence of one of the Parties. As for me, I will ſo temper and moderate my Diſcourſe, That no man ſhall complain of me, without firſt confeſſing his own Guilt. Yet, I ſhall uſe the Liberty of Speech, received from our Anceſtors, ſo modeſtly, that, as, on the *One* ſide, I deſire to prejudice no man; ſo, on the *Other*, neither for Fear nor Favour, will I pretermit any thing, which is of uſe in the Debate before us; I ſee, That there are *Two* Opinions which do retard and impede our Concord; The *One*, is, of Thoſe, who judge, That in a matter relating to the Good of All, an Election out of All is to be made; and as we all meet to give our Suffrages in a buſineſs concerning the ſafety of the whole Kingdom; ſo, it is equal and fit, that no man ſhould be Excluded from the Hopes of that Honour, who ſeeks after it by Honeſt and Virtuous Ways. The *Other*, is, of ſuch, who count it a great Injury done to the Queen, who is ſo noble a Princeſs, and ſo choice a Woman, if ſhe be not preferred before all others in the Tutelage of her Son, and the Adminiſtration of the Government of the Kingdom.

Of theſe Two Opinions, I like the Former beſt, and I will ſhew you my Reaſons for it, by and by: In the mean time, I ſo far approve the deſign of the Later, That they think it below the Queen's Grandeur, That any Single Perſon ſhould Vye with her for this point of Honour, leſt her Authority, which ought to be, as it indeed is, accounted Venerable, ſhould be leſſned by coping with Inferiours. And, indeed, I would be quickly of their mind, if the Diſpute lay here, about the Honour of *One*, and not the Safety of *All*. But, ſeeing that,

that, this day, we are to make a Determination about That which concerns the Lives & Fortunes of all private men, and the Safety of the whole Kingdom, too; it is fit, that all Single Intereſts, and Concerns, ſhould ſtoop and truckle under That: And therefore, I earneſtly adviſe Thoſe, that are of this Opinion, ſo to conſult the Dignity of the Queen, That, in the interim, they forget not the Reverence they owe to the Laws, to the old Cuſtoms, and, to the Univerſal Good of their Country; if they can ſhew, by any Statute, That it is Lawful and Publickly expedient, That the Guardianſhip of the King, and the Regency of the Kingdom, ought to be in the Queens Hands, I will paſs over into their Opinion. But if their Orations be pernicious to the Publick, I hope the Queen, *firſt*; and *next*, all Good men will pardon me, if (always ſaving the Majeſty of the Queen, as Sacred, ſo far as, by Law, and the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, I may) I do not conceal my Opinion, or, rather, if I ſpeak out That, with Freedom, which it were the greateſt Impiety in me to conceal. To begin then with the Laws; There is a Law made 500 year ago, by King *Kenneth*, a Prince no leſs eminent for his Wiſdom and Prudence, than for his military Performances; and it was aſſented and yielded to by All the Orders of the Kingdom; and approved of, even to this very day, by the Conſtant Obſervance of ſo many Ages, *That, when the King was in his Minority, the Eſtates, or Parliament, of the Kingdom ſhould Aſſemble and chooſe ſome one Man, eminent for Wiſdom and Power, to be his Guardian, and to Govern the Kingdom, whilſt he was yet unable to weild the Scepter, with his Own hands.* Tho' this Law be referred to *Kenneth*, as the Author of it; yet, it ſeems to me, That he did not ſo much Enact it *firſt*, as, thereby, revive and confirm the Ancient Cuſtom of the *Scots*, by a *New* Sanction. For, Our Anceſtors were ſo far from Committing the Supreme Power into the Hands of a Woman, That, if you look over all our Chronicles, you ſhall not find ſo much as the Name of a *Woman Regent*, recorded therein; for, why, pray, ſhould they mention ſuch a Name, of which, they thought, they had no need, at preſent; & hoped, they ſhould never have any for the Future? For thoſe Females which other Countrys call *Queens*, we only call *Wives* (or *Conſorts*) of our Kings; neither do we entitle Them to any Higher Name; for, I judge, our Wiſe Anceſtors had This in their Eye, That, as often as they heard their Names mentioned with the Adjunct of *Husband*, they might remember, That they were obnoxious and Subject to men. And therefore, to this very day, a Woman was never admitted to the Regency, or the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs. The ſame Courſe hath been alſo conſtantly obſerved in leſſer Magiſtracys, both as to their Appointments and Executions. For, tho' many Honours and ſome Seigniorys amongſt them have come by Inheritance to ſome Women, by reaſon of their Great deſerts from their Country; and have alſo been allotted to them, as Dowrys; yet it was never known, ſince the memory of man, That any Woman did ever preſide in any Publick Council, or in any Court of Judicature, or to have taken upon her any of thoſe Offices, which are appropriated to men. Which Cuſtom, ſeeing our Anceſtors, tho' not bound by Law thereunto, did conſtantly obſerve, only by the Impulſe

of Nature, if we their Posterity should cast the Common-wealth into an apparent Danger, by opposing a Law, received by the Votes of all, and approved by so long an Usage, Who will free us from the Brand (I will not say, of Temerity, but) even of Madness it self? Especially, since we have been warned by Examples near at hand; For the *Saxons*, by reason of the Wickedness of one Woman, *viz.* *Ethelburga*, made a Law, That, after that time, no Woman should be called *Queen*, nor should sit in Publick, next the King, in any Seat of Honour. I beseech you therefore, consider seriously, how much they degenerate from Their Prudence, who against a Law so Ancient, and as advantageous to Women, as honourable to Men, would put the Reins of Government into Their hands, to whom our Ancestors never gave so much as a Royal Name; and from whom our Neighbours, after they had given it, took it away. Other Nations, I grant, have been of another Opinion; with what Success I shall declare, after I have first answered Those, who dare not calumniate this Law, openly; but, in the Carpet-Conventicles of Women, do implead it, as unjust. But whosoever he be, that finds Fault with it, he seems to reprehend, not some Sanction only, approved by the suffrages of Men, but even Nature it self, *i.e.* That Primary Law, imprinted in our hearts by God himself; I say, Nature it self, whom our Law-maker had, as a Guide, and Directress of all his Counsels, when he proposed and enacted this Law. For Nature, from the beginning, hath not only distinguished Men from Women by the strength of Mind and Body; but hath also appropriated distinct Offices and Virtues to each Sex, the same indeed for Kind, but far different in Degree; For, how is it less uncomely for a Woman to pronounce Judgment, to levy Forces, to Conduct an Army, to give a Signal to the Battel, than for a Man to teiz Wool, to handle the Distaff, to Spin, or Card, and to perform the other Services of the weaker Sex: That which is Liberality, Fortitude, and Severity in Men, is Profusion, Madness, and Cruelty in a Woman. And again, That which is Elegant, Comely, and Ornamental in a Woman, is Mean, Sordid, and Effeminate in a Man: They that endeavour to confound and mix these things, which Nature, of her own accord, hath distinguished, do they not seem to you, not only to disturb, but also to overthrow, the State of the Kingdom, which is founded upon so good Laws and Customs? This they do, when they would obtrude on us the Government of a Woman, which our Ancestors did not so much as once Name. For the Maker of that Law (as I told you before) doth not seem so much to induce a new Sanction in the Enacting thereof, as only to commit to Writing the perpetual Usage of our Ancestors, that it might be transmitted to Posterity; and, That which hath been always observed by the Guidance of Nature, in the making a King, to have consecrated the same Thing to be observed by Publick Authority, in choosing a Guardian for a King, under age. They which go about to undermine and infringe this one Law, what do they thereby but endeavour to overthrow all the other Laws, Rites and Customs of our Ancestors? I speak this, (that I may prevent all Calumny) not that I think all Laws are immutable, as if they were enacted to last for ever; No, Laws

are

are of different Sorts and Kinds: Those which are accommodated to the Viciſſitude of Times, are ſubject to the Inconſtancy of Fortune, and are wont to laſt ſo long, as the Neceſſity doth, which impoſed them; and Thoſe which are obtruded on men by the Wills of Tyrants, are commonly diſannulled and abrogated, with their Authors. But as for that Inſtinct or Impreſs of Nature, which is, as it were, a Living Law, ordained by God, and deeply imprinted and engraven in Mens hearts, That, the Conſent of no Multitudes, nor no mens Decrees, can aboliſh. For (as an excellent Poet is reported to have ſaid) *it was not born yeſterday or to day, but it grew up together with Dame Nature it ſelf, and lives and dies together with it.* And ſeeing the Law, of which we now ſpeak, is of That ſort, and a Principal one, too, he doth not oppoſe the Dignity of the Queen, who deſires, That ſhe of her own accord would preſcribe to her ſelf thoſe Bounds, which Nature it ſelf hath appointed, her Sex requires, Cuſtom allows, and the Laws, made by the conſent of almoſt all Nations, do approve: But they, who would have her forget her Sex and Station, do perſuade her to break thro' all Bonds of Law, and to diſturb the Order of things appointed by God, received by uſe, and allowed in all Cities and Countrys, well-governed: And, certainly, whoſoever ſlights that Order will be grievouſly puniſhed, not by Men only, but by God himſelf, who will revenge his own Law. For, if good Laws threaten a Man with Death, who ſhall cloath himſelf with a Womans Apparel; and a Woman, if ſhe wear the Habit of a Man, what Puniſhment can be inflicted on them, too great for their Offence, who, by a prepoſterous Flattery, would overthrow the whole Force of Nature, and the everlaſting Conſtitution of God himſelf? Will you underſtand, how theſe Flatterers do not ſpeak what they cordially mean? In a publick Aſſembly, to give a Vote, to be Preſident in a Court of Law, to enact or abrogate a Law: Theſe are Great Things in themſelves, yet they are but a ſmall Portion of the Government. Why do they not bring their Wives hither to us, to conſult? Why do not theſe alſo preſide in Judicatures? Why do they not perſuade, or diſſuade, Laws? Why do not they themſelves look after their Domeſtick Affairs, at home? And, Why do they not ſend their Wives abroad to the War? But if they would impoſe Thoſe Regents upon us, whom they themſelves dare ſcarcely truſt in the Management of their own Houſhold Affairs, much leſs think them fit for the leaſt Part of any Publick Buſineſs: Conſider, I pray, how they contradict themſelves; but if they themſelves are conſcious of their own Infirmity, if they ſpeak as they think, and ſo are reſtrain'd by Modeſty rather than Judgment; yet, let them hope well of others, who both can, and will, perform their own, *i.e.* the Services proper for Men. But if (as I rather judge) They think, by this kind of Complyance, to gratify the Queen, I adviſe and admoniſh them, to lay aſide that falſe Opinion of a Princeſs of ſo great Prudence, as ſhe is, nor, that they would believe her to be ſo ignorant of Things, as to account, That to be an Increaſe and Acceſſion of Dignity, (to her) which would be the fouleſt thing imaginable, in other Women. I enter upon this Part of my Diſcourſe very unwillingly; For, ſeeing our Noble Princeſs hath ſo well deſerved of

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the whole Kingdom, that it is fit ſhe ſhould hear nothing, which might juſtly offend her Ears and Spirit. I will not mention thoſe things, which ill Men do commonly allege in contemning and undervaluing of that Sex, I ſhall rather inſiſt on thoſe Virtues, which are proper to the Queen: And tho' theſe are Many and eminently Illuſtrious; yet none of them have procur'd greater Praiſe and Commendation to her, than her Modeſty. For, That is eſteemed ſo proper to her Sex, that, even in a private perſon, it doth either cover; or, at leaſt, much extenuate, other Faults. But, in our Princeſs, none of whoſe Words or Deeds, in regard of the Eminency of her Stock and Condition, can be concealed, it doth ſhine out ſo illuſtriouſly, that her other Virtues come much more acceptable, and commended, upon the Account thereof. And therefore I ſhall need to ſay but a few words in reference to her, ſave only to warn and encourage her, to perſiſt in That way to Glory and Honour, which ſhe hath already entred upon; and that ſhe would not give Ear to the Flatteries of any, ſo as to be forgetful of Her ſelf; but that ſhe would rather tread the ſure and experienced way to immortal Renown, than by running on unſafe and craggy Precipices, to hazard the Splendor of her former glorious Life.

But my great Buſineſs, is, with you (My Lords,) who, either out of Envy, are afraid that your Betters ſhould be preferr'd before you; or elſe, by wicked Ambition, do lay the Foundation of your future Favour with a good Princeſs. I will therefore, moſt Noble Queen, under the ſhelter of your Prudence, ſpeak, and ſpeak freely, my Thoughts, in this caſe. Such Perſons do not Accoſt, or Court You, but your Fortune: And whilſt they think upon the Queen, they forget, that the ſame Perſon is a *Woman*. When I name the Word *Woman*, (I do not uſe it reproachfully) but I mean a Perſon to whom Nature hath given many Blandiſhments, and eminent Endowments; but withal, hath mingled them (as She uſually doth, in the moſt beautiful and preciouſeſt things) with ſome allay of Infirmity; and therefore would have her to be under the Guardianſhip of Another; as not ſufficiently able to protect Herſelf: So that, She is ſo far from having an Empire over others allotted to her; That the Laws, in Imitation of Nature, do Command Women to be under the perpetual Tuteſage of their Parents, Brothers, or Husbands. Neither doth this tend to their Reproach, but is a Relief to their Frailty. For, that it keeps them off from thoſe Affairs, for which they are unfit; it is a Courteſie which conſults, or makes Proviſion for, their Modeſty; not a Scandal, detracting from their Honour. I will not call to remembrance, how difficultly they are reſtrained by the Diligence of Husbands, and the Authority of Parents; neither will I mention, how far the Licentiouſneſs of ſome Women hath proceeded, when the Reins have been looſed on their Necks. I ſhall confine my Speech only to what the preſent Caſe offers; yea, what it doth exact and require, and which, without Damage to the Publick, cannot be concealed: If there be any thing of private Inconvenience in the Sex, let their Husbands and Kin look to that, I ſhall only briefly touch, what may be Publickly prejudicial. Greatneſs of Mind was never required in this Sex; it is true, Women have

other proper Virtues, but as for This, it was always reckoned amongst *Virile*, not *Female*, Endowments; besides, by how much the more they are obnoxious to Commotions, Passions, and other efforts of Mind, by reason of the Imbecillity of their Nature, by so much, doth their Extravagancy, having once broke thro' the restraints of the Law, straggle further away, and is hardly ever reduced, and brought back again within its due Bounds; in regard, Women are alike impatient, both of Diseases, and Remedies, too: But if any of them seem more valiant and couragious, they are so much the more dangerous, as being lyable to more impetuous and vehement Passions: For they, who, out of tediousness of their Sex, have put off the Woman, are very willing to extend their Liberty, even beyond the Precincts of Manly Cares, too; If you once exceed, and pass over the Mound, and Limits, set by Nature, whatsoever is beyond is infinite, and there is no Boundary left either for Desire or Action: Moreover, there is a further Accession to this Infirmity of Nature, by how much the less Confidence one hath in himself, so much the more easily he interprets the Words and Actions of others to his own Reproach; he is more vehemently Angry, and more hardly appeased. Such a Party doth also execute Revenge more immoderately, and doth punish his Despisers, with greater Hate: Now that all those things are unfit for, yea, contrary to, Magistracy, there is none of you are ignorant of. And if any Man think, that I devise these things of my own Head, let him consider, What great Disturbances there were not long ago, when *Joan* of *Naples* Reigned. Look over the Histories of Ancient Times. I will not mention *Semiramis* of *Assyria*, nor *Laodice* of *Cappadocia*; Those were Monsters, not Women. I shall only mention, That *Zenobia Palmirena* so much spoken of, the subduer of the *Parthians*, and Defender of the *Roman* Empire, was at last Overcome, Taken, and Triumphed over: And so She herself, and her Kingdom, which was enlarged, and increased by her Husband *Odenatus*, was lost in a moment.

Queen of *Palmira*, a City in *Syria*, now called *Said*.

Neither may I pass over in silence, what is principally to be regarded, in the management of other Mens Affairs; That the Chief Command is not to be intrusted to such sort of Persons, who are not accountable for their Mal-Administration: I do not at all distrust the Disposition, Faithfulness, nor Care of the Queen; but if any thing be acted amiss (as it often happens) by the Fraud of others; and Matters be carried otherwise, than the Publick Good, or the Dignity of Her Place doth Require, What Mulct can we exact from the Kings Mother? What Punishment can we require? Who shall give an account for Miscarriages? The Highest Matters will then be managed in the Meetings of Women; in the Nursery or Dressing Room: You must *There*, either each Man in particular subscribe to Decrees; or All in General Make them; and She, whom you scarce now restrain, tho' She be without Arms, and obnoxious to you by Laws and Customs, when you have, by your Authority, put Power into Her hands, you will certainly feel Her Womanish Wilfulness and Extravagance? Neither do I speak this, as if I did fear any such thing from our Queen, who is the Choicest and Modestest of all Women; but because, I think it base and unseemly for us, who have

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all things, yet, in our own Hands and Power, to place the Hope of our Safety, which we may owe to our Selves, only in anothers Power, especially, since both Divine and Human Laws, the Custom of our Ancestors, yea, and the Consent of all Nations, throughout the whole World, make for us. 'Tis true, some Nations have endured Women to be their Chief Magistrates, but they were not elected to that Dignity, by their Judgment and Suffrage, but were cast upon them by the Lot of their Birth and Nativity; but never any People, who had freedom of Vote, when there was plenty of able Men to chuse, did ever prefer Women before Them. And therefore, most Eminent Patriots, I advise, and earnestly intreat, you, That, according to the Laws of our Country, and the Customs of our Ancestors, we chuse One; or, if you think fit, More, the Best out of the Noblest and Best, who may undertake the Regency, till the King arrive at that strength both of Body and Mind, as to be able to manage the Government, Himself. And I pray God to Bless your Proceedings herein.

Kennedy spake thus with the Approbation of the, undoubtedly, major part of the Assembly; and the rest, perceiving that it was in vain to oppose, passed over to their Opinion. The Matter was thus composed, That neither Party seemed to have the Better of the other. Two of each Faction were chosen for the Guardianship for the King, who were to manage all Publick Affairs, with Fidelity; to Collect, and Expend, the King's Revenue; and to undertake the Charge of the Royal Family: Of the Queens side, *William Graham* and *Robert Boyl*, then Chancellor: Of the Other, *Robert* Earl of the *Orcades*, and *John Kennedy*, All, on both sides, the Chief of their Families. To these were added the Two Bishops of *Glasgo* and *Caledonia*. The Queen was allowed to be present at the King's Education, but She was not to touch any part of the Publick Government; As for the other Children, which were Four, *viz. Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, and *John* Earl of *Mar*, and Two young Females, She had the Charge of their Educations, Herself.

The Parliament Gratify neither Party fully, but chuse Regents, of which the Queens Friends are an equal Number with the rest.

Matters being thus composed at home, Embassadors from *England* had their Audience, who desired a Truce, which was granted for Fifteen Years; The next Year, which was 1463. The King's Mother Died, being not well spoken of in point of Chastity: The same Year, *Alexander*, the King's Brother, returning from his Grandfather, by the Mothers-side, out of *France*, was taken Prisoner by the *English*, but freed soon after, in regard the *Scots* urged it as a Breach of the Truce, and threatned a War thereupon.

A Truce with *England* for 15 Years. The Queen Mothers Death.

Peace being obtained abroad, it was not long, before Intestine Commotions arose at home; for, when the Disputes and Controversies betwixt the Nobility, concerning ordering the State of the Kingdom, were bruited abroad, and magnified by vulgar Rumors. And Moreover, the King's Minority, together with the fresh Remembrance of the Licentiousness of the late Times, were brought upon the Stage, all these Temptations put together did easily let loose the Reins to Men, who were turbulent enough in their own Nature. *Alan* of *Lorn*, a Seditious Person, had a mind to enjoy the

Intestine Commotions in *Scotland*.

By *Alan* of *Lorn*, Eſtate of *John*, his Elder Brother; and therefore, kept him Priſoner, intending there to detain him ſo long alive, till the hatred of his cruel Practiſe did, with time, abate, and ſo he yield to his Will and Pleaſure; when *Calen Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*, heard of it, he gather'd a Band of his Tenants together, freed *John*, and caſt *Alan* into Priſon, in his room; reſolving to carry him to Court, that he might ſuffer Puniſhment for That, as well as for his other noted Robberies; but he prevented his Puniſhment by Death, whether voluntary, or fortuitous, is not known.

And *Donald* the *Iſlander*. In another part of the Country, *Donald*, the Iſlander, as being a more powerful Perſon, began to make a far greater Commotion; for, after the Kings Death, as free from Fear, and judging, That turbulent ſtate of things to be a fit Opportunity for him to injure his Inferiors, and to increaſe his own power, he came to *Enverneſs*, with no great Train, and was kindly invited into the Caſtle, by the Governor thereof; who had no Thoughts, or ſo much as the leaſt Fear, of any Hoſtility from him; when he was entred, he turned out the Gariſon, ſeized upon the Caſtle, and gathering his * Iſlanders about him, proclaim'd himſelf, *King of the Iſlands:* He ſent forth Edicts into the Neighbour Countries, *That the Inhabitants ſhould pay Tribute to none, but himſelf; and that they ſhould acknowledge no other Lord or Maſter, denouncing a great Penalty to thoſe that did otherwiſe.* The News hereof caus'd Debauch'd Perſons to flock to him from all Parts; ſo that having made up an Army great enough, he entred *Athole*, with ſuch celerity, that he took the Earl thereof, who was the Kings Uncle, and his Wife, Priſoners, before they ſuſpected any ſuch thing. For the Earl, hearing the ſudden Tumult of a War, diſtruſted the ſtrength of his Caſtle of *Blare*, and went into the Church of St. *Brides* near adjoining, to defend himſelf there as in a Sanctuary, by the Religion of the Place; many alſo of his Vaſſals and Countrymen, being ſurprized at the ſudden danger, carried, and laid up their beſt Goods there. That Church was venerated in thoſe Parts with great Ceremony, and it had remain'd inviolate, to that very day, by reaſon of the great Opinion of its Sanctity; but the conſideration of Gain was more prevalent with that Savage and Avaritious Perſon, than any ſenſe of Religion. For he violently pull'd out the Earl and his Wife from thence, and a great Number of Priſoners, beſides; and after he had pillag'd the Church, he burnt it with Fire; and when the Prieſts ſpake to him, to deter him from that Sacriledge, ſome of them he ſlew, others he ſent away, evilly enough intreated. Then having waſted the adjacent Countries, up and down, with Fire and Sword, he was returning home, with a great Booty, but a ſudden Tempeſt aroſe, which ſunk many of his Ships, and grievouſly diſtreſt the reſt; ſo that he, and a Few only of his Followers were rather caſt up, than landed, on the Iſland of *Ila*; they, which ſurviv'd this Shipwrack, thought, That this Calamity happened to them by the manifeſt Anger of the Deity, becauſe they had violated the Church of St. *Bride*; and therefore they went bare-footed, and cover'd only with a little Linen Garment, in an humble manner to carry Gifts to her, whom, a few days before, they had ſo contumeliouſly abus'd: 'Tis reported, That, from that day forward, *Donald*, their Commander

* Or, *Red-ſhanks*.

Donald takes the *Earl* of *Athol* Priſoner; pillages and burns St. *Brides* Church.

der, fell out of his Wits, either for Grief, that he had loſt his Army and the Spoil; or, becauſe his Mind, though brutiſh, was at length gaul'd with the Conſcience of his Irreligious Sacriledge, and Contempt of Divine Worſhip. This Misfortune of their Commander occaſion'd his Kindred to ſet the Earl of *Athole*, and his Children, at liberty, and to come to atone St. *Bride* with many Large and Expiatory Gifts. He is Shipwrack'd, and thereupon falls diſtracted.

When the News hereof was brought to Court, it broke off their Conſultations, of making any Expedition againſt the *Iſlanders*. The firſt Tumults being thus appeas'd, the Adminiſtration of *Scotiſh* Affairs was carried on with ſo much Equity and Tranquillity, that the oldeſt Man, then alive, never remembred more ſecure, quiet, and halcyon, days; ſuch was the Prudence and Gravity of *James Kennedy*, (on whoſe Authority the Court did then principally depend,) and ſuch the Modeſty of the reſt of the Nobility, who did not grudge to yield Obedience to the Wiſer ſort. For, this *James Kennedy* had obtained ſuch Credit by his many Merits and Services to his Country, and by his good Offices towards the former King; yea, he had procured ſuch a real Opinion of his Fidelity in all Matters, by reaſon of the Compoſedneſs of his Manners, and his near Alliance to the King, That the reſt of the Kings Guardians, which were to ſucceed one another, Two and Two by turns, did willingly admit and ſuffer him, when ever he came to Court, to be the ſole Cenſor and Superviſor of their Pains and Diligence, in that Service. By this their Concord, the Kings Education was carried on very ſmoothly, and his own Towardlineſs and Ingenuity making an acceſſion to their Induſtry, all Men conceiv'd great Hopes of him. *James Kennedy* his commendation.

Thus Matters were carried on, till about the Sixth year of the Kings Reign; There was then at Court *Robert Boyd*, the Chief of his Family, who, beſides his Perſonal Eſtate, was ally'd to many other Great and Noble Families, he had alſo a Flouriſhing Stock of Children of his own, as *Thomas* and *Robert*; he had a Brother too, named *Alexander*, who was well inſtructed and vers'd in all good Letters: This *Alexander*, at the deſire of *John Kennedy*, his Kinſman, (who, by reaſon of his declining Age, was not ſo fit for Youthful Services) and with the conſent of the reſt of the Kings Tutors, or Guardians, was preferr'd to the King, to teach him the Rudiments of the Art Military, in the Knowledge whereof he was eſteem'd to exceed all his Equals. The *Boyds*, upon the account of theſe Advantages, were not content with that Place and Authority, though it were very great and Honourable, which they had at Court, but further ſought to transfer all Publick Offices into their own Family; to accompliſh which, *Alexander* was deſired by them, to incline the Kings Favour towards them; He, having got the King in the Tenderneſs and Ductility of his Age, did ſo inſinuate into him by his Flattering Complaiſance, that he could do all things with him. Being admitted into ſuch private Intimacy and Converſe, he would oft ſcatter words before the King, that he was now fit to govern, himſelf; and that 'was time for him to be emancipated from the ſervitude of old *Grey-Beards*; and to maintain a Company of Noble Military Youths about him, that ſo he might enter on thoſe Studies, betimes; The *Boyds* creep into Favour at Court.

betimes, wherein, whether he would or no, he was likely to pass the remaining part of his Life. Discourses of this kind were easily entertain'd by a Youth, unskilful in Matters, and in the slippery Part of his Age, too; which was prone to liberty, so that he began to be a little Stubborn and Headstrong against his Governors; Some things he would do, without their advice, and Many against it, as seeking an opportunity to be delivered from the severity of those *Seniors*, as from a kind of Bondage and Captivity. Whereupon, being at *Linlithgoe*, when he went out a Hunting, unknown to *Kennedy*, whose turn it was *then* to wait, the old Man, being informed thereof, went forth to overtake him not far from the Town; and having done so, he took his Horse by the Bridle, and endeavour'd to stop and bring him back, alleging, that 'twas no convenient Time, nor was his Company fitting for such an Exercise; hereupon *Alexander* ran in, and with the Bow, which he had in his Hand, struck the old Man a Blow on his Head, though he deserv'd better things at his hands; *Kennedy*, being thus beat off, as a troublesom Hinderer of their Sport, they proceed on to the Place, they intended they go to; *Kennedy*, being wounded, returned into the Town. And when *Robert Boyd* came again to Court, he did not disapprove, what his Brother *Alexander* had done; By this means, the Seeds of Enmity were sown between the *Two Factions*, which grew up to the great Detriment of the Kingdom, and at length to the total Destruction of One of them.

Alexander Boyd abuses *Kennedy*.

The Fewd was first discover'd upon This Occasion; The *Boyds* would have the King remov'd from that place to *Edinburgh*, but *Kennedy* and his Party would have *Sterlin* to be the Place of his Residence. The *Boyds* could then do most at Court, and so, without publick Consent, they carry'd the King to *Edinburgh*, there to enter upon the Regal Government. The Attendants of the Journy, were, besides their own Kindred, *Adam Hepburn*, *John Somerval*, and *Andrew Car*, all Heads of their respective Families. This was acted about the 10th of *July* in the year 1466. The *Kennedies*, having lost the day in the Dispute, departed severally to their own Homes, *John* into *Carrick*, *James* into *Fife*, their minds swelling with Anger, and resolving to omit no Opportunity of Revenge. The *Boyds*, thus Conquerors, not contented with the Wrong they had done, sent *John* an Ape, in a jeer, for the old Man to play and sport himself with at home, thereby upbraiding him, as if he had doted for Age.

The *Boyds* carry the King to *Edinburgh*.

Whereupon the *Kennedies* depart from the Court.

Boyd's Sarcasm to *John Kennedy*.

Not long after, *James Kennedy* departed this Life, maturely enough for himself, if we respect his Age; but his Death was so lamented by all good Men, as if, in him, they had lost a publick Father. For, in that Man, besides the Virtues above-mention'd, there was an high degree of Frugality and Continence at home, yet great Splendor and Magnificence abroad: He exceeded all former Bishops, yea, and all those which have sat after him in that See, to this very day, in Liberality towards the Publick; and yet notwithstanding, his own Ecclesiastical Revenues were not very great, for as yet the *Scots* had not arrived at that ill Custom of heaping up Steeples upon Steeples; nor had learned to spend that *worse* upon Luxury, which was before *ill* gotten by Avarice: He left one Eminent Monument of his Munificence

James Kennedy's Death, and Character.

ficence behind him; and That was the Publick Schools at St. *Andrews*, which he built with great Expence, and endow'd with large Revenues, but iſſuing out of Church Incoms; he took order, that a Magnificent Monument ſhould be erected for himſelf therein, which yet the Malignity of Men envy'd him for, though he had deſerv'd ſo well privately of moſt Men, and publickly of all Men: They alleg'd, 'twas a thing of too much vanity, to beſtow ſo much Coſt upon a Structure of no Uſe. His Death made his Virtues more illuſtrious, and increas'd Mens deſire after him; for when he, who was a perpetual Cenſor, and Corrector, of Manners, was once remov'd out of the way, the publick Diſcipline began, by degrees, to grow weak and remiſs, and, at laſt, to be ſo corrupt, as to bring almoſt all things, with it ſelf, to ruin.

The *Boyds* made uſe of pretences in Law, to increaſe the Domeſtick Power of their Family, and to abate the Potency of their Enemies, and firſt * *Patrick Graham* ſeem'd moſt pat for their purpoſe; he was the Brother of *James Kennedy*, by the ſame Mother, and was alſo Couſin by the Mothers-ſide, to *Robert Boyd*. He, as the Manner was in thoſe days, was Elected Biſhop by the Canons, in the Room of his Brother *James*, but was hinder'd by the Court-Faction, from having the Kings leave to go to *Rome*, ſo that he went privately to the Pope, without any Train, and ſo was eaſily admitted into his Brothers Place; for beſides the Nobleneſs of his Stock, and the great Recommendation of his high Virtues, he was alſo well Learned, as for thoſe times. And therefore whilſt he ſtaid at *Rome*, fearing the Power of the Adverſe Faction; The old Controverſy concerning the Liberty of the Church of *Scotland*, began to be revived. For the Archbiſhop of *York* pretended, That the Biſhops of *Scotland* were under his Juriſdiction, ſo that he endeavour'd to retain That Power in time of Peace, which had been uſurped in the Licentious Times of War. But a Decree was made at *Rome*, in Favour of the *Scots*; and *Graham* was not only made Primate of *Scotland*, but alſo was Conſtituted the Popes Legat there for Three years, to inquire into the dangerous Manners and Converſations of Prieſts; and to reſtore decayed Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline to its priſtine Integrity and State; and yet, this great Man, though ſo illuſtrious for Indowments of Mind and Fortune, and having alſo the ſuperadded Authority of the Pope to back him, durſt not return home, till the Power of the *Boyds* did ſomewhat decline at Court.

* *Patrick Graham* Elected Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, in the room of *James Kennedy*, and Confirmed by the *Pope*. But the *Boyds* obſtruct his Admiſſion.

Scots Biſhops freed from the Juriſdiction of the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, by the Popes Decree.

The *Boyds* perceiving, That the Concourſe of the Nobility to them was not ſo great as they hop'd; to avert the Accuſations of their Enemies, and provide for their own Security for the future, cauſe a publick Aſſembly, or Parliament, to be Indicted againſt the 13th Day of *October*. There *Robert Boyd*, the Elder, fell down on his Knees before the King and his Counſellors of State, complaining, That his Service to the King in bringing him to *Edinburgh*, was ill interpreted and traduc'd by the Malign Speeches of his Adverſaries, who gave out threatning Words, That the Adviſers to that Journy ſhould, one Day, ſuffer Puniſhment for the ſame; and therefore he humbly beſought the King, That, if he had conceiv'd any ill will, or diſguſt in his Mind againſt him for that Journy, That he would openly de-

The *Boyds* ſtrengthen their Faction, and procure Pardon for their Miſcariages, by Publick Inſtruments, to which the King aſſents.

clare

clare it; that ſo the Calumnies of his Detractors might be either prevented, or allay'd. The King, having advis'd a little with the *Lords of the Articles*, made anſwer, That *Robert* was not the Adviſer of him to that Journy, but rather his Companion in it; and therefore, that he was more worthy of a Reward for his Courteſie, than of Puniſhment for his Obſequiouſneſs and Compliance therein; and this he was willing to declare in a publick Decree of the Eſtates, that ſo all invidious Diſcourſe might be ſtopt; and, in the ſame Decree, Proviſion ſhould be made, That that Matter ſhould never be prejudicial to *Robert*, nor his Companions: *Boyd* deſired, that This Decree might be Regiſtred amongſt the Acts of the Aſſembly; and that the ſame ſhould be confirm'd alſo by Letters Patents, under the Great Seal; and accordingly the Decree was preſently Regiſtred amongſt the Acts, and the Letters Patents were deliver'd to him ſoon after, *viz.* the 25th Day of the ſame Month. The ſame Day alſo, the King, by advice of his Council, gave him other Letters Patents, wherein he was Conſtituted Regent, and had the Safety of the King, his Brothers, Siſters, Towns, Caſtles, and all the Juriſdiction over his Subjects, committed to him, till he himſelf came to 21 Years of Age; and he dealt ſo with the Nobles, then preſent, that they ſolemnly promis'd to be aſſiſtant to the *Boyds* in all their publick Actions; and that they would be obnoxious to Puniſhment, if they did not carefully, and with Faithfulneſs, perform, what they now promis'd: To this Stipulation, or Promiſe, the King alſo ſubſcrib'd.

Robert Boyd made *Regent.*

By this means, when the King was their Friend, Part of the Nobility in League with them, and alſo the Adminiſtration of the whole Government put into their Hands, they thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecur'd for a long time; yea, and to lay a Foundation alſo for the future Greatneſs of their Poſterity, they brought it about, that *Thomas Boyd*, the Son of *Robert*, ſhould Marry the King's Eldeſt Siſter. That Marriage, as it was opulent, and ſeem'd a Prop and Eſtabliſhment of their Power, ſo it increas'd the Hatred of their Enemies; and gave Occaſion to variety of Diſcourſe, amongſt the Vulgar. For, though, by this means, all paſſage to the King's Ear ſeem'd to be precluded, and they alone made the ſole Arbiters of his Words and Actions; yet, they did not flouriſh ſo much in Favour at Court, as they were proſecuted with publick Hatred abroad; which, after Four Years Concealment, did, at laſt, break out to the Deſtruction of their whole Family; and the wiſer ſort of the adverſe Party did not much diſlike this their ſudden Increaſe of Honour, for, they hoped, (as 'tis uſual) *That Arrogance would be the Companion thereof, which would not indure a Superior, and deſpiſe an Equal, yea and trample upon an Inferior; and when the Bounds of a Subjects Condition are exceeded, it alſo awakens Kings, who are impatient of Corrivals, to overthrow ſuch ſuſpected Perſons.* The Noiſe of this Diſcord betwixt ſuch Potent Factions, let looſe the Reins to Popular Licentiouſneſs. For the People, accuſtom'd to Robberies, did, by Intervals, more eagerly return to their former Trade. The Seeds of Hatred, which were ſuppreſt for a time, did now bud forth again with greater Vigour; and the Seditious did willingly lay hold on theſe Occaſions for Diſturbances, ſo that, there was a general Liberty taken to do what Men liſted, in hopes of Impunity.

Thomas Boyd Marries the Kings Eldeſt Siſter.

The Greatneſs of the *Boyds* occaſions their Ruin.

Neither

Neither were the *Kennedys* wanting to the Occaſion, who partly did ſpread abroad Rumors to inflame the People, and to caſt all the Cauſe of their Diſturbance and Miſeries upon the *Boyds*; and partly alſo, (as ſome thought) they were not much averſe from the Deſign of the Seditious, but did privily caſt Fewel into the Fire. This was plain and evident by their very Countenances, That this troubleſom State of Affairs was not unpleaſant or unacceptable to them. There ſeem'd but only One thing wanting, utterly to ſubvert the flouriſhing Power of their Enemies, and That was, to make the King of their Party: For they had Strength enough, or too much; they knew, that the *Commonalty, who affect Innovations, and love every thing more than what is preſent*, would crowd in to their Party; hereupon they agreed to try the King's Mind, by ſome crafty Perſons who ſhould pretend themſelves to be Lovers of the *Boydian* Faction.

In the *interim*, Embaſſadors were appointed to paſs over into *Denmark*, to deſire *Margarite*, the Daughter of that King, as a Wife for *James*; and that they ſhould take all the care they could, that the Old Controverſie concerning the *Orcades* and the Iſles of *Shetland*, which had coſt both Nations ſo much Blood, might be accorded: The Chief of the Embaſſie, was, *Andrew Stuart*, Son to *Walter*, who was then Chancellor of *Scotland*. The *Danes* eaſily aſſented to the Marriage, and they quitted all their Right which their Anceſtors claim'd over all the Iſlands about *Scotland*, in the Name of a Dowry; only the private Owners of Eſtates, in thoſe Iſlands, were to enjoy them upon the ſame Terms, as they had formerly done. Some write, that they were paſſed over in Mortgage, till the Dowry was paid, but that afterward, the King of *Denmark* gave up all his Right thereto for ever to his Nephew *James*, who was newly born by his Daughter.

James by his Ambaſſadors deſires *Margarite* Daughter of the King of *Denmark* for a Wife.

The King of *Denmark* reſigns up the *Orcades* and *Schetland* to the *Scots*, as a Dowry.

When the Chancellor had inform'd the King, that all things were finiſh'd according to his deſire, the next Conſult was, to ſend an handſom Train of Nobles to bring over the New Queen. And here, by the Fraud of his Enemies, and Inadvertency of his Friends, *Thomas Boyd*, Son of *Robert* Earl of *Arran*, was choſen Embaſſador, his very Maligners and Envyers purpoſely commending his Aptneſs for that Imployment, by reaſon of his Valour, Splendor and Eſtate, fit for ſuch a Magnificent Errand: He judging all things ſafe at Home, in regard his Father was Regent, willingly undertook the Imployment; and at the beginning of *Autumn*, with a good Train of Friends and Followers, he went a Ship-board.

Thomas Boyd, ſent Ambaſſador to bring the new Queen from *Norwey*.

In the mean time, the *Kennedy*'s had looſened the Kings Affection to the *Boyds*; and whereas they thought to retain his Good Will, by Pleaſures and Vacation from Publick Cares: Thoſe very Baits they imputed as Crimes to them, and by magnifying their Wealth, though Great in it ſelf, yet as too Bulky, and even dangerous to the King himſelf; and withal alleging, what a great Advance would accru to his Exchequer, by the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, upon their Conviction, they did variouſly agitate the infirm Mind of the King, who was inclin'd to Suſpicions and Avarice. And the *Boyds* on the other ſide, though they endeavour'd by their Obſequious Flatteries, and their hiding the publick Miſeries from him, to

The *Boyds* undermined in the abſence of *Thomas*.

baniſh all Melancholly Thoughts out of his Mind; yet, the Complaints of the Vulgar, and the Solitarineſs of the Court, Both which were, of ſet purpoſe, contriv'd and increaſt by their Enemies, could not be hid. And beſides, there were ſome, who when the King was alone, did diſcourſe him freely, concerning the Publick Calamities, and the Way to Remedy them; yea, the King himſelf, as if he were ſomewhat awakned to Manly Cares, declar'd, That what was ſometimes Acted abroad, did not pleaſe him. But the *Boyds*, though they perceiv'd that the King was every Day leſs and leſs Tractable to them, than formerly; and withal, that popular Envy roſe higher and higher againſt them, yet remitted nothing of their former Licentiouſneſs, as truſting to the Kings former Lenity, and to the Amneſty, which they had for what was paſt.

Whereupon the contrary Faction, having ſecretly wrought over the King to their Party, and *Thomas*, Earl of *Arran*, being ſent packing Ambaſſador into *Denmark*, from whence he was not expected to return, till late in the Spring, becauſe thoſe *Northern* Seas are Tempeſtuous and Unpaſſable, for a great part of the Year; upon theſe accounts, they thought it a fit ſeaſon, to attempt the *Boyds*, who were Old and Diſeaſed, and therefore came ſeldom to Court; and beſides, were deſtitute of the Aid of many of their Friends, who were gone away in the Train of the Embaſſy. The Firſt thing they did, was, to perſuade the King to call a Parliament, which had been much long'd for a great while, to meet at *Edinburgh* on the Twenty Second Day of *November*, in the Year 1469. Thither the *Boyds*, Two Brothers, were Summoned to come, and make their Appearance; where Matters were variouſly carried towards them, as every ones Hatred of them, or Favour to them, did dictate and direct. But they were ſo aſtoniſht at this ſudden Blow, as having made no great Proviſion againſt ſo imminent a Danger, that their Minds were quite dejected, not ſo much for the Power of the adverſe Faction, as for the ſudden Alienation of the Kings Mind from them; ſo that *Robert*, in Deſpair of his ſafety, fled into *England*; but *Alexander*, who by reaſon of his Sickneſs could not fly, was call'd to his Anſwer. The Crime objected to both the Brothers, was, That they had laid Hands on the King, and by private Advice had carried him to *Edinburgh*. *Alexander* alleg'd, That he had obtain'd his Pardon for that Offence in a publick Convention, and therefore he humbly deſired, That a Copy of that Pardon might be Tranſcrib'd out of the Parliament Rolls, but this was denied him: What his Accuſers did object againſt that Pardon, the Writers of thoſe Times do not Record; and I, though a Conjecture be not very difficult to be made in the caſe, yet had rather leave the whole Matter to the Readers Thoughts, than to affirm Uncertainties for Truths. *Alexander* was Condemn'd on his Tryal, and had his Head cut off. *Robert*, a few years after, dy'd at *Alnwick* in *England*, the Grief of Baniſhment being added to the pains of his old Age. His Son, though abſent, and that upon a publick Buſineſs, was declar'd a publick Enemy, without Hearing; and all their Eſtates were Confiſcate. Thus ſtood the matter of Fact, but I ſhall not conceal, what I have heard ſome Good Men, and not Ignorant of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, affirm; They ſay, That the Amneſty given to the *Boyds*, was

Robert Boyd flies into *England.*

Alexander Boyd Beheaded.

A Critical or Ambiguous Pardon.

was thus Worded in the Records, That the King forgave them all the Prejudice and Rancour of Mind, (as they then Phras'd it) which he might have conceiv'd againſt them; which they, who were willing to Gratifie the King, did Interpret (according to the Diſtinction then Celebrated, amongſt Divines, concerning the Remiſſion of the Fault, and of the Puniſhment) after this manner, That though the King forgave them his Perſonal Reſentment, yet they were not exempted from the Puniſhment of the Law. *Thomas Boyd*, when he heard of the Calamity of his Family, though ſome put him in hopes of Pardon, in a time of publick Rejoycing, yet durſt not come aſhore; but being inform'd by his Wife, who upon the firſt News of the approach of the *Daniſh* Fleet, made immediately to him, that there was no Hopes of Re-admiſſion to the Kings Favour, his Enemies having ſtopt all Paſſages thereunto, ſail'd back into *Denmark*, whence he came, and ſo Travelled through *Germany* into *France*, where he, in vain, indeavour'd to obtain the Mediation of *Lewis* the Eleventh, (who then had turn'd the Legitimate Empire of the *French* into a Tyranny) for his Reconciliation; and thereupon he went to *Charles* of *Burgundy*, where he carry'd himſelf Valiantly, and did him much Faithful Service in the Wars, for which he was well rewarded by him with Honours and Largeſſes. There he lived a Private, yet Honourable, Life; and his Wife bore him a Son, called *James*, and a Daughter called *Grekin*, of which, in their place.

Thomas Boyd declared a publick Enemy in his abſence.

Who thereupon retires into *Burgundy*.

The Marriage of *James* the Third, and Queen *Margarite*, was Celebrated with a great Concourſe of the Nobility, on the Tenth Day of *July*, in the Year of our *Lord* 1470. There was born out of that Marriage, Three Years after, on Saint *Patricks* Day in *March*, *James*, who Succeeded his Father in the Kingdom.

King *James* Married to *Margarite* of *Norwey*.

In the interim, the King, not yet ſatisfi'd with the Miſery of the *Boyds*, writes over into *Flanders*, to recal his Siſter home; but knowing that ſhe bore ſo great a Love to her Husband, that ſhe would hardly be induc'd to part from him; he caus'd others to write to her, giving her ſome Hopes, that the Kings Anger might, in time, be appeas'd towards her Husband; and that no doubt was to be made, but that ſhe her ſelf might prevail much with her Brother, for his Relief; but that ſhe muſt come to plead for him in Preſence, and not commit his Apology to others; upon theſe Hopes, ſhe return'd, and was no ſooner arriv'd in *Scotland*, but the King tranſacts with her about a Divorce; and thereupon he affixt publick Libels and Citations, atteſted by many Witneſſes, at **Kilmarnock*, (which was the Chief Houſe of the *Boyds*, before their Fall,) wherein *Thomas* was Commanded to appear in Sixty Days, though all Men knew, that, though the publick Faith had been given him; yet he would hardly have return'd; he not appearing at the Day, the former Marriage was pronounc'd *Null*, and a Divorce made, though the Husband were abſent and unheard; and ſo *Mary*, the Kings Siſter was, compell'd, againſt her Will, to Marry *James Hamilton*, a Man rais'd but a little before, and much inferiour to her former Husband, in Eſtate and Dignity; yet, ſhe bore him a Son, named *James*, and a Daughter called *Margarite*. The Children ſhe had, by her former Husband, were alſo recall'd by the King. And he himſelf lived not long after.

* A Town on the River *Irwyn* in *Cuningham*.

Thomas Boyd's Wife divorced from him, and Married to *James Hamilton*.

Thomas Boyd's Death. He died at *Antwerp*, and having no Kinſmen there to claim his Eſtate, *Charles* of *Burgundy* caus'd a Magnificent Monument to be erected for him, with the Mony, which he had munificently beſtow'd upon him in the Church of . . . . . wherein an Honourable Epitaph was inſcribed. Thus the Family of the *Boyds*, which then was the moſt flouriſhing one in all *Scotland*, within a few Years, grew up and was cut down, to the great Document of Poſterity, *What ſlippery things the Favours of young Kings are.*

Their Ruin did not only amaze their Friends, but it alſo kept off, and damp'd, their very Enemies, ſo that none would adventure to Aſpire to that Dignity, from whence they were caſt down; partly, upon the account of the Inſtability of Human Affairs; and partly, in Conſideration of the Kings ſudden Repentance, for beſtowing of his Graces and Favours, and his continu'd Perſeverance in his Hatred, when once began. This is certain, that they which were erected to great Hopes of Preferment, by this change of Publick Affairs, found themſelves much miſtaken: For the King, who, before that time, had uſed himſelf to Domeſtick Eaſe, and ſeldom appear'd in Publick, being now alſo newly Married, ſpent a great part of his Time in the Pleaſures of his Palace; he excluded the Nobility, and was wholly govern'd by a few of his Servants; for, being of an eager and fervid Diſpoſition, he could not well bear the being contradicted in his Opinion, ſo that he avoided the Liberty which Nobles would take, in adviſing him, and had only thoſe about him, who would not reprehend, but rather approve of, what he did; that ſo by avoiding any occaſion of Offence, by their Flattery, they might curry his Favour. Amidſt theſe Manners of the Court, the Eccleſiaſtical State was not much better; for though the Miniſters of the Church had been given, for many years, to Luxury and Avarice, yet there was ſtill ſome ſhadow of ancient Gravity remaining; ſo that ſome encouragement was given to Learning, and Advantage to ſuch as were good Proficients therein. For the Biſhops were choſen by the Colleges of Canons, and the Abbats by their reſpective Sodalities; but then the Paraſite Courtiers perſuaded the King, (for it was they only, who had his Heart and Ear) that it would be very gainful to him; and thoſe with whom he was to deal, were not able to hinder his Deſign, if he recalled and aſſumed the Deſignation of ſuch Offices to himſelf, and not ſuffer a Matter of ſo great Advantage to reſt in the Hands of ſuch a droniſh Generation of People, and unfit for any publick Buſineſs, as Eccleſiaſticks were. The King was eaſily perſuaded thereunto, in regard, they alleg'd, That, by this means, beſides other Advantages, he might have Opportunity to curb the Contumacious, to oblige Neuters, and to reward the well deſerving; but, (ſaid they) in our preſent Circumſtances, Promotions and Honours are in the Hands of the Dregs of the Vulgar, who are as Parſimonious in caſe of publick Neceſſities, as they are profuſe in their private Pleaſures; but it was fit, that, in ſuch Caſes, all Men ſhould depend upon the King alone, that ſo he might have the ſole Power of Puniſhing, Pardoning, and Rewarding.

Biſhops anciently choſen by their Canons, and Abbats by their Monks.

By

By these and the like Flattering Arguments, they perſuaded the King to their Opinion, for his Mind was not yet confirm'd by Ripeneſs of Years; beſides, 'twas weaken'd by ill Cuſtom, and not fortifi'd againſt the Temptations of Money-Matters: And moreover, he was naturally Prone to Liberty. Hereupon, a new Face of things preſently appeared throughout the whole Kingdom, and all Matters both Sacred and Profane, were brought to Court, to be huckſter'd and ſold, as in a Publick Fair. But *Patrick Graham* was the only Man, who endeavour'd to ſtop the precipitous Ruin of the Church; when his Enemies ſway'd all at home, he ſtaid at *Rome* ſome years, but being there inform'd by his Friends, in what State things were, he, truſting in his Alliance to the King, being the Son of his Great Aunt, reſolv'd to return home; but that he might make ſome Eſſay of the Minds of Men, before; he ſent the Bull, which he had obtain'd from the Pope, for his *Legantine Power*, and caus'd it to be Proclaim'd and Publiſh'd in the Month of *September*, and the Year of our *Lord* 1472. which rais'd up much Envy againſt him. For they that had bought Eccleſiaſtical Honours at Court, were afraid to loſe both their Prey and Money too; and they, who thought to make advantage by this Court Nundination, were griev'd to be thus diſappointed; yea, that Faction did no leſs Storm, that had obtain'd Eccleſiaſtical Preferments from the King, for Mercenary Gain, that ſo they might ſell them to others. Their Fear was, that this gainful Practice would be taken out of their Hands. All theſe made a Conſpiracy againſt *Patrick*, and in his abſence, loaded him with Reproaches; they came to Court, and complain'd, that their Ancient Laws, as well as the Kings late Decrees, were Violated, and that the *Romaniſts* were carrying on many Matters, very prejudicial to the Kingdom; and unleſs the King did ſpeedily oppoſe their Exorbitance, they would quickly bring all things under their Power; yea, and make the King himſelf truckle under them.

But King *James* aſſumes the naming of them to himſelf.

Which *Patrick Graham* labours to withſtand.

To prevent this Danger, there were ſome ſent, by Order of Council, to *Patrick*, before he had ſcarce ſet his Foot on Shoar, to forbid him to execute any part of his Office, until the King had heard the Complaints made againſt him; and a Day was appointed him, to appear, the Firſt of *November* at *Edinburgh*, in order to an Hearing.

In the mean time, when his Friends and Kinsfolk did aſſure him, that the King would do what was Equitable in ſo juſt a Cauſe: The adverſe Faction, hearing of it, did ſo ingage the King and his Courtiers, by the Promiſes of great Sums of Money, that *Patrick* could never have a Fair Hearing afterwards: When he was come to the Aſſembly, he produc'd the Popes Bull and Grant, wherein he was Conſtituted Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Primate of *Scotland*, and the Popes Legate for Three Years, to order Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. The Inferiour ſort of Prieſts were glad of the thing, that an Office ſo neceſſary was put into the Hands of ſo Pious and Learn'd a Man, but they did not dare to ſpeak it out, for Fear of ſome powerful Perſons, who had got the Ear of the King and his Counſellors. His Adverſaries made their Appeal to the Pope, who alone could be judge in the Caſe; which they did on purpoſe to create delay, that ſo the Favour of the People towards *Patrick*, might in time abate.

But the Court-brokers oppoſe him.

He

He himself was sent back by the King to his Church, but forbid to wear the Ensigns and Habiliments of an Archbishop, till the Cause was determin'd; neither was he to perform any Office, but what the former Bishops had done before him.

Whilst these things were acting, *William Sivez* rose up, a new Enemy, against *Patrick*, but the bittereſt of all the rest, and that upon a light Occasion. He was a young Man of a prompt Wit, and had lived some Years at *Lovain* under the Institution of *John Sperinc*, a Man well-skill'd in the Study of Physick and Astrology; in both which Faculties he was very Famous; and returning home, he quickly insinuated himself into the Favour of the Courtiers; partly, upon the account of his other Accomplishments; and partly, because of his noted Skill in Astrology. This Endowment won him great Respect from the Court, which was then addicted to all sorts of Divinations, even to a Madness; so that this *Sivez*, being of a Fluid Wit, and in great favour at Court, was soon made Arch-Deacon of St. *Andrews*. But the Bishop would not admit him to that Office; whereupon he communicated Counsel with *John Locc*, Rector of the Publick Schools there, and a back Friend of *Patricks*, and they Two plotted together, to overthrow him. The Rector, having a Grant from the Pope, whereby he was Privileg'd and Exempted from *Patricks* Jurisdiction, pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against him. But he so slighted this Commination of one of an Inferiour Order to himself, that though it were Twice or Thrice serv'd upon him, yet he remitted nothing of the ordinary Course of his former Life; whereupon his Enemies (as is usual in such Cases, wherein Ecclesiastical Censures are contemn'd) implore the Assistance of the King, and cause *Patrick* to be shut out of all Churches. Officers of the Exchequer were sent to Inventory his Goods; his Retinue was Commanded, under an heavy Penalty, to depart; and a Guard was set upon him, to observe that he did nothing contrary to the Edict. The rest of the Bishops, that they might not seem ungrateful towards so Benevolent a King, levied a great Sum of Mony, which they had violently extorted out of small Benefices, and presented him with it. The King being Master of such a Sum, seem'd to deal more mildly with *Patrick*, as if he took pity on him, and accordingly he sent the Abbat of *Holy-Rood*, and *Sivez*, to him. Whereupon, the Bishop was reconcil'd to the King, and also *Sivez* and the Bishop were made Friends; but his Mony was gather'd up before, and carried to the King. Now *Patrick* seem'd to be freed out of all his Troubles, and so he retir'd to his Mannor House of *Monimul*, and prepar'd himself for the Execution of his Office both Publickly and Privately; when, behold! the *Roman Mony-Mongers* were sent in upon him, by his Adversaries; and because he had not paid his Fees for the Popes Grant, (or *Bull*, as they call it) they also Excommunicated him: The Man was reduced to extream Poverty; for his Revenues, both before and after his return, were for the most part gather'd up by the Kings Collectors, and brought into his Exchequer; and what ever his Friends could make up, was given to the King and his Courtiers. And when the Kings Officers were again sent to take Possession of his Estate, Guards

were

The Story of *William Sivez*, and his worming of *Graham* out of the Archbishoprick of St. *Andrews*.

Patrick Graham Excommunicated, and his Rents gathered into the Kings Exchequer.

Situate upon the Head of *Monks-Moor* Five Miles North of *Falkland*.

were ſet upon him by the King; his Houſhold Servants were diſcharg'd, and he was kept priſ'ner in his Caſtle, and thereby was depriv'd of the Advice of his Friends, alſo; *William Sivez*, his Capital Enemy was Firſt impos'd upon him by the King, as his Coadjutor, as they call him, as if he had been beſides himſelf. The Pope alſo afterwards approving of the Man for that Service; and alſo, the aforeſaid *Sivez* was made Inquiſitor by the Power of the Adverſe Faction, to inquire into his Life and Converſation; many trifling, many ridiculous, and incredible things were Objected againſt him, and amongſt the reſt, this was One, *That he had ſaid Maſs Thrice in one Day*; whereas, in that Age, there was hardly a Biſhop who did the ſame in Three Months; Hereupon, his Enemy being Judge, and Witneſſes being hired againſt him, he was Ejected out of his Biſhoprick. And *Sivez*, who carried the Decree to the Pope, was made Biſhop in his room. Neither were his Enemies contented with this Miſchief they had done him; but, perceiving, that he bore all their Contumelies with much Greatneſs of Spirit; They took order, that he ſhould be ſhut up in ſome deſolate Monaſt'ry, under Four Keepers; *Inch Colm* was choſen to be the Place, a Rock, rather than an Iſland, from whence, Three Years after, he was remov'd to *Dunferlin*, for fear of the *Engliſh* Fleet, betwixt whom and the *Scots* a War had then broke forth, and from thence he was again carried to the Caſtle, which lies in *Loch Leven*, where, being worn out with Age and Miſeries, he departed this Life; He was a Man guilty of no known Vice, and, in Learning and Virtue, inferior to none of his Age. The other Good Men, being terrify'd by his Calamity, and perceiving no hopes of any Church-Reformation, went all about their own private Affairs; In the Court, Church-Preferments were either Sold, or elſe given away to Flatterers, and Panders, as a Reward for their filthy Service.

Patrick outed of his Biſhoprick, impriſoned till his Death, and his Adverſary *Sivez* ſucceeds him.

A Town four Miles above *Queens-Ferry* in *Fife*.

Tho' theſe things were acted at ſeveral times, yet I have put them altogether in my Diſcourſe, that ſo the Thread of my Hiſtory might not be too often interrupted; and alſo, that by one memorable Example, we might have an entire View of the Miſeries of thoſe Times; For one may eaſily imagin, how vitious the ordinary ſort of Men were, ſeeing a Man that was ſo Eminent for all kind of Virtue; and beſides, had the Advantage to be Allyed to the King, and to many Noble Families beſides, was, by a few Scoundrels of the Loweſt-ſort, expos'd to the Reproach and Cruelty of his Enemies. But to return to the other Occurrences of thoſe Times.

John the *Iſlander* riſes in Arms, but quickly ſubmits himſelf.

In the Year 1476. there was a Publick Decree made againſt *John* Lord of the *Iſlands*, who had ſeiz'd upon ſome Provinces, and had done great ſpoil on the Maritime Coaſts; inſomuch, that the King reſolv'd to march againſt him by Land, and Commanded the Earl of *Craford* his Admiral, to meet him by Sea; Hereupon, *John* perceiving, that he was too weak to withſtand ſuch great Preparations, by the Advice of the Earl of *Athole*, the King's Uncle, came, in an Humble manner, to Court, and ſurrendred up himſelf to the King's Mercy. The Provinces which he had forcibly enter'd upon, were taken from him, as *Roſs*, *Kintire*, *Cnapdale*, but the Command of the *Iſlands* was ſtill permitted to him. The ſame Year, the Controverſie with the *Engliſh*, which was juſt about to break forth into a War,

James Kinnedy built a vaſt Ship, which is rifled by the *Engliſh*; but upon a Peace made by Embaſſadors, he receives ſatisfaction.

War, was ended and decided. The Occaſion was this, *James Kennedy* had built a Ship, the biggeſt that ever Sailed on the Ocean, at that time; She, being at Sea, was, by a Tempeſt, caſt upon the *Engliſh* Shore, and her Lading rifled by the *Engliſh*; Reſtitution was often ſought for, but in vain. This bred a diſguſt betwixt the Nations for ſome Years; at laſt, the *Engliſh* ſent Embaſſadors into *Scotland*; The Chief of which, were, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Scroop* a Nobleman; by whom *Edward*, having been toſt by the Inconſtancy of Fortune, and his Exchequer drain'd by continual Wars, deſir'd a Pacification, which was eaſily renew'd, upon Condition, That the value of the Ship rifled, and its Lading, might be eſtimated, by indifferent Perſons, and juſt Satisfaction made.

Embaſſadors to *Charles* of *Burgundy*,

The ſame Year, Embaſſadors were ſent to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, in behalf of the Merchants, who were diſturb'd in their Trades: When they came into *Flanders*, they were Honourably receiv'd by him. But one *Andrews* a Phyſician, and a great Aſtrologer too, being occaſionally invited by them to Supper, underſtanding the Cauſe of their coming, took them aſide, and told them, That they ſhould not make too much haſte in their Embaſſy; for, in a very few Days, they ſhould hear other News of the Duke. And accordingly, his Prediction was fulfilled, for within Three Days after, his Army was overthrown by the *Switzers*, at the City of *Nants* in *Lorain*, where he was ſlain: Hereupon, the Embaſſadors return'd without effecting their Buſineſs; and when they came to the King, and told him, how highly skilled that *Andrews* was, in Predicting Things to come, they perſuaded him, who of himſelf was inclinable to thoſe Arts, to ſend for the Man, upon promiſes of a good Reward; and accordingly he came, was well receiv'd, and gratify'd with a rich Parſonage, and other Boons. He, (as 'tis reported) told the King, That he ſhould ſpeedily be Deſtroy'd by his own Subjects, and that Speech agreed with the Vaticinations of ſome wizardly Women, (to which the King was immoderately addicted) who had Prophecy'd, *That a Lyon ſhould be killed by his Whelps*; Hereupon, from a Prince, at firſt, of great Ingenuity, and good Hopes, and as yet not wholly depraved; he degenerated into a fierce and cruel Tyrant; for when his Mind had entertain'd, and was ſtuft with, Suſpicions, he accounted even his neareſt Kindred, and all the Beſt of the Nobility, as his Enemies; and the Nobles were alſo diſguſted at him, partly, by reaſon of his Familiarity with that Raſcally ſort of People; but chiefly, becauſe he ſlighted the Nobility, and choſe mean Perſons to be his Counſellors and Adviſers. The Chief of them, were, *Thomas Preſton*, One of a good Family, but who was reſolv'd to humor the King in all things; *Robert Cockrain*, a Man endued with great ſtrength of Body, and equal Audacity of Mind; he came to be known by the King, by a Duel which he fought with another; and preſently, of a Tradeſman was made a Courtier, and that in a fair way of riſing to ſome greater Advancement; for having perform'd ſome lighter Matters, intruſted to him, with Diligence; and alſo applying himſelf to the King's Humor, he was ſoon admitted to adviſe concerning the Grand Affairs of the Kingdom; inſomuch, that *Preſton* choſe him out to be his Son-in-law. The Third, was, *William Rogers*, an *Engliſh* Singing Man,

who ſoon after was ſlain at *Nants* by the *Switzers*.

One *Andrews* an Aſtrologer and Phyſician,

foretels K. *James*'s Death.

K. *James* degenerates into Tyranny.

or

or Musician; who, coming into *Scotland* with the *English* Embassadors, after the King had heard him once or twice in a cast of his Offence, he was so taken with him, That he would not suffer him to return, but advanced him to wealth and honour, soon after making him a *Knight*. The rest of his Intimates were the most despicable sort of the meanest Tradesmen, who were only known by their Improbity and Audaciousness. Whereupon, the Nobility had a Meeting, wherein the Kings Brothers were the Chief, to purge the Court from this sort of Cattle; and some notice of it being divulg'd abroad, *John* the Youngest of the Brothers, more unwary than the rest, speaking a little too boldly, and rashly, concerning the State of the Kingdom, was seiz'd upon by the Courtiers, cast into Prison, condemn'd by the King's privy domestick Council, and put to Death, by having a Vein Opened, till he expired his last. The Cause of his Death was given out amongst the Vulgar, to be, because, he had conspir'd, with Witches, against the King's Life; and to make the matter more plausible, twelve of the Witches of the lowest condition were Try'd and Burnt. The Death of *John* did rather stifle than dissipate the Conspiracy, which seem'd almost ready to break forth.

John, the Kings Brother, put to Death.

Alexander, the next, as in Blood, so in Danger, tho' he indeavour'd to avert all Suspicion from himself, as much as he could; yet the Kings Officers thought, they should never be Secure, as long as he was alive, and therefore they presently clapt him up Prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where he was strictly kept by those who judg'd his Power would be their Destruction; and seeing he could not appease the Kings Wrath by the Mediation of his Friends, he began to think of making an Escape; he had but one of his own Servants left to wait upon him in his Chamber, him, and none else, he acquainted with his Design; who hired a Vessel for him, to be ready fitted in the adjoining Road, then he suborn'd Messengers to make frequent Errands to him from the Court, who should tell him Stories before his Keepers, (for he was forbid to speak with any Body, but in their presence) that the King was now more reconcileable to him, than formerly; and that he would speedily be set at Liberty. When the day appointed for his Escape approach'd, he compos'd his Countenance to as much Mirth, as, in that calamitous Condition, he was able to do, and told his Keepers, that, now, he believ'd the Messages sent him by the King, that he was reconcil'd to him; and that, he hop'd he should not be held much longer in Durance; hereupon, he invited them to a noble Supper, and himself drank freely with them, till late at Night, then they departed; and, being all full of Wine, fell into the Sounder sleep; being thus alone, he made a Rope of the Linen-Blankets of his Bed, long enough, as he thought, for the height of the Wall, and First, to make a Tryal, he caus'd his Servant to slide down by it; but perceiving, by his Fall, that 'twas too short, he lengthned it out, as well as he could, in those Circumstances, and himself Slid down too, and took up his Servant, who had broke his Leg by his Fall, upon his Shoulders, and, carry'd him about a Mile to the Vessel, where they went aboard, and having a Fair Wind, sailed to *Dunbar*; there he fortify'd the Castle against any forcible

And *Alexander* imprisoned.

But he makes his Escape to *Dunbar*, and then to *France*.

Assault, and, with a smal Retinue, passed over into *France*. In his absence, *Andrew Stuart*, the Chancellor, was sent with an Army to take in the Castle, they besieg'd it closely some Months, and 'twas defended as bravely; but, at last, the Garison, for want of Necessaries, were forced to get Vessels, and, in the Night, to depart privately for *England*, so that in the Morning the Empty Castle was taken by the Besiegers; some men of Note, of the Besiegers, were slain there.

Dunbar Castle deserted, and taken by the *Scots*.

About these Times it was, that the Kings both of *England* and *Scotland*, being weary'd out with Domestick Troubles, had each of them a desire to make Peace, and an Embassy was appointed to compleat it, which was kindly received, and the Peace was not only agreed upon, but an Affinity accorded to confirm it, that *Cecilia*, the Daughter of *Edward*, should be Married to *James* his Son, as soon as they were Both Marrigeable. Part also of the Dowry was paid, on this Condition, That, *if when they came to Years, the Marriage were not Consummated, the Dowry should be paid back to the* Englisth, and, Hostages were given for performance of Conditions, which were some *Burgers* of Towns. But this Peace lasted not long, for, by reason of the old grudges remaining since the last Wars, Incursions were made, Preys driven, and Villages burnt: So that, by reason of these mutual Injuries, the matter broke forth into an open War. And besides, each King had other peculiar Provocations. *Douglas*, the Old Exile, and *Alexander* the Kings Brother, the new One, excited *Edward* thereunto. For *Alexander*, as I said before, going into *France*, Married the Daughter of the Earl of *Bulloign*, but not being able to procure Aid from *Lewis* the II. then King of *France*, for the Recovery of his own, he Sailed over into *England*, hoping from thence to make some Attempt upon *Scotland*. As for *James* of *Scotland*, *Lewis* of *France* edg'd him on to a War, having sent *Robert Ireland*, a *Scots* man, and Dr. of the *Sorbon*, with Two *French* Knights to him, on that Errand. Hereupon, the Peace was violated, and altho' the *Scotish* Affairs, in regard some of the Country was wasted, were in none of the best State and Condition; yea, an Army also was decreed, to be sent against *Scotland*, by the *English*, under the Command of the Duke of *Gloceſter*; yet the King, and those which were about him, did levy Forces, tho' very unwillingly. For the Upstarts, (such they lately were, and very poor too,) whose Greatness was founded on the Calamities of others, and who had been the Authors of such desperate Counsels to the King, fear'd nothing more than the frequent Assembly of the Nobility; when he came to **Lauder*, a Town near the Borders of *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, Countrys either wasted by the Enemy, or else, by Force, necessitated to submit to him, the King yet proceeded on in his wonted Course of Exactions from them; he distrusted the Nobility, and manag'd all by his Cabinet-Council. The Nobles would indure the Indignity no longer, and therefore, in the third Watch, they met in a Church in the Town, where, in a Full Assembly, *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, is reported to have declar'd the Cause of their Meeting, in this wise.

Peace between the *Scots* and *English*; wherein it was agreed, That *Cecily*, *Edwards* Daughter, should Marry *James*'s Young Son.

But the Peace is soon broken, and an Army Marches into *England*.

* In *Lauderdale*.

'I think it not necessary, *Noble Peers*, to make a long Oration 'concerning the state of *Scotish* Affairs, you your selves Partly re-

'member

'member it, and Partly you ſee it with your Eyes; the Chief of the 'Nobility, are either baniſhed, or elſe compelled to ſuffer intolerable, 'and to act nefarious, things; and you, in whom the ſtrength of the 'Kingdom doth reſide, are left without an Head, as a Ship without 'a Steers-man, ſubject to all the Storms and Tempeſts of Fortune; 'Your Lands are burnt, your Eſtates plunder'd, the Husbandman, 'either ſlain, or elſe, perceiving no other Remedy, or relief, hath 'ſubmitted to the Enemy. And the King, if he were Himſelf a man 'of a generous Spirit and rare Prudence, yet being carried away by 'poyſonous Inſinuations, refers all things, pertaining to the Good of 'the Common-wealth, as to Peace, War and the like, not to an Aſſem-'bly of the Nobles, but to inferior Underlings; theſe men do conſult 'South-ſayers and Wizards, and ſo carry their Anſwers to the King, 'whoſe mind is Sick, and eaſily taken with ſuch vain Superſtitions; 'and thus Decrees are made, under the Influence of ſuch Authors, con-'cerning the Safety of us all; for they, knowing, that they are deſer-'vedly hated by all, do perſecute all by as alternate an hatred; and 'their endeavour is, not only to undermine your Authority, but to 'cut you all off, by all the poſſible Arts and Practices, they can; 'they have remov'd ſome of us by Death, others by Baniſhment; 'neither do they aſcend gradually to play their Pranks, as Inferiour 'Perſons, when they are promoted, are wont to do, but theſe do 'immediately pitch upon the Royal Blood, to exerciſe the Tryals of 'their Cruelty and Avarice upon: One of the King's Brothers they 'have moſt inhumanly put to death; the Other they have robb'd his 'Country of, by baniſhing him, and ſo have given him as a Gene-'ral to our Enemies; they, being thus taken out of the way, their 'next work, is, to deal with the Nobility, for, being of low Eſtate 'and Condition themſelves, they would have nothing of Excellency 'and Sublimity to ſurvive them. All thoſe, that have either Riches 'to ſatisfy their Avarice, or Power to reſiſt their Audaciouſneſs, Them 'they account as their Enemies; and yet, in the mean time, we ma-'nage a War againſt the *Engliſh*, as our Publick Enemy, as if any 'Enemy were more deadly than That, who is never ſatisfy'd, in point 'of Covetouſneſs, with your Eſtates, nor, in point of Cruelty, with 'your Blood. Now to make it clear to you, that this inteſtine Plague 'is more dreadful than That Foreign one, ſuppoſe, (which God for-'bid) that the King of *England* ſhould conquer us, doubtleſs he 'would remember old Grudges, and, in purſuance of that Conqueſt, 'what End of his Succeſſes would he propound to himſelf? or, what 'Reward of his Victory? Would he aim at the Life of the King, his 'Enemy, or, at your Lives? I think, at Neither. For the Diſpute be-'tween us, is, not for Life, but for Glory and Empire; and a gene-'rous Mind, as 'tis vehement and eager againſt thoſe that reſiſt it, ſo 'tis eaſily mitigated & inclin'd to Lenity by Submiſſion and Obſequi-'ouſneſs, even upon the account of remembring the Inſtability of all 'human Affairs. But ſuppoſe, that the Enemies rage ſhould aim at 'the Kings Life and Deſtruction, I pray, Which of the Two do act 'more mercifully, either he that, together with Life takes away all 'Senſe of Miſery; or they, that reſerve him, whom they ought prin-'cipally to love and reverence, next to God, to a dayly Butchery

Douglaſſes Oration to the Nobles in the Camp, againſt the King's Evil Counſellors.

'and Execution? Who arm his Mind, already prepoſſeſt with 'Witch-crafts, to the Deſtruction of his Friends; who keep the King, 'now almoſt encompaſt by the Arms of his Enemies, in the nature 'of a Priſoner, and do not ſuffer him to ſee the Faces of his Friends, 'that he may underſtand their Affection to him, and experience their 'Loyalty: They are not ſo much Enemies, who pitch Camp againſt 'Camp, and ſo openly profeſs their Hoſtility, as they, who, at 'home, do treacherouſly contrive our Deſtruction. They alienate 'the Kings mind from his Friends, and betray him to his Enemies; and 'thus they deprive us of our Commander, and expoſe us as a Prey to 'our Enemies Arms, by whom if your Lives are given you, after you 'are conquer'd, yet you will fall into Shame and Servitude; and if you overcome them, yet you will not procure Quiet to your ſelves, 'Strength to your Country, nor Glory to your King, but a greater 'Liberty to your Enemies, to play their Pranks at preſent, and that 'in ſecurity, for the future; and thus we ſhall bring a Plague and 'Miſery on our ſelves, and a ſtricter Servitude on our King, ſo that 'Victory will not free us from Foreign Miſeries, but will increaſe 'our Domeſtick Ones. And therefore, in ſhort, my Opinion is, 'That we ſhake off the Yoke at home, before we venture to engage 'the Enemy; For, otherwiſe, we ſhall all be made Slaves to the Luſts 'of a few men, we ſhall ſtrengthen the Enemy, and betray 'the Common-wealth: God bleſs your Conſultations, in this 'matter.

After *Douglas* had ended his Speech, there followed, not a Debate, but a confus'd Noiſe, over the whole Aſſembly, crying out, *To your Arms againſt the Publick Enemy*; for the Minds of all preſent were ſo inflam'd, That though they had none to lead them, yet they were about to break in upon the Kings Quarters. But the graver Sort, who, by reaſon of their Honour and Authority had a great Intereſt in the reſt, appeas'd the Tumult; for they fear'd, leſt, in an impetuous aſſault of the People, the King himſelf ſhould come to ſome harm: And therefore they agreed, That the prime Commanders ſhould take a ſmal number of their chiefeſt Confidents, and, without any general remove of the whole Army, ſhould go the Kings Pavilion, and ſo lay hold on the Offenders, who had the Management of things, and bring them forth to be judged before the whole Army, that ſo they might ſuffer condign Puniſhment, according to the Laws.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, News was brought to the Court, that the Nobles were aſſembled, before day, in the Church; for What, 'twas not known; but it muſt certainly be ſome great Matter, which ingag'd ſuch Perſons to aſſemble, unknown to the King and his Counſellors. The King was awakned, and roſe in great fear out of his Bed, and ask'd thoſe about him, *What was beſt to be done?* In the mean while, he ſends *Cockran* before, to obſerve, what was a doing, and to bring him certain word; when he was coming to the Church with a ſmall Retinue, he meets with the Chief of the Nobility coming to Court, *Douglas* preſently laid hands upon him, and took him by a Maſſy-Gold-Chain, which he wore about his Neck, whereby he ſomewhat ſtrain'd his throat, and gave him

Cockran and the Reſt of the Evil Counſellors dragg'd out by an Incenſed Army to their Deaths.

him up a Priſoner to the *Marſhal*, and then he goes directly to the Kings Bed-Chamber. They, which were there, made no Oppoſition, either becauſe they were aſtoniſhed at his ſudden Coming; or elſe, out of Reverence to the Man, ſo that there the reſt were ſeiz'd upon, who were thought to have corrupted the King by their wicked Counſels, only one Young man hung about the Kings Neck, and he deſired them to pardon him, his name was *John Ramſy*, of a good Family; who, being excus'd, upon the account of his Age, was diſmiſt. Whilſt the reſt were led on to their Tryals, there was a Tumult and Noiſe rais'd over the whole Army, crying out, *Hang them, Rogues*, whereupon they were preſently hurry'd away, and ended their Lives in an Halter; yea, the Army in general was ſo intent upon their Execution, that when they wanted Ropes, upon ſuch a ſudden, they all offer'd the Reins of their Horſe-Bridles and their Baggage-Horſe Tackle, for that Uſe; and they ſtrove much, Who ſhould have the honour to offer his own, firſt.

Their Crimes Objected, were,

This Court-Faction had committed many Injuries againſt private Perſons, but their Wrongs to the Publick lay chiefly here, They had been the Authors of Coining new Braſs-Money, which the common People did call by the invidious Name of *Black-Money*: Upon this Project, there firſt enſued a Dearth of all things, and afterwards a Famine; for the Sellers had rather ſuffer their Commodities to be ſpoil'd at Home, than, under a pretence of Sale, to give them away to the Buyers. But that all Commerce might not wholly ceaſe amongſt the People, this one Remedy was found out for Bargainers and Chapmen, That they ſhould mention in their Contracts, in what ſort of Money the Payment ſhould be made. 'Tis true, ſome of our former Kings had Coin'd that kind of Money, but 'twas more for the neceſſary uſe of the Poor, than for their own Gain; and alſo Proviſion was made by a Law, beyond what Sum, Sellers might not be compell'd to take it in payment. And thus the Buyers of ſmall Commodities had a Benefit, and alſo it ſeem'd ſufficiently caution'd by the Law, that the Richer Sort ſhould have no Damage by this way of Change or Sale. It was alſo objected againſt them, That they had alienated the King's Heart from the Nobility, and had ſet him a-gog upon *Magick*, and had hurried him on to the Deſtruction of his own Kindred. But that which made *Cockran* moſt envy'd, was, his Earldom of *Merch*, which Country and Title the King had given to him; or elſe, had committed to his Truſt, upon the Death of the Youngeſt Brother.

Braſs-Money Coyned,

Their Alienating the King's Heart from the Nobility, with the Incouraging of him in Magical Arts, and Exciting him to Cruelty againſt his own Fleſh and Blood.

When thoſe Evil Counſellors were remov'd out of the way; The King had no great Confidence in the Souldiery, nor the Souldiery in him; ſo that the Army was diſmiſt, and return'd Home; and the King, though, for the preſent, he ſuppreſt his Anger, and made many large and fair Promiſes to the Nobility, yet his Heart inwardly boiled with Blood, Slaughter, and Revenge. And therefore, as ſoon as he thought himſelf at Liberty, he retired, with ſome few of his Confidents, into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and the Nobility, not knowing what to think of it, had alſo their Conſultations, apart. The King of *England* gather'd Forces in the Winter-Seaſon, by the perſuaſion of *Alexander* chiefly, who inform'd him of the Diſſenſion betwixt

The Scots Army disbanded.

twixt the King and his Nobles in *Scotland*; and also assur'd him, That, as soon as ever he entred *Scotland*, great Numbers of Horse and Foot would come in to him; whereupon he made *Richard*, his Brother, Duke of *Gloucester*, General, and commanded him to march into *Scotland*. He began his March, when it was about *Midsummer*; and understanding in what Condition the *Scotish* Affairs were, he turn'd aside to *Berwick*: He was receiv'd immediately into the Town, and left 4000 Men to besiege the Castle; and, with the rest of his Army, he march'd directly to *Edinburgh*, making a foul Devastation in all Places, where he came. But *Alexander* leading them on, they entred the City without committing any Rapine; and, by a Publick Proclamation made in the Market-Place, he advis'd *James*, (seeing he could not come to speak with him) First, to perform what he had promis'd to *Edward*; and then, that he would cause Satisfaction to be made for all the Wrongs and Injuries he had offered to the *English*; and, unless he would so do, *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, would persecute him and his Country with Fire and Sword. But *James* perceiving at present that he was not able to perform what was requir'd, and, on the other side, that he was as unable to withstand the Power of the Enemy, return'd no Answer at all, either by Writing or Message. But the Nobles of *Scotland*, being thus forsaken of their King, that they might not be wholly wanting to the Publick Safety, Levy'd another Army, and form'd a Camp at *Hadington*; and that they might somewhat alleviate the imminent Danger and Pressure, and stop the Enemy in his Career of Victory, they sent Agents to the Duke of *Gloucester*, to desire, *That the Marriage, so long promis'd, might be consummate*; they were also to declare, That it should not be their Fault, if the Agreements made between the Nations, were not punctually perform'd. The *English* General knew, That the *Scots* would not put things to the Hazard of a Battel, in regard part of their Strength was with him upon the account of *Alexander*, a popular Man, and that the rest were divided into several Factions, and therefore he made this Answer, That he did not know, what his King did resolve, in reference to that Marriage; but he thought it fit, that the Money paid to *James* upon the account of the Dowry, should be presently repaid to him; and if they would have Peace, they should promise to surrender up the Castle of *Berwick*; or, if they could not do that, then to make a solemn Promise, That they would not attempt to relieve the Besieged, nor to hinder the Besiegers, until it was either taken by Storm, or surrendred upon Conditions. The *Scots* return'd Answer by their Embassadors, That 'twas not their Fault, the Marriage was not consummated, but it happen'd because both Bride and Bridegroom were under Age; That the Money was not yet due, because the Day of Payment was not come; and if there were not sufficient Security given for the payment thereof, they would give more; but the Castle of *Berwick*, as being built by the *Scots*, and that in the *Scotish* Soil; and was, and, for many Ages, had been under their Jurisdiction, they could not part with; and though the *English* had possest it sometimes by Force, yet their Injury did not prejudice the *Scots* ancient Right; but *Gloucester*, who was Superior in Strength, resolv'd to carry the Point, and to admit of no legal Dispute in the case.

An *English* Army under the Duke of *Gloucester*, and *Alexander* the Kings Brother, enters *Scotland*.

The *Scots* Nobility raise an Army;

Yet, mediate a Peace by their Agents.

Reparties between both Armies.

caſe. The ſame Day, *Calen Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*, *Andrew Stuart*, and the Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Dunblane*, ſent to *Alexander*, who was in the *Engliſh* Camp at * *Lethington*, a Chart ſign'd with their Hands and Seals, promiſing him, if he would be Loyal to the King in the next Aſſembly, they would take care that his Eſtate ſhould be reſtor'd; and an *Amneſty* given for what was paſt; for the performance whereof, they ſolemnly interpos'd their Faith. *Alexander* acquainted *Gloceſter* with the thing, who was very friendly, and did diſmiſs him thereupon, and ſo he return'd into his own Country; where, in the next Aſſembly of Eſtates, he was made *Regent*, by an unanimous Conſent, and preſently a Propoſition was made concerning raiſing the Siege of *Berwick*. The wiſer ſort were of Opinion, that in ſo dangerous a time, when things were thus unſetled by reaſon of Domeſtick Seditions, that if the Enemy were quiet, yet Storms would riſe amongſt themſelves, that it was beſt to clap up a Peace upon any Terms; for they ſaw plainly, that if they ſhould have the better of ſo powerful an Enemy, yet it would rather provoke, than diſhearten, him; but if they themſelves were overcome, it was uncertain, how an Enemy, fierce by Nature, and further elevated by Succeſs, would uſe his Victory; Some that were more hot-ſpirited than they had then any Reaſon for, did oppoſe this Opinion, yet it was carry'd in the Parliament. After many Conditions were canvaſt to and fro, at length 'twas agreed, That on the 26th of *Auguſt* 1482. the Caſtle of *Berwick* ſhould be ſurrendred up to the *Engliſh*, and a Truce was made for a few Months, till they could have more time to Treat of a Peace. Thus *Berwick* was loſt, after it had been enjoy'd by the *Scots* 21 Years, ſince they laſt recovered it. Then the Duke of *Gloceſter*, having made a proſperous Expedition, return'd in Triumph Home.

Alexander is reconciled to the King, returns into his own Country, and is made *Regent*.

Berwick Caſtle ſurrendered to the *Engliſh*.

Edward, by the Advice of his Council, judg'd it more for the advantage of *England*, to nullifie the Marriage, for he fear'd that the Inteſtine Diſcords of the *Scots* were ſo great, that poſſibly the Iſſue of *James* might loſe the Crown; and if *Alexander* were made King, he hoped to have a Conſtant and Faithful Ally of him, in regard of the great Kindneſs he had receiv'd at his Hands. Hereupon, an Herauld was ſent to *Edinburgh*, to renounce the Affinity, and to demand the Repayment of the Dowry; when he had declar'd his Errand publickly on the Twenty Fifth of *October*, the *Scots* obtained a Day for the Payment thereof, and reſtor'd it to a Penny; and withal, they ſent ſome to convoy the Herald, as far as *Berwick*. *Alexander*, that he might extinguiſh the Remainders of the Old Hatred of his Brother againſt him, and ſo obtain new Favour by a new Courteſie, brought him out of the Caſtle, and reſtor'd him to the free Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. But the memory of old Offences prevail'd more with his Proud Huffing Spirit, than This of his late Courteſie: Moreover, beſides the Kings own Jealouſies, there were Thoſe who did daily calumniate him, and buzz into the Kings Ear his too great Popularity, as if now 'twas very Evident, that he affected the Kingdom; he, being adviſ'd by his Friends, that Miſchief was hatching againſt him at Court, fled privately into *England*, and gave up the Caſtle of *Dunbar* to *Edward*. In his abſence, he was Condemn'd. The Crimes objected

The intended Marriage between *James*'s Son, and *Edward*'s Daughter, Null'd, and the Dowry repaid.

Alexander diſguſted, condemned, and flees to *England*.

*Near *Hadington* in East-Lothian.

jected against him, were, First, That he had often sent Messengers into *England*, and then, that he had retir'd thither himself, without obtaining a Pass-port from the King, and that there he joined in Counsel against his Country, and his Kings Life. All the other of his Partizans were pardon'd, and amongst the rest, *William Creighton*, who was accus'd not only to have been an Abettor of his designs against his Country, but also the chief Author and Instigator of him, thereunto. But after he had obtain'd Pardon for what was past, he was again accus'd, that he did incourage *Alexander*, by his Advice and Counsel; after he was Condemned, frequent Letters passing between them, by the means of *Thomas Dickson* a Priest; and that he had caus'd his Castle of *Creighton* to be Fortified against the King, and commanded the Garison Soldiers not to surrender it up to the King's Forces. Hereupon, he was summoned to appear the 13th Day of *February*, in the Year 1484. but he, not appearing, was outlawed, and his Goods Confiscate. These were the Causes of his Punishment, mentioned in our publick Records. But, 'tis thought, that the Hatred the King had conceiv'd against him, upon a private Occasion, did him the most Mischief of all. It was this, *William* had a very beautiful Wife, of the Noble Family of the *Dunbars*; when her Husband found, that the King had had the use of her Body, he undertook a Project, which was rash enough in it self, but yet not unproper for a Mind sick of Love, and also provok'd by such an Injury, as his was; for he himself lay with the King's young Sister, a beautiful Woman, but ill spoken of for her too great Familiarity with her Brother, and on her he begot *Margarite Creighton*, who died not long since. In the interim, *Creighton*'s Wife died at his own House; and the King's Sister, whom, as I said, the King had vitiated, was so much in Love with *William*, that she seem'd sometimes to be out of her Wits, for him. The King, partly by the Mediation of *William*'s Friends, and partly being mindful of the Wrong he himself had done him, of the like sort, and being willing also to cover the Infamy of his Sister, under a pretext of Marriage, permitted *William* to return Home again to Court, upon Condition, that he would Marry her: *William* was perswaded by his Friends; and, for want of better Counsel, especially since *Richard* of *England* was dead, came to *Enverness*, where he had Conference with the King, not long before Both their Deaths, and great Hopes were there given of his Return. His Sepulchre is yet there to be seen. These things were done, at several times, but I have put them together, that so the Thread of my History might not be discontinued and broken off. Let us now return to what was omitted before.

Creighton condemned, with the Reasons, why?

Edward of *England* died in the Month of *April*, next after *Dunbar* was delivered to him, in the Year 1483. leaving his Brother *Richard* Guardian to his Sons. He was first content with the Name of *Protector*, and, under that Title, Govern'd *England* for two Months; but afterwards, having, by several Practises, engaged a great part of the Nobility and Commonalty to his side, he put his Brothers Two Sons in Prison, the Queen and her Two Daughters being forced to retire into a Sanctuary near *London*; but the next *June* he took upon him the Name and Ornaments of a King.

Edward of *England* dies, and his Brother *Richard* made, first *Protector*, and then *King*.

Alexander

Alexander of *Albany*, and *James Douglas*, being willing to try, how their Countrymen ſtood affected towards them, came with 500 ſelect Horſe to *Loch-Maban* on *Maudlins*-day, becauſe a great Fair uſed, that day, to be there held. There a Skirmiſh began between the Parties, with inraged Minds on Both ſides, and the Succeſs was various, as Aid came in out of the Neighbouring Diſtrict, either to This, or That, Party. They fought from Noon till Night, and the iſſue was doubtful, but at laſt the Victory inclined to the *Scots*, though it were a Bloody one, as having loſt many of their Men; *Douglaſs* was there taken Priſoner, and ſent away by the King to the Monaſtery of *Lindors*. *Alexander* was ſet on a Horſe and eſcap'd, but ſtaid not in *England*, long after that. In the mean time, many Incurſions were made to the greater Loſs of the *Engliſh*, than Benefit of the *Scots*. *Richard* was uncertain of the Event of things at home, and withal fear'd his Enemy abroad, for many of the *Engliſh* did favour the Earl of *Richmond*, who was then an Exile in *France*, and had ſent for him over to undertake the Kingdom, ſo that *Richard* was mightily troubled; neither was he leſs vext with the Guilt of his own Wickedneſs; and becauſe he ſaw he could not quell Domeſtick Seditions, as ſoon as he hoped, therefore he thought it beſt to Oblige Foreigners by any Conditions whatſoever, that ſo, by their Authority and Power, he might be ſafer at home, and more formidable to his Enemies. For this cauſe, he ſent Embaſſadors into *Scotland*, to make Peace, or, at leaſt, a Truce for ſome years, there he found all things more facile than he could have hoped for. For *James*, who, for his many and notable Crimes, was grievouſly hated by his own People, as well as *Richard* was by His, willingly gave ear to his Ambaſſadors; for he hoped, That, if once he had Peace with *England*, that he could revenge his Wrongs at home at leiſure, when *England* could not be a Refuge to his Oppoſers. For theſe Reaſons, eſpecially, Both Kings ſent ſome of their Confidents to the Borders, where, after many and long Diſputes concerning Compenſation for Loſſes, ſeeing Peace could not be made, by Reaſon of the Multitudes of Complainants, and the Weakneſs of their Proofs, they made a Truce for Three Years.

A Scuffle in *Scotland*.

On the North-ſide of *Fife*, upon the River *Tay*.

A Truce between *Richard* of *England*, and the *Scots*.

And becauſe Matters could not then be adjuſted, for the Difficulties above-mentioned, and alſo the Straitneſs of Time; Arbiters were appointed on Both ſides, who, together with the Commanders of the Borders, ſhould ſee all things done according to Equity. One Condition, in the Truce, was ſet down very intricately, about the Caſtle of *Dunbar* to be reſtor'd to the *Scots*, for the *Engliſh* interpreted it, that they might keep it; and the *Scots*, that they might reduce it by Force, notwithſtanding the Truce. For when the *Scots*, after the Expiration of the Six Months allotted, ſent Embaſſadors to Demand the Caſtle; *Richard*, by his Letters made them Promiſes of his Good Will, but he delay'd the Reddition (alleging ſometimes This, and ſometimes Other things, as an Obſtacle in the way) till his Death, which follow'd not long after. He was ſlain by his Countrymen, and *Henry* the 7*th* not yet fully ſetled in the Throne, when *James* laid Siege to the Caſtle, in a very ſharp Winter: The Gariſon Soldiers, ſeeing, that they were not like to have Relief from *England*, in regard of the preſent

Richard of *England* ſlain, and *Henry* the 7*th* ſucceeds him.

Dunbar-Caſtle ſurrendred to the *Scots*.

preſent Diſtractions, ſurrendred it up. But *Henry* being troubled with many Cares, that he might cut off the Occaſion of Foreign Wars, and extirpate the Seeds of old Hatred, came to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, from thence he ſent Embaſſadors to *Scotland*, either to make a perpetual League, or, at leaſt, a long Truce with them; for he being a Man of great Prudence, and having experienc'd many Viciſſitudes of things in his Life, did judge it highly conducing to the Eſtabliſhment of his Kingdom, to make Peace with his Neighbors, and eſpecially with the *Scots*, becauſe that, ordinarily, thoſe Two Kingdoms did lye at catch for Advantages againſt each other, and did alſo nouriſh Rebels flying thither; yea, and entertain thoſe which were exiled; and maintain Sedition, by giving their Authors hope of Refuge and Supply. And as for *James*, he deſir'd nothing more, than to be free from the fear of Strangers, that ſo he might puniſh his own diſobedient Subjects, as he pleaſed. And therefore, he kindly receiv'd the Embaſſadors, and told them, that he deſir'd nothing more than a Peace; but his Opinion was, that his Subjects would not yield to it, that either there ſhould be a perpetual Peace, or any long Truce betwixt them; partly, becauſe it was forbid by an Ancient Law, leſt, when all Fear of an Enemy was removed, their Minds might languiſh in Idleneſs, and the Sinews of their Induſtry be remitted; and partly, becauſe they could not ſo ſuddainly lay down that fierceneſs of Spirit, which they had acquir'd, by ſo long Uſe of Arms. But if they could be brought to This, to yield to a Truce for 6 or 7 Years, he would not have them refuſe it. But as for himſelf, he was willing to maintain a firm and inviolate Peace with them, as long as he liv'd, and he would alſo take care, that the Truce ſhould be renewed, before the Date of it was quite expired; but he earneſtly deſired the Embaſſadors, not to divulge abroad the Diſcourſe, which they had in ſecret with him, leſt his Nobilitie ſhould be more backward to a Pacification, if they ſaw him to be partial in the Caſe. When this was told *Henry*, who knew, in what a tumultuous Caſe the Affairs of *Scotland* were, and how convenient it was for that King to have a Peace; imagining likewiſe, that he ſpoke really, and from his Heart, he accepted of the Truce for 7 Years, and ſo retir'd back to *York*. In the mean time, the Queen of *Scots* dyed, a Woman of a ſingular Beauty and Probity too, and, by her good Graces, ſhe was thought ſometimes to have moderated the unbridled Appetites and Efforts of her Husband: *Alexander* alſo, the King's Brother, Dyed in *France*, leaving Two Sons behind him, *Alexander*, by his Firſt Wife, the Daughter of the Earl of the *Orcades*, and *John* by his Second, who was afterward the Regent King of *Scotland* for ſome Years.

A Truce between the *Engliſh* and *Scots* for 7 Years.

The Death of the Queen of *Scots*,

and of *Alexander* the King's Brother, who left Two Sons behind them.

James, having thus ſetled Peace abroad, and at home being freed from Two troubleſome Interrupters of his Deſigns, return'd to his own Nature; he excluded almoſt all the Nobility, and had none but Upſtarts about him, upon them he beſtowed great Honors and Preferments; the Care of all Publick Affairs, and the Ways of getting Money, were Both caſt upon them, whilſt he himſelf did wholly immerge himſelf in Voluptuouſneſs. The Chief of this Court Faction, was, *John Ramſy*, who was preſerv'd at *Lauder*, by the King's Requeſt, and then eſcap'd Puniſhment. He was grown ſo inſolently proud,

proud, that, not content with the *Stewardſhip* of the *Houſhold*, (which is a Place of prime Honor amongſt the *Scots*) which the King had given him, and many rich Lordſhips beſides, he obtained an Edict, That *none but he, and his Retinue, ſhould wear a Sword, or other weapon in thoſe places, where the King Lodg'd*, that ſo, by this means, they might ſtrengthen themſelves, and their Retinue, againſt the Nobility, who kept their diſtinct and frequent Meetings, by themſelves, and walk'd up and down guarded, by reaſon of the Terror of their Arms. But that Edict made People to hate *Ramſy* more than fear him, for now, nothing but the Image of perfect Slavery was repreſented to their Eye. In the mean time, the King meditated nothing more, than how to ſatisfy himſelf with the Blood of thoſe Men, who were believ'd to be the Authors of Rebellion againſt them. And ſeeing he could not do it by open Force, he thought to effect it by Subtilty, and therefore he fain'd himſelf to be reconcil'd to This, and to the Other Man, and entertain'd them ſo courteouſly, that 'twas even below the Dignity of a Prince ſo to do; Others, who were eminent in Power, he gave Honors and Largeſſes to. He made *David Lindſy* Earl of *Craford*, Duke of *Montroſs*, endeavouring to win him by that means, being ſo powerful a Man in his Country. As for *George* Earl of *Angus*, he had him frequently about him, and, as if he had been wholly receiv'd into his Favour, he acquainted him with his private Deſigns, yet none of his Rewards and Flatteries could perſuade Men, that he was ſincere. For They, that knew his Diſpoſition, did not at all doubt, that his Simulation of Benevolence and Reſpect, tended to no other end, but that he might either apprehend the Nobility, One by One, apart; or elſe, might ſet them together by the Ears, one with another; which his Aſſembling the Chief of the Nobility at *Edinburgh* made more plainly to appear. For he called *Douglas* to him into the Caſtle, and told him, that he had now an Eminent Opportunity to revenge himſelf, for if the Leaders of the Faction were apprehended, and put to Death, the reſt would be quiet; but if he omitted this Opportunity, which was ſo fairly put into his hands, he could never expect the like again.

The King again addicts himſelf to Evil Counſellors, *John Ramſy*, &c.

The King labours to cajole ſome of the Nobles, by Honors.

Douglas, who knew, that the Kings Mind was no more reconcil'd to himſelf than to others, did craftily reaſon with him, concerning ſo cruel and ſo ruinous a Deſign, alleging, that all Men would judge it to be a baſe and flagitious Act, if he ſhould hurry ſo many Noble Perſons to Death, without any Hearing or Tryal, to whom he had pardon'd their former Miſdoings, and now they alſo reſted ſecure, in that they had the Publick Faith given them for their Safety. For the fierce Minds of his Enemies would not be broken by the Death of a Few; but rather, if his Faith were once violated, all Hopes of Concord would be cut off; and if once Men deſpair of Pardon, their Anger will be turn'd into Rage, and from thence a greater Obſtinacy and Contempt both of the Kings Authority, and of their own Lives, too, will enſue. But if you will hearken to my Counſel, (ſaid he) I will ſhew you a Way, whereby you may ſalve the Dignity of a King, and yet revenge yourſelf, too. For I will gather my Friends and *Clans* together, and ſo openly, and in the day time, I will lay hold upon them, and then you may try them where you will, and

He diſcovers his Deſign againſt the Nobles to *Douglas*.

Who diſſuades him from ſuch Cruelty.

inflict what Punishment, you please, upon them. This Way will be more creditable, and also much more safe, than if you should set upon them secretly and by night, for then 'twould look, as if they were murder'd by Thieves. The King thought the Earl had been real in what he spake, (for he knew, that he was able to perform what he had promised) and therefore he gave him many Thanks, and more Promises of great Rewards, and so dismist him. He presently acquainted the Nobility with their imminent Danger, and advis'd them to withdraw themselves, as he himself also did. The King, perceiving that his secret Projects were discover'd, from that day forward would trust no Body; but after he had staid a while in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, he sailed over into the Countries beyond the *Forth*, for they, as yet, remain'd firm in their Obedience to him, and there levy'd a considerable Force. And the Nobles, who, before, had sought his Amendment, not his Destruction, now seeing all Hopes of any Agreement or Concord were cut off, managed all their Counsels for his utter Overthrow and Ruin. Only there was one difficulty which troubled them, and That was, Who should be their General, that, after the King was subdued, might be Regent, or *Vice-King*, who might be acceptable to the People; and, on the account of the Honour of his Family, would load the Faction with as little Envy, as might be; after many Consultations in the case, at last they pitcht upon the King's Son; He was entised thereunto by the Supervisors and Tutors of his Childhood, and he did it out of this Fear, that, if he refus'd, the Government and Command would pass over to the *English*, the perpetual Enemies of their Family.

The Nobles Arm against the King, and chuse the Kings Son for their General.

The King, by this time, had past over the *Forth*, and pitcht his Tents by the Castle of *Blackenes*, and his Sons Army was not far off, ready for the Encounter, when, loe! the matter was compos'd by the Intervention of the Earl of *Athole*, the Kings Uncle; and *Athole* himself was given up as an Hostage for the Peace to *Adam Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwel*, with whom he remain'd till the Kings Death; But Suspicions increasing on Both sides, the Concord lasted not long; however intercourse of Messengers passed between them, and, at last, the Nobility gave this Answer, 'That seeing the King did 'act nothing sincerely, therefore a certain War was better than a 'treacherous Peace, there was but one *Medium* left, upon which 'they could agree: And that was, that the King should resign the 'Government, and his Son be set up in his Place; and if he would 'not assent to This, 'twas in vain for him to give himself the Trouble of any more Messages or Disputes. The King communicated this Answer to his Embassadors which he sent to the *French* and to the *English*, making it his Desire to them, that they would assist him against the Fury of a Few of his Rebellious Subjects, by their Authority; and, if need were, by some Auxiliary Forces, that so they might be reduc'd to their Obedience; for they ought to look upon it as a Common Fortune, and that the Contagion, by this Example, would quickly creep to the Neighbour-Nations: There were also Embassadors sent to *Eugenius* the Eighth, Pope of *Rome*, to desire him, that, out of his Fatherly Affection to the *Scotish* Name, he would send a Legat into *Scotland* with full Power, by Ecclesiastical Censures,

A Temporary Agreement.

The Nobles insist on the Kings resigning of the Crown.

The King sends *Embassadors* for Foreign Aid.

ſures, to compel his Rebellious Subjects to lay down Arms, and obey their King. The Pope writ to *Adrian* of *Caſtell*, then his Legat in *England*, a Man of great Learning and Prudence, to do his endeavour for the compoſing the *Scotiſh* Affair; but theſe Remedies were too late. For the Nobles, who were not ignorant, What the King was a doing, and knew, that he was implacable toward them, reſolv'd to put it to a Battel, before any more Forces came in to him. And though they had the Kings Son with them, both to countenance their Matters with the greater Grace amongſt the Vulgar, and alſo to ſhew, that they were not Enemies to their Country, but to their Miſled King, only; yet, leſt the Hearts of the People might be weakned by the Approach of Foreign Ambaſſadors, they were ſolicitous, night and day, how to decide it by a Battel. But the Kings Fearfulneſs was an hindrance to their haſty Deſign, who, having levied a great Strength in the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, reſolved to keep himſelf within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, till thoſe Aids came to him. But he was taken off from that Counſel and Advice, though it ſeem'd the ſafeſt for him, by the Fraud, or, at leaſt, the Simplicity of thoſe about him; for, in regard of the frequent *Waſhes* and *Firths*, which gave delay to thoſe who were coming in to him, they perſuaded him to go to *Sterlin*, the only Place of the Kingdom fit to receive Aids, coming from all Parts thereof. And there he might be as ſafe, as he was in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, ſeeing his Enemies were unprovided of all Materials, requiſite for the Storming of Caſtles; and alſo he might have his Fleet, which he had rigg'd out againſt all hazards, to ride in ſome convenient Harbour, near adjoining. This Counſel ſeem'd both faithful and alſo ſafe, if *James Shaw*, Governor of the Caſtle, being corrupted by the contrary Faction, had not refus'd to give him entrance, ſo that the Enemy was almoſt at his Heels, and, before he knew whither to betake himſelf, he was forc't, with that Strength which he had, to run the hazard of a Fight. At the beginning, they fought ſtoutly, and the firſt Ranks of the Nobility's Army began to give ground, but the Men of *Annandale* and the Neighbouring Parts, inhabiting the Weſt of *Scotland*, came boldly up, and having longer Spears than their Adverſe Party, they preſently routed the Kings Main Battel, he himſelf was weakned by the Fall of his Horſe, and fled to ſome Water-Mills near the place, where the Battel was fought; his Intent was (as is ſuppos'd) to get to his Ships, which lay not far off; there he was taken, and a few more with him, and ſlain; there were Three that perſued cloſe after him in his Flight, *i. e. Patrick Grey*, the Head of his Family, *Sterlin Car*, and a Prieſt named *Borthwick*; 'tis not well known, Which of them gave him his Deaths Wound. When the News of his Death, though as yet not fully certain, was divulg'd through Both Armies, it occaſion'd the Conquerors to preſs leſs violently upon thoſe who fled away, ſo that there were the Fewer of them ſlain. For the Nobles manag'd the War againſt the King, not againſt their Fellow Subjects. There was ſlain of the Kings Party *Alexander Cuningham* Earl of *Glencarn*, with ſome Few of his Vaſſals and Kindred; but there were many wounded, of Both ſides. Thus *James* the Third came to his end, a Man not ſo much of a bad Diſpoſition by Nature,

A Battel between the King and the Nobles, where the King is ſlain.

The Character of *James* III,

ture, as corrupted by ill Custom and Acquaintance. For, having at first given forth a *Specimen* of great and notable Ingenuity, and of a Mind truly Royal, he degenerated by degrees, the *Boyds* being the first Occasion thereof, into all manner of Licentiousness. When the *Boyds* were taken off, then Persons of the Lowest Sort were his Advisers to all kind of Wickedness; and besides, the Corruption of the Times, and the evil Examples of his Neighbour Kings contributed not a little to his Overthrow and Ruin. For *Edward* the Fourth in *England*, *Charles* in *Burgundy*, *Lewis* the Eleventh in *France*, *John* the Second in *Portugal*, had all laid the Foundations of Tyranny, in their respective Kingdoms also. And *Richard* the Third exercised it most highly, and cruelly, in *England*. His Death was also branded with this Ignominy, that, in the next Assembly, the whole Parliament voted, that he was justly slain, and Provision was made for all that had born Arms against him, that neither They, nor their Posterity, should be prejudic'd thereby. He died in the Year of our *Lord* 1488, in the Twenty Eighth Year of his Reign, and the Thirty Fifth of his Age.

And of the Forcign Princes his Contemporaries.

The

The Thirteenth BOOK.

James the Third being thus ſlain, near *Sterlin*, in or about the Month of *June*, they, who were his Contrariants, being as yet uncertain what was become of Him, retreated to *Linlithgo*. There, Word was brought them, that ſome Boats had paſſed to and fro, from the Ships to the Land; and that they had carried off the Wounded Men. Whereupon, a Suſpicion aroſe amongſt them that the King himſelf alſo was gone a Shipboard; which occaſioned them to remove their Camp to *Leith*: From thence the Prince (for that's the Title of the King of *Scot*'s eldeſt Son) ſent ſome Agents, to require the Admiral of the Fleet to come aſhore to him. His Name was *Andrew Wood*, he was a Knight, and being mindful of the King's Kindneſs towards him, remained conſtant in his Affection to him, even after he was dead; but he refuſed to come aſhore, unleſs Hoſtages were given for his ſafe Return. *Seaton* and *Flemming*, two Noblemen, were appointed as Hoſtages: When he landed, the King's Council asked him, if he knew where the King was? and who were they that he carried off to his Ships after the Fight? As for the King, he told them, he knew nothing of him, but that he and his Brothers had landed out of their Boats, that ſo they might aſſiſt the King and all his good Subjects; but, having endeavoured, in vain, to preſerve him, they then returned to the Fleet: He added, if the King were alive, they reſolved to obey none but him; but if he were ſlain, they were ready to revenge his Death: He uttered alſo many reproachful Speeches againſt the Rebels; yet nevertheleſs they ſent him away in Safety to his Ships, that ſo their Hoſtages might not ſuffer. When the Hoſtages were returned, the Inhabitants of *Leith* were called up to the Council, and preſſed by Promiſes of great Reward, to rig out their Ships, and ſubdue *Andrew Wood*. They all in general made anſwer, that he had two Ships ſo fitted with all Things for a Fight, and ſo well furniſhed with valiant Seamen; and withal, that he himſelf was ſo skilful in Naval Affairs, that no ten Ships in all *Scotland* were able to cope with his Two: So that that Conſultation was put off, and they went to *Edinburgh*. There they were fully informed of the King's Death, and appointed a magnificent Funeral to be made for him, at *Kambus-Kenneth*, a Monaſtery near *Sterlin*, on the 25*th* day of the Month of *June*.

Andrew Wood's Conſtancy to King *James* the 3*d*.

On the North-ſide of *Forth*, 2 Miles below *Sterlin*.

JAMES the IVth, *the* CVth *King.*

IN the Interim, an Aſſembly was ſummoned about creating a new King. There were few which came together to perform this Service, and thoſe were moſtly of the Party that had conſpired againſt the former King. The new King, at his firſt entrance ſent an Herauld to the Governour of *Edinburgh*-Caſtle, for him to ſur-

render it, which he did, and then he passed over to *Sterlin*, and that Castle was also delivered up to him by the Garison-Souldiers. When the Vogue was up in *England*, how troublesom Matters were in *Scotland*, five Ships were chosen out of that King's Fleet, who entred into the *Firth* of *Forth*, and there made havock of the Goods of all Merchants, making many descents on both Shores, they mightily infesting the Maritime Parts; for they expected greater Disturbances on Land, by the sidings of the *Scots* one against another. For seeing the adverse Party were rather shattered than broken in the late Fight, in regard they were not all there, and of those that were, there were but few slain, they thought a feircer Tempest would have arisen from Minds which yet continued to be inflamed with Hatred and Envy, and which were elevated by confidence in their own Strength. And it encreased the Indignation, that now the power over so many Noble and Eminent Persons was so easily fallen not into the King's, but to a few particular Mens Hands; for, tho the King might retain the Name and Title of a King, yet, being but a Youth of 15 Years old, he did not govern, but was himself governed by those that killed his Father: For the whole management of Matters would reside in *Douglas*, *Hepburne*, and *Hume*; and their Confidence was the more encreased, because all the Shores were infested with the two Fleets, the *Scottish* and the *English*. To obviate this Difficulty, first of all, the new King endeavoured to reconcile the Naval Forces to himself, lest when he was absent in the further parts of the Kingdom, to settle Matters there, they should make some stir, or at least should make an entrance for the *English*, to penetrate far into the Land, and so spoil the Mid-land Countries. Whereupon, when the old King's Death was now publickly divulged abroad, the new One thought, that *Andrew Wood* would now be more flexible, and therefore he sent for him, giving him the publick Faith for his Security. When he was ashoar he told him, what a great Dishonour, Loss, and publick Shame it was to the whole Nation, that a few *English* Ships should, in despite of them, ride under their very Noses; and thereupon he drew over *Andrew* to his Party, and set him forth, in good Equipage, against the *English*: Many did advise him, that he would sail an equal number of Ships, at least, against the Enemy, whose Vessels were more and bigger than his. No, says he, *I'le have only my own Two*. And as soon as the Wind served, he made directly toward the *English*, who rode before *Dunbar*. He fought them bravely, took, and brought them all into *Leith*, and presented their Commanders to the King. *Andrew* was liberally rewarded by the King, and his skill in Sea-fight, with the singular Valour of his Souldiers and Seamen, was highly magnified. And yet there were not wanting some of those sort of Creatures, who do always admire the Atchievments of Kings, whatsoever they be, and if they be Great, yet they view them in a multiplying Glass, who foretold that this Victory did but presage a greater. Mean while the adverse part of the Nobility, sent Messages into all parts of the Kingdom, to perswade the Countrey to rise, and not to endure the present state of Things, nor to suffer so many valiant Men to be illuded by such publick Parricides, who had murdered

Andrew Wood reconciled to K. *James* the 4th.

He fights the *English* Fleet, & overthrows them.

One

one King and held Another in Bondage; yea, who accuſed the Defenders of the King's Life, as Traitors, whereas they, who were indeed violaters of all divine and human Laws, gave out themſelves to be the only Aſſertors of the Rights of their Country, and Maintainers of its Liberty: Amongſt whom the King himſelf was not a Freeman, in regard he was enforced by them to take Arms againſt his Father, and his King too, and after he was impiouſly ſlain, then to proſecute, by a nefarious War, thoſe who were his Father's Friends, and Defenders of his Life. Many ſuch Diſcourſes they ſpread abroad amongſt the Vulgar, and, to excite a greater Flame of Indignation and Hate, *Alexander Forbes*, Chief of a Noble Family, carried the King's Shirt upon a Spear (all over bloody, and torn, with the Marks of the Wounds he received) through *Aberdeen*, and all the chief Towns of the adjacent Country; and, as if it had been by a publick Proclamation, he excited all Men, by the Voice of an Herauld, to riſe in Arms to revenge ſo nefarious a Fact. And *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lennox*, a Man of great Wealth and Power, and who by an honeſt kind of popularity, was equally dear to high and low, was as active in the Countries on this ſide the *Forth*; for he raiſed up the Earls that were his Neighbours, and with a good Force, endeavoured to paſs over the Bridge at *Sterlin*, to join his Aſſociates; but that Bridg being poſſeſſed by the King's Forces, he ſought to paſs over at a Ford, not far from the Riſe of the River, at the Foot of Mount *Grampias*. His Deſign was diſcovered to *John Drummond*, by *Alexander Mac-alpin*, his Vaſſal, who had joined himſelf to the Enemy, by whom alſo Information was given, that all things were ſecure and ill-guarded in the Enemies Camp; that every one ſtragled up and down, as they pleaſed; that they had no Watch ſet in convenient places, nor uſed any Military Diſcipline at all: Hereupon *Drummond*, with ſome Courtiers, and a few Volunteers, who purpoſely came in to aſſiſt him, ſet upon them as they were aſleep; many were killed in their ſleep, the reſt run headlong away, without their Arms, and ſo returned from whence they came; many were taken Priſoners, but by their Friends that knew them, a great part of them were diſmiſſed; they only were ſeverely dealt with, who had either written or ſpoke more contumeliouſly than others.

Some of the *Scots* Nobility combine againſt the new King's Party.

But are overthrown.

The Joy for this Victory was encreaſed by the News of another, at the ſame time, wherein *Andrew Wood* had prevailed in a Sea-fight againſt *Stephen Bull*. For *Edward* King of *England*, hearing that five of his Ships were taken by two of the *Scots*, and thoſe much leſſer alſo than his, was willing to blot out the Infamy of the Thing, and yet could find out no juſt pretence for a War; yet he called his ableſt Sea-Commanders together, he offered them what Ships, and Warlike Furniture they pleaſed, and ſo he perſuaded them to revenge the Ignominy caſt on the *Engliſh* Name, promiſing them great Rewards, if they could bring *Wood* to him, alive or dead: But when thoſe, that knew the Valour of the Man, and his proſperous Succeſſes, made ſome delay in the Caſe, *Stephen Bull*, a Knight of known Courage, undertook the Expedition; and Opportunity ſeemed to favour his Deſign, becauſe he knew that *Wood* was ſhortly

to return out of *Flanders*, and he thought it would be a matter of no great difficulty to attaque him unawares in his Passage; thereupon he chose out three Ships of the Royal Navy, and equipped them well in all points, and so stood for the Isle of *May*, an Island uninhabited in the * Bay of *Forth*, choosing that place for the conveniency of it, because in every side of the Island there is safe riding, and Harbour for Ships; and there the Sea also grows so narrow, that no little Vessel could pass by, without being discovered. Whilst he rode there, he continually kept some of his skilfullest Mariners abroad in Fisher-boats, to watch, and to discover to him his Enemies Ships; he had not rode at Anchor there many days, when lo! *Wood*'s Ships appeared with full Sail making towards him. *Bull* knew them, and presently weighed Anchor, and as Victor already in his Mind, he prepared himself for the Fight: *Wood* staid no longer but till his Men had armed themselves, and so made up to him. Thus did these two valiant Commanders engage, as if they had had the Courage of mighty Armies, and they fought so obstinately, till the Night parted the Fray, the Victory inclining to neither side: The next Morning each of them incouraged their Party, and with renewed Strength, went to it again; they cast Iron Hooks (called Grapling Irons) into one anothers Ships, and so fought hand to hand, as if they had been at a Land Fight, and that with so great eagerness, that neither of them took notice of the falling back of the Tide, till they came to the heaps of Sand at the mouth of the River *Tay*; there the Water being shallower, the great Ships of the *English* could not be so easily managed, but were forced to a Surrender, and so they were tow'd up against the Stream of the *Tay* to *Dundee*, where they staid till the dead were buried, and the wounded were distributed abroad to Chirurgeons for their Cure. This Battel was fought the 10*th* day of *August*, in the Year of our Redemption 1490.

* Off the Point of *Fife*.

The manner of the Fight between *Andr. Wood* and the *English* Admiral.

Wood's second Victory over the *English*.

A few days after *Wood* went to the King, and carried with him *Stephen Bull*, with the other Commanders of the Ships, and the notedst of his Souldiers, which he presented to him: *Wood* was highly commended by the King for this Exploit, and honourably rewarded. The King freely dismissed the Prisoners and their Ships, and sent them back to their King with an high commendation of their Valour. For in regard they fought for Honour, not for Booty, he therefore would shew, that Valour was to be honoured even in an Enemy.

King *Henry*, tho he was much aggrieved *for the loss of his Men* in this unhappy Fight, yet he gave the King of *Scots* Thanks, and told him that he gratefully accepted his Kindness, and the Greatness of his Mind.

About this time a new kind of Monster was born in *Scotland*; in the lower part of its Body it resembled a Male Child, not much differing from the ordinary shape of a humane Body newly born; but above the Navel, the Trunk of the Body and all the other Members were double, representing both Sexes male and female. The King gave special Order for its careful education, especially in Musick, where-

A strange Monster.

wherein it arrived to admirable Skill; and moreover it learned ſeveral Tongues; and ſometimes the two Bodies did diſcover ſeveral Appetites, diſagreeing one with another, and ſo they would quarrel, one liking *this*, another *that*; and yet ſometimes again they would agree and conſult (as it were) in common, for the good of both: This was alſo memorable in it, that when the Legs and Loins were hurt *below*, both Bodies were ſenſible of the Pain in common; but when it was pricked, or otherwiſe hurt *above*, the ſenſe of the pain did affect one Body only; which difference was alſo more perſpicuous in its Death; for one of the Bodies died many days before the other; and that which ſurvived, being half putrified, pined away by degrees. This Monſter lived twenty eight years, and then died, when *John* was Regent of *Scotland*. I am the more confident in relating this Story, becauſe there are many honeſt and creditable Perſons yet alive, who ſaw this Prodigy with their Eyes.

When the People of the North of *Scotland* heard of this Naval Victory, they gave over all thoughts of War, and return'd each to his own home. This Tumult and Broil being ſo eaſily quieted, the King applied his Mind, not only to quell all Seditions for the *preſent*, but alſo to prevent all occaſions of them for the *future*; he ſummoned his *Firſt* Parliament to be held at *Edinburgh*, the 6th day of *November*; there many wholeſom Laws were made for the Eſtabliſhing of publick Concord; and to the end that Peoples minds might the better agree in the general, the Fault was caſt but upon a few particular Perſons, and the puniſhments were either very eaſy, or elſe wholly remitted. When a Diſpute aroſe concerning the lawfulneſs of the War, *John Lyon*, Lord ‖ *Glames*, roſe up, and ſhewed ſeveral Heads of Articles, which the *Nobles* had formerly ſent to the King in order to a Pacification, to which *James* the third had often both aſſented and ſubſcribed; and that indeed he had ſtruck up a Peace with his Nobles upon thoſe Terms, unleſs ſome evil Counſellors had drawn away his Mind therefrom, and ſo perſwaded him to call in the old Enemy to fight againſt his own Subjects. And by reaſon of this his Inconſtancy, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Arrol*, Earl of *Marſhal*, and *Lyons* himſelf, with many other noble Perſons, had forſaken him at that time, and had ſet up *James* the *4th* his Son, as being a great Lover of the publick Peace and Welfare. After a long diſpute, at laſt they all conſented to a Decree, wherein thoſe that were ſlain in the Battel of *Sterlin*, were affirmed to have been cut off by their own Default, and that their Slaughter was juſt; and that they who had took up Arms againſt the Enemies of the Publick, though covering their hidden Fraud under honeſt pretences, were guilty of no Crime, nor conſequently liable to any Puniſhment. All who had Votes in the Aſſembly, ſubſcribed to this Decree, that ſo they might give a better account of the Fact to Foreign Embaſſadors, who they heard were a coming. Many other Statutes were then alſo made, to reſtore to the Poor what had been taken violently from them; to inflict light Mulcts on the Rich, and to indemnify both Parties: That their taking up of Arms at that time might never turn to the Prejudice of them or their Poſterity. * This Moderation of Spirit

K. *James* the 4th his *firſt* Parliament.

‖ A Caſtle lying 4 miles South off *Forfar* in *Angus*.

* The Commendation of *James* the 4th.

rit was highly commended in a young King, of but fifteen Years old, and who was also a Conqueror, and had the Command of all; but it was further heightned by his Benignity and Faithfulness in performing his Promises; to which may be added (which the Vulgar do most admire) that he was of a graceful well-set Body, and also of a vivid and quick Apprehension; so that by his using this Victory, neither with Avarice nor Cruelty, and by his real pardoning of Offendors, in a short time there grew up a great Concord amongst both Factions, both of them equally striving to shew their Love and Duty to the King. A few only, who were most obstinate, were mulct with a small Fine, or with the loss of part of their Estates, but none at all were deprived of their whole Patrimony; neither were the Fines brought into the King's Exchequer, but expended on the Charges of the War. This his Royal Clemency was the more grateful, because Men did yet retain fresh in their Memories, upon what slight occasions in the former King's Reign, many eminent Men were outed of All; and how much inferior to them those were, who came in their places. Moreover, to engage the chief Leaders of the contrary Faction to a greater Fidelity, he joyned them in Bonds of Affinity to himself; for whereas his Aunt had two Daughters, begot by several Husbands, he married *Gracina Boyd* to *Alexander Forbes*, and *Margaret Hamilton* to *Matthew Stuart*. Thus in a short time the Minds of all were reconciled, and a pleasant Peace and Tranquillity did ensue; yea, as if Fortune had submitted her self to be an Handmaid to the King's Virtues, there was so great an encrease of Grain and Fruits of the Earth, as if a *Golden* Spring had suddenly started up, out of a more than *Iron Age*. Thus, after the King had suppressed Robberies by Arms, and other Vices by the Severity of the Laws; lest he might seem a sharp Avenger of others, but indulgent to himself; and withal, to make it appear, that his Father was slain against his Will, he wore an Iron Chain about his Waste as long as he lived, and every Year he added one Link thereunto; and tho this Practice might seem formidable to those that were the Causers of his Father's Death; yet they had such Confidence, either in the Gentleness of the King's Disposition, or in their own Power, that it occasioned no Insurrection at all.

His Clemency.

His sorrowful Resentment for his Fathers Death.

Amidst this publick Jubilee, and also the private Rejoycings of particular Persons, about the seventh Year of the King's Reign, *Peter Warbeck* came into *Scotland*: But before I declare the Cause of his coming, I must fetch things something further back.

Peter Warbeck (some call him *Perkin*) comes into *Scotland*.

Margaret the Sister of *Edward* the fourth King of *England*, having married *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, she endeavoured all the ways she could, if not to overthrow, yet at least to vex *Henry* the Seventh, the Leader of the contrary Faction; In order whereunto she raised up one *Peter Warbeck*, as a Competitor for the Kingdom; he was a Youth born of mean Parentage at * *Tornay*, a City of the † *Nervii*, but of such Beauty, Ingenuity, Stature of Body, and Manliness of Countenance, that he might easily be believed to have been descended of a Royal Stock. And by reason of his Poverty, he had travelled up and down in several Coun-

His Story.

* A Town in *Flanders*, standing on the Bank of the *Scheld*.

† A *Gallo-Belgick* People possessing *Hainault*.

Countries, (ſo that he was known but by very few of his own Relations) and there he had learned ſeveral Languages, and had hardened himſelf to all kind of bold and impudent Carriage; when *Margarite* (who was intent on all occaſions to diſturb the Peace of *England*) had got this Youth, ſhe kept him a while privately by her, till ſhe had informed him with what Factions *England* laboured at that time, what Friends and what Enemies ſhe had there; in a word, ſhe made him acquainted with the whole Genealogy of the Royal Progeny, and what Happineſſes or Misfortunes had attended each of them. When things ſeemed thus to be ſomewhat ripe, ſhe was reſolved to try Fortune, and took private order, that he ſhould be ſent, in a decent Equipage, *firſt* into *Portugal*, *then* into *Ireland*; there he had a great Concourſe of People flock'd about him, and was received with huge Applauſe, as the Son of King *Edward* of *England*, either becauſe his own Diſpoſition, aſſiſted alſo by Art, was inclined to Diſſimulation; or becauſe being there amongſt wild *Kerns*, he was ſoon likely to raiſe great Stirs and Tumults. When a War brake forth ſuddenly betwixt the *French* and the *Engliſh*, he was called for out of *Ireland* by *Charles* the Eighth, and had great Promiſes made him; ſo that coming to *Paris*, he was there honourably received in the Garb and Equipage of a *Prince*, and had a Guard appointed him; yea, the *Engliſh* Exiles, who were numerous at that Court, put him in a ſure hope of the Kingdom. But that Tumult being quieted, upon Terms, he departed privately out of the Court of *France*, for fear leſt he ſhould have been delivered up, and ſo retired to *Flanders*, there he was highly careſſed by *Margaret*, as if it were the firſt time that ever ſhe had ſeen him, and was diligently ſhewed to all the Courtiers, and ſeveral times in the hearing of many of them, he was deſired to relate the Story of all his Adventures. *Margarite*, as if this were the firſt time ſhe had ever heard it, did ſo accommodate her diſſembled Affections in compliance with each part of his Diſcourſe, both when he related his Succeſſes and alſo his Misfortunes, that every body thought, ſhe believed what he had ſpoken to be certainly true.

Warbeck ſet up by *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*.

After a day or two, *Peter* was deſired to go abroad in the habit of a Prince, and had thirty Men to be his Guard, wearing a *white Roſe*, (which is the Badg of the *York*-Faction amongſt the *Engliſh*) and ſo was every where declared as the undoubted Heir of the Crown of *England*. When theſe things were divulged, firſt in *Flanders*, afterward in *England*, the Minds of Men were ſo ſtirred up, that a great concourſe of People flock'd in to him, not only of thoſe who lurked in Holes and Sanctuaries for fear of the Laws, but even of ſome Noble-men, whom their preſent State did not pleaſe, or who deſired Innovations. But when a longer delay, which *Peter* hoped would bring in more Force to him, was likely to abate his preſent Strength, if he were diſcovered to be a Counterfeit, therefore he determined to try his Fortune in a Fight; ſo that, having gotten a pretty great Party together, he landed ſome few of them in *Kent*, to try the Affections of the *Kentiſh*-men, but in vain.

All

All thoſe, who landed, were taken, ſo that he was forced to ſteer his courſe for *Ireland*; and there alſo he met not with the entertainment he hoped for; ſo that he ſailed over into *Scotland*, well knowing, that Peace betwixt *Scotland* and *England* never uſed to continue very long. He being admitted into the King's Preſence, made a lamentable complaint of the Ruin of the *York*-Family, and what miſerable Calamities he himſelf had ſuffered; and therefore he earneſtly beſought him, to vindicate Royal Blood from ſuch contumely and ſhame. The King bid him be of good chear, and promiſed he ſhould ſhortly find, That he had not deſired his help, in his Diſtreſſes, in vain. A few days after a Council was called, where *Peter* made a ſad Story of his Misfortunes, That he being born of a King, the moſt Flouriſhing of his Time, and that of the higheſt hopes too, was left deſtitute, by the untimely death of his Father, and ſo was like to have fallen into the Tyrannical Hands of his Uncle *Richard*, before he was ſenſible almoſt what Miſery was. That his Elder Brother was cruelly murdered by him, but that he himſelf was ſtolen away by his Father's Friends, ſo that now he durſt not live, no not a poor and precarious Life, even in that Kingdom of which he was the lawful Heir. That he had ſo miſerably lived amongſt Foreign Nations, that he preferred the Condition of his deceaſed Brother before his own, in regard he was ſnatch'd away from all further Calamity by a ſuddain and violent Death: That he himſelf was reſerved, as the ridicule of Fortune, and that his Sorrow had not that alleviation, that he durſt bewail his miſerable State amongſt Strangers, to incline them to pity him; for after he had begun openly to profeſs what he was, Fortune had aſſaulted him with all her Darts; and, to his former Miſeries, had added a daily fear of Treachery, for his crafty Enemy had ſometimes tampered with thoſe who entertained him, to take away his Life; and ſometimes he had privily ſuborned his Subjects, underthe name of Friends, to diſcover his ſecret Deſigns, to corrupt his *true* Friends, and to find out his *ſecret* ones, and to calumniate his Stock and Pedigree, by falſe Accuſations amongſt the Vulgar; to reproach his Aunt *Margaret*, and thoſe Engliſh Nobles that owned him; and yet notwithſtanding, that ſhe, being ſupported by a good Conſcience againſt the revilings of Enemies, and alſo out of compaſſion to her own Blood, had ſupported him in his low Eſtate with her Aſſiſtance. But at laſt, when he perceived that he could not have Aid enough from her to recover his Kingdom, (being a Widow, and old too) he had ſolicited Neighbour-Kings and Nations, deſiring them to reſpect the common Chances of Man's Life, and not to ſuffer Royal Blood to be oppreſſed by Tyrannical Violence, and ſo himſelf to pine away with Grief, Fear, and Miſery; and that he, though ſo the preſent, afflicted with great Evils, yet was not ſo dejected in his Mind, but that he hoped the time would come, that being reſtored to his Kingdom by the Aid of his Friends, (of whom he had many both in *England* and *Scotland*) he ſhould be able to conſider every particular Man's Service, and reward him accordingly; eſpecially if the *Scots* would join their Forces with His, and if ever he was reſtored

Warbeck's feigned Harangue of himſelf.

to

to his Kingdom by their Arms, they ſhould ſoon underſtand, that they had won a faſt Friend, and that at ſuch a time too, when the trial of true Friendſhip is wont to be made; for he and his Poſterity would be ſo gratefully mindful of the Obligation, that they would ever acknowledg, that the acceſſion of his better Fortune was due to them alone. Beſides, he added many things in praiſe of the King, part of them true, and part accommodated to their preſent Condition.

Having thus ſaid, he held his Peace: but the King called him up to him, and bid him, Take Heart, for he would refer his Demands to the Council, whoſe Advice, in Grand Affairs, he muſt needs have; yet, however they did determine, he promiſed him faithfully, That he ſhould not repent that he made His Court his Sanctuary. Upon this *Peter* quitted the Aſſembly, and the Matter being put to a debate, the wiſer ſort, who had moſt experience in State-Affairs, thought it beſt to reject the whole Buſineſs, either becauſe they judg'd he was a Counterfeit, or elſe, that they foreſaw there would be more Danger by the War, than Advantage by the Victory, tho' they were ſure of it. But the major part, either through unskilfulneſs in Affairs, or inconſtancy of Spirit, or elſe to gratify the King, argued that *Peter*'s Cauſe was moſt juſt, and that they greatly pittied the Man: they added alſo, That now Matters were in ſome confuſion in *England*, and Mens Minds were yet fluctuating, after the Civil War, and therefore it was good to lay hold of this Opportunity; and that which the *Engliſh* were wont to do to them, they themſelves ought to try for once, to make uſe of the Enemies Diſtractions for their own Advantage; yea, they foretold a Victory, preconceived in their Minds, before they had put on their Armour; eſpecially, if great Forces of the *Engliſh* came in to join them; nay, if they ſhould not come in in ſuch Numbers as they hoped, yet one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily follow, That either they ſhould conquer *Henry*, and ſo ſettle this new King on his Throne; who, in recompence for ſo great a Benefit, muſt needs grant them all that they deſired: Or, if they could end the Matter without Blows, yet *Henry*, upon the quelling Domeſtick Tumults, not being yet fully ſettled in his Throne, would ſubmit to what Conditions they pleaſed: But if he refuſed ſo to do, when War was once begun, many advantages might offer themſelves, which now were unforeſeen.

The *Scots* Council cajol'd by *Warbeck*.

This was the Opinion of the major part, and the King himſelf inclined to them, and his Vote drew in the reſt. And after this, he treated *Peter* more honourably than before, gave him the Title of Duke of *York*; and, as ſuch, ſhewed him to the People. And not contented herewith, he gave him *Katharine Gordon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Huntly*, to Wife, a Woman of as great Beauty as Nobility of Stock, by this Affinity erecting him to hopes of thriving, and bettering his Condition. And therefore by Advice of his Council, he levied an Army, and marched for *England*; firſt of all carrying it warily, and having his Troops ready to engage, if any ſuddain Aſſault ſhould be made upon him. But afterwards, when he underſtood by his Spies, that the Enemy had no Army in the Field, he

K. *James* marries *Katherine Gordon*, his Kinſwoman, to *Warbeck*, and aſſiſts him with an Army againſt *England*.

ſent out Parties to Plunder, and in a ſhort time waſted almoſt all *Northumberland*, and the Countries thereabout. He ſtaid ſome days in thoſe Parts, and not an *Engliſh*-Man ſtirred, in behalf of *Peter*: And it being told him, that an Army was levying againſt him in the adjacent Counties, he thought it dangerous to venture his Souldiers, who were loaden with Booty, againſt the new and freſh Forces of the *Engliſh*, and therefore he reſolved to return into *Scotland*, and there to leave their Booty; and as ſoon as the time of the Year would permit, to undertake a new Expedition. Neither did he fear that the *Engliſh* would follow him in his retreat, for he knew that new-raiſed Souldiers would not be long kept together, neither would they make after him, if they could, through a Country ſo lately haraſſed and deſolated by the Wars; eſpecially, having no Proviſions prepared before-hand. And beſides, *Peter* was afraid, that in regard none of the *Engliſh* came in to him, as he hoped, that if he ſtaid any longer in his Enemies Country, his Cheat would be diſcovered, ſo that he himſelf ſeemed to approve of the King's Reſolution, came cunningly to him, and compoſing his Speech and Countenance ſo, as might beſt move Compaſſion, he humbly beſought him, That he would not make ſuch Havock in a Kingdom that was his own by Right; and that he would not ſo cruelly ſhed ſo much Blood of his Subjects, for no Kingdom in the World was of ſo much worth to him, as for its ſake to have his Peoples Blood ſo largely ſpilt, and his Country ſo waſted with Fire and Sword, to procure it. The King began now to ſmell out and underſtand, whither this unſeaſonable Clemency did tend, and therefore told him, That he feared he would preſerve that Kingdom, in which not a Man did own him as a Subject, much leſs as a King, not for himſelf, but for his Capital Enemy; and ſo by common conſent they returned Home, and the Army was disbanded.

K. *James* begins to ſmell out *Warbeck*'s Cheat.

Henry being made acquainted with the Invaſion, and alſo the Retreat of the *Scots*, appointed an Expedition againſt them the Year after, and in the mean time levied a great Army; and that he might not be idle in the Winter-time, he ſummons a Parliament, who approved of his Deſign to make War on *Scotland*, and granted a ſmall Subſidy upon the People for that end. That Tax raiſed up a greater flame of War upon him at *Home*, than that which he deſigned to quench *Abroad*. For the Commonalty complained that their Youth and Souldiery were exhauſted by ſo many Wars, and Impreſsments, which had been made within theſe few Years, that their Eſtates were impaired, and ran very low: But the Nobles and Counſellors to the King, were ſo far from being moved with theſe Calamities, that they ſought to create new Wars in a time of Peace, that ſo they might impoſe new Taxes on them, who were already in great Want and Neceſſity; and thus, whom the Sword had not conſumed, Famine and Poverty would. Theſe were the publick Complaints of all the Commons: but the *Corniſh* were more enraged than all the reſt, for they, inhabiting a Country which is in great part barren, are wont rather to gain than loſe by Wars: And therefore, that warlike People, having been accuſtomed rather to encreaſe their Eſtates by Military Spoils, than to leſſen them by paying

Henry of *England* prepares an *Army* againſt *Scotland*.

An Inſurrection in *England*, prevents K. *Henry*'s Deſign againſt *Scotland* at that time.

ing Taxes and Rates, first of all rose against the King's Officers and Collectors, and slew them; and then, being conscious that they had engaged themselves in so bold an Attempt, that there was no retreat, nor hopes of Mercy, the Multitude flocking in daily more and more to them with Arms in their hands, they began their march towards *London*. But 'tis not my Business to prosecute the Story of this Insurrection, it is enough for my purpose to tell you, that the King was so busied this whole Year by the *Cornish*, that the Army which he had designed against *Scotland*, he was enforced to employ against them.

In the mean time, *James*, foreseeing, That *Henry* would not let the Injuries of the former Year pass unrevenged, and being also informed by his Intelligencers, That he was raising great Forces against him, He, on the other side, levied an Army, to the intent, That if the *English* invaded him first, he might be in a posture to defend himself; if not, then he himself would make an inroad into his Enemies Country, and there so waste and destroy the bordering Counties, that the Soil (poor enough of it self) should not afford sufficient Necessaries, even for the very Husbandman. And hearing of the *Cornish* Insurrection, he presently began his march, and entered *England* with a great Army, dividing his Forces into two parts; one went towards *Durham* to ravage that Country, and with the rest he besieged *Norham*, a strong Castle scituated on a very high Hill, by the River *Tweed*. But neither *here* nor *there* was there any thing considerable done: For *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Durham*, a very prudent Person, foreseeing, that the *Scots* would not omit the Opportunity of attempting somewhat during the civil Broils in *England*, had fortified some Castles with strong Garisons, and had taken care that the Cattle, and all other driveable and portable things should be conveyed unto places, either safe by Nature, or made so by the vicinity of Moors & Rivers. And moreover he sent for the Earl of *Surry*, who had great Forces in *Yorkshire*, to assist him; and therefore the *Scots* only burnt the Country, and not being able to take *Norham*, which was stoutly defended by those within, raised the Siege, and without any considerable Action returned Home. The *English* followed them not long after, and demolished * *Aytown*, a small Castle, seated almost in the very Borders, and he returned out of their Enemies Country, without any memorable performance also.

K. *James* invades *England*, but to little purpose.

* In the *Mers* on the River *Ayt*, a mile above *Aymouth*.

Amidst these Commotions, both foreign and domestick, *Peter Hialas*, a Man of great Wisdom, and, as those Times were, not unlearned, arrived in *England*; he was sent by *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, King and Queen of *Spain*. The purport of his Embassy was, That *Katharine*, their Daughter, might marry *Arthur* King *Henry*'s Son, and so a new Affinity and Friendship might be contracted betwixt them. The *English* did willingly embrace the Affinity, and therefore were desirous to finish the War with *Scotland*; and because *Henry* thought it was below his Dignity to seek Peace at the *Scots* Hands, he was willing to use him as a Mediator. *Peter* willingly undertook the Business, and came into *Scotland*; there he plied *James* with several Arguments, and at last made him inclinable

An Embassador form *Spain* to *England*.

Who mediates a Peace between *Scotland* and *England*.

to a Peace; and then he wrote to *Henry*, That he hoped a good Peace would be agreed without any great difficulty, if he pleased to send down some Eminent Person of his Council, to accord the Conditions. *Henry*, as one that had often tried the inconstancy of Fortune, and that the Minds of his Subjects were grown fierce by these late Tumults, as being rather irritated than wholly suppressed, commanded *Richard Fox*, who resided in his Castle at *Norham*, to join Counsels with *Hialas*. These Two had many Disputes about the Matter with the Embassadors of *Scotland*, at * *Jedburgh*, and after many Conditions had been mutually proposed, they could agree upon nothing. The chiefest Impediment was, The demand of *Henry*, that *Peter Warbeck* should be given up to him, for he judged it to be a very reasonable Proposition, in regard he was but a Counterfeit, and had been already the Occasion of so much Mischief. *James* peremptorily refused so to do, alledging, That it was not honourable in him to surrender up a Man of the Royal Progeny, who came to him as a Suppliant; whom he had also made his Kinsman by Marriage, against his Faith given to him, to be made a Laughing-stock by his Enemies. And thus the Conference broke off; yet the hopes of an Agreement were not altogether cast off, for a Truce was made for some months, till *James* could dismiss *Warbeck*, upon Honourable Terms, according to his Promise.

* The chief Town in *Tividale*, standing on the West of the River *Jed*.

For now, by the Conference with the *English*, and other evident Indications, it plainly appeared, that the Tale concerning *Peter*'s State and Kindred was a mere Falsity, and therefore the King sent for him, and told him, what singular good Will he had born him, and how many Courtesies he had bestowed upon him, of which he himself was the best Witness; as *first*, *That* he had undertaken a War against a Potent King for his sake; and had now managed it a second Year, to the great Inconvenience of his Enemy, and the Prejudice of his own Subjects. *That* he had refused an Honourable Peace, which was freely offered him, merely becaufe he would not surrender him up to the *English*; and thereby he had given great Offence, both to his Subjects and his Enemy too; so that now, he neither could, nor would, any longer withstand their Desires. And therefore, whatever might ensue, whether Peace or War, he desired him to seek out some other and fitter Place for his Banishment, for he was resolved to make Peace with the *English*; and when it was once solemnly made, to observe it as religiously; and to remove from him whatsoever might be an Impediment or Disturbance thereto: Neither ought he to complain, That the *Scots* had forsaken him, seeing the *English* had done so *first*, in confidence of whose Assistance the *Scots* had begun the War: And yet, notwithstanding all these Circumstances, he was resolved to accommodate him with Provisions, and other Necessaries, to put to Sea.

Warbeck was mightily troubled at his unexpected dismission; yet he remitted nothing of his dissimulated height of Spirit, but in a few days, sailed over into *Ireland* with his Wife and Family: From whence soon after he passed into *England*, and there joined himself

Warbeck dismist out of *Scotland*.

himſelf with the Reliques of the *Corniſh* Rebels: but after many Attempts, being able to do no good, he was taken; and having confeſſed all the Pageantry of his former Life, he ended his days in an Halter. Taken and hanged in *England.*

The Seminary of War between *England* and *Scotland* being almoſt extinguiſhed, and a great likelihood of Peace appearing, behold, there aroſe a great Ebullition of Spirit, upon a very light occaſion, which had almoſt broken out into a fierce War. Some *Scottiſh* Youths went over to the Town of *Norham*, which was near to the Caſtle, (as they were oft wont to do in Times of Peace) there to recreate themſelves in Sports and Paſtimes, and to junket together with their Neighbours, as if they had been at Home, for there was but a ſmall River, which divided them. The Gariſon in the Caſtle, out of the Rancour, yet lodging in their Breaſts ſince the former War, and being alſo provoked by ſome paſſionate words, accuſed thoſe *Scots*, as Spies, and ſo from Words they came to Blows; many were wounded on both ſides, and the *Scots* being fewer in number, were forced to return Home with the loſs of ſome of their Company. This Buſineſs was often canvaſſed in the Meetings, between the *Lords* of the *Marches*; and at laſt *James* was very angry, and ſent an Herald to *Henry*, to complain of Breach of Truce, and how unconſtant the *Engliſh* were in keeping Covenant; and unleſs Satisfaction were given, according to the juſt Laws, which were made by general Conſent, about reſtitution betwixt the Borderers, he commanded him to denounce War againſt him. *Henry* had been exerciſed by the Violence of Fortune, even from his Cradle, and therefore was more inclined to Peace: his Anſwer was, That whatever was done of that kind, was againſt his Will, and without his Knowledg; and if the Gariſon-Souldiers had offended in the Caſe, by their Temerity, he would take order, That Examination ſhould be made, and that, the Leagues being kept inviolate, the Guilty ſhould be puniſhed. But this was ſlowly done, and *James* looked upon the Anſwer, as dilatory, that ſo Puniſhment might be deferred, and the Sentiment thereof worn out with Time; and therefore it rather provoked than ſatisfied *James*. But *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*, who was owner of the Caſtle, being much troubled, that an occaſion of breaking the League ſhould be adminiſtred by any of *his* Tenants; to prevent it, ſent ſeveral Letters to *James*, full of great ſubmiſſion, modeſty, and civility, which ſo inclined the Mind of *James*, that he wrote him word back, that he would willingly ſpeak with him, not only about the late Wrongs done, but alſo about other Matters which might be advantagious to both Kingdoms. *Fox* acquainted his King herewith, and, by his Conſent, he waited upon *James* at * *Mulroſs*, where he then was. There *James* made a grievous Complaint of the Injury acted at *Norham*; yet by the prudent and grave diſcourſe of *Fox*, he was ſo pacified, that for Peace-ſake, of which he ſhewed himſelf very deſirous, he remitted the Offence. Other things were acted privately betwixt them; but it appeared afterward, that the Sum of them was this, That *James* did not only deſire a Peace, but (both before, and alſo now)

A War like to ariſe on a ſmall Occaſion betwixt *England* & *Scotland*; but accommodated by *Fox* Bp. of *Durham.*

* *Mulroſs* in *Tiviot-dale* on a bare Promontory on *Tweed* ſide, three Miles below its confluence with *Gala.*

A Conference between King *Jamts* and *R. Fox* Bp of *Durham*, concerning the Marriage of King *Henry*'s Daughter *Margaret* to *Jamts*.

now) an Affinity with *Henry*, and a ſtricter Bond of Union: And if *Henry* would beſtow his Daughter *Margaret* upon him in Marriage, he hoped that the thing would be for the benefit of both Kingdoms; and if *Fox*, whoſe Authority he knew to be great at home, would but do his Endeavour to accompliſh the Affinity, he did not doubt but it would be ſoon effected. He freely promiſed his Endeavour, and coming to the Court of *England*, acquainted the King with the Propoſition, and thereupon gave hopes to the *Scots* Embaſſadors, that a Peace would eaſily be accorded betwixt the two Kings. Thus at length, three Years after, which was *An.* 1500, even about one and the ſame time *Margaret*, *Henry*'s Eldeſt Daughter, was betrothed to *James* the IVth, and alſo *Katharine*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, to *Arthur*, *Henry*'s Eldeſt Son, and their Marriages were celebrated with great Pomp the next Year after.

Which took Effect.

After the Marriage all things were quiet, and the Court turned from the Study of Arms to Sports and Paſtimes, ſo that there was nothing but Masks, Shews, Feaſtings, Dancings, and Balls; it was as a continued Jubilee, and, upon that account, every day was as an *Holy-day*: There were alſo Horſe-Tiltings, frequently made, moſtly according to the *French* Mode, betwixt which (as Tragical Acts) there intervened the Challenges of Moſs-Troopers one of another, who were wont to live upon Spoil; which Sport the King was well pleaſed to behold, becauſe he judged that the killing of them was a Gain to him. When the noiſe of theſe Tourneaments came to Foreign Nations, many Strangers, and eſpecially from *France*, came daily over to ſhew their Proweſs, who were all liberally entertained by the King, and as bountifully diſmiſſed. Neither did he reſt in theſe ludicrous Exerciſes, but he laid out a great deal of Mony upon Building, at *Sterlin*, *Falkland*, and ſundry other places, and eſpecially in building of Monaſteries; but his Coſt about Ships was greateſt of all, for he built three ſtately ones of a great Bulk, and many alſo of a middle Rate; one of his great ones was to admiration, the biggeſt that ever any Man had ſeen ſail on the Ocean, it being alſo furniſhed with all manner of coſtly Accommodations; our Writers have given a Deſcription of it (which I paſs over) and the Meaſure of it is kept in ſome places: but the Greatneſs of it appeared by this, That the News thereof ſtirred up *Francis* King of *France*, and *Henry* the 8*th* King of *England*, each of them to build a Ship in imitation thereof, and each endeavouring to out-vie the other; when their Ships were finiſhed and fitted with all neceſſaries for ſailing, and brought to Sea, they were ſo big, that they ſtood there like unmoveable Rocks, unfit for any uſe.

A vaſt Ship built by King *James*.

Theſe Works being very expenſive, did exhauſt *James* his Treaſure, ſo that he was forced to deviſe ſome new ways to get Mony, and amongſt the reſt, he pitched upon one, by the Perſwaſion, as it was thought, of *William Elphinſtone*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, which was very diſpleaſing to all the Nobility. Amongſt the Tenures of Land in *Scotland*, this is one kind, by which the Owner holds what he buys, or elſe is given him, on theſe Terms, That if he

die

dye and leave his Son and Heir under Age, The Wardſhip of him ſhould belong to the King, or to ſome other Superior Lord; yea and all the Revenue is to be received by him, till the Heir come to the age of 21 Years. There is alſo another Badg of Slavery annexed to this Hold, that if an Owner do ſell above half his Eſtate, without the conſent of the chief Lord, then he is to forfeit the *whole* to him. This Law was introduced by Court-Paraſites, to advance the King's Exchequer: but being looked upon as unjuſt, had lain dormant a long time; but the King, being informed that Money might be got out of the Violators of it, commanded it to be put in Execution: that *Proceſs*, they call *Recognition*. This way of raiſing Money by the King, tho it outed no Man of his whole Eſtate, yet was a greater Grievance to the Country, than his Father's Covetouſneſs had been, for the Wrong redounded to very many, and to the worthieſt People moſt; becauſe under the two laſt Kings, by reaſon of their Forreign, and alſo of their Civil Wars, the Memory of that Law was almoſt quite aboliſhed; and thereupon, by reaſon of this new Project, they were enforced either to redeem their Lands from the Officers of the King's Exchequer, or elſe to relinquiſh part of them. And yet the love of the Subjects towards their King was ſo great, that, tho they ſuffered great Inconvenience thereby, his other Vertues gave him ſuch a Reverence amongſt them, that their Indignation did not proceed to an actual Riſing in Arms.

Wardſhip a Badg of Slavery.

Recognition, what?

Wardſhip diſuſed.

But when the King ſet no bounds to his Expences, neither were there ſome Flatterers (a perpetual miſchief to Courts) wanting; who covered this vitious Exceſs under the plauſible Names of Splendour and Magnificence: Hereupon he determined to undertake a Voyage into *Syria*, that ſo he might put an end to his vaſt Expence, (which he could not continue without Ruin, nor yet give over without Shame) and ſo, by his Abſence, to abridg it. He made an honeſt Pretence for his Journey, that it was to expiate the Fault he had committed in bearing Arms againſt his Father. And indeed he had given ſome evidence of his Penitence (whether true, or pretended) upon this account, from the very beginning of his Reign, (as I ſaid before) and he would often ſpeak of it in his common Diſcourſe. He had rigged a Navy for this Voyage, and had nominated the chief of his Retinue; and had acquainted his Neighbour-Kings, by his Ambaſſadours, of his Intent; and many of his Followers, as if they had obliged themſelves by the ſame Vow, ſuffered the Hairs of their Heads and Beards to grow at length; and, it was thought he would immediately have taken Ship, if ſome Hinderances had not intervened, even whilſt he was moſt intent on his Journey: For, at that time, there aroſe a vehement Suſpicion of a War like to enſue betwixt *France* and *England*, for *Henry* did not like the Succeſſes of the *French* in *Italy*; and, beſides, he was ſolicited by *Julius* the 2*d*, then Pope, and by *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, his Father-in-Law, to join with them; and with the *Venetians*, *Swiſs*, and *Maximilian* too (tho he did regulate his Councils ordinarily according to Events): for it was likely, that the Conjunctions of

K. *James*'s reſolution to go *Jeruſalem*.

The execution of it prevented, and how.

of ſo many Nations againſt *France*, would almoſt ſwallow it up.

The King of *England*, being in the prime of his Age, and elevated much in the ſenſe of the Power of his Kingdoms, and alſo being very willing to be in Action, was deſirous to enter into this Confederacy, but wanted a fair Pretence to fall out with *France*. But both of them knew one anothers Deſigns, by their Spies, and when *France* could not be perſuaded to deſiſt from warring againſt the *Pope*, who was *Henry*'s Friend, at length an Herauld was ſent into *France*, to demand *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Anjou*, (as the old Poſſeſſions of the *Engliſh*) in *France*. But in regard *France* was not moved by theſe Threats neither, to intermit the War in *Italy*, hereupon *Henry* denounced War againſt him, and ſent an Army into * *Biſcay*, to join his Father-in-Law *Ferdinand*, and he himſelf prepared for an Expedition into *France*.

* On the North-weſt of *Spain*, in the *Cantabrian* Ocean.

Henry of *England* wars againſt *France*.

Now *James* of *Scotland*, tho he reſolved to ſide with neither of them, yet, as more inclinable to the *French*, he ſent his Navy aforementioned, as a Preſent to *Ann* Queen of *France*, that ſo it might ſeem rather as a mark of his Friendſhip, than any real Aſſiſtance, for Military Action. And moreover, the *Scots* Clergy, who were uſed to *French* Largeſſes, were willing to ſhew themſelves in behalf of *Lewis* of *France*; and ſeeing they durſt not openly do it, they ſought out occaſions to alienate the King's Mind from the *Engliſh*.

Andrew Forman ſent into *England* by *James* to pick a Quarrel.

In order hereto, *Andrew Forman*, then Biſhop of *Murray*, one of their Faction, and a Friend to *Lewis*, was ſent into *England* to demand a vaſt Sum of Gold and Silver, the greateſt part thereof conſiſted in Womens Jewels and Ornaments, which were reported to be given, by Will, by *Arthur*, *Henry* the 8*ths* Elder Brother, to his Siſter *Margaret*, now married to *James*, as I related before. *Henry* (as 'tis probable) looked upon this Demand only as a Pretence for a Quarrel, and therefore he anſwered *James* very mildly; That if any thing were due to him, he would not only pay it; but if he wanted a greater Sum, or any other Aſſiſtance, he would not fail to ſupply him. When *James* received this Anſwer, he reſolved to aſſiſt *Lewis* in any other way, but by no means to invade *England*; and he ſent over the ſame *Forman* into *France*, to acquaint *Lewis* therewith. Meanwhile, becauſe he had heard that great Naval Preparations were making on both ſides, he reſolved to ſend the Fleet aforementioned to *Ann* immediately, that ſo it might arrive there before the War did actually break forth; he made *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, Admiral of it, and cauſed him to ſet ſail with the firſt Opportunity. But *Hamilton*, tho a Man good enough, yet was more skilled in the Arts of Peace than War, and therefore either out of fear of Danger, or elſe out of his habitual backwardneſs, left his Voyage for *France*, and turned to *Knockfergus*, a Town in *Ireland*, ſcituate over againſt *Galway* in *Scotland*, which place he pillaged and burnt; and afterward, as if he had been a mighty Conqueror, he hoiſted ſail for *Air* (in *Scotland*) a Port-Town in *Kyle*. When the King heard of his Return, he was very outragious againſt him, and could not forbear to expreſs his menacing Reproaches againſt the Man; and he was the more inraged againſt him,

And from thence into *France*.

Hamilton ſent with a Fleet to *France*, but turns to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.

him, becauſe he had received a Letter from Queen *Ann* out of *France*, which did endeavour to flatter him into a War againſt *England*; and he had alſo other Letters from *Andrew Forman*, which informed him, That he was generally upbraided with the Promiſe of ſending the Fleet, which they now looked upon as vain, in regard no ſuch thing was done. The King was willing to obviate this miſchief as well as he could, and therefore ſeeing *Hamilton* had broke off the Courſe, he was commanded to run, and had deſtroyed a Town, that had never been an Enemy to the *Scots*, and was then alſo in Alliance with them, and ſo had made War upon his Friends, without denouncing it beforehand, therefore he caſhiered him the Admiralſhip, and cauſed him to be ſummoned to appear before him. *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus* was deſigned to ſucceed him in that Command, and *Andrew Wood* was ſent with him to take the Fleet into his Charge. But *Hamilton* had notice, by his Friends before their coming, of the King's Diſpleaſure againſt him, and therefore preſently hoiſed Sail, reſolving rather to commit himſelf to the wide Sea, than to an enraged King; he was a long time ſailing for *France*, his Ship being toſſed with contrary Winds and ſore Storms in the Way, ſo that he arrived not there till the *French* had laid aſide the Thoughts of any Naval Preparations, and then he landed in **Baſe-Britaine*, where the Ship, which coſt ſo much Money and Labour to build, had her Tackle taken out, and ſo rotted in the Harbour of *Breſt*.

Hamilton, at laſt arrives in *France*.

* Little Britain lying in the Chanel on the North-weſt of *France*.

In the interim, other cauſes of Diſcord aroſe at Home, which wholly alienated *James* from *Henry*. In the Reign of *Henry* the 7*th*, there was one *Robert Carr*, a worthy Knight, ſo much beloved of *James*, for his excellent Virtues, that he made him his chief Cupbearer, Maſter of his Ordnance, and Lord-Warden of the middle-Borders or Marches. He was a ſevere puniſher of all Robbers, which procured him great Favour with the King, but increaſed the Hatred of the Borderers againſt him. So that both *Engliſh* and *Scots*, whoſe Licentiouſneſs he reſtrained, by putting the Laws in Execution againſt them, jointly ſought all occaſions to take away his Life; and, at length, at a ſolemn meeting of *Scots* and *Engliſh*, which uſed to be kept, to adjuſt and recompenſe Damages received, a Quarrel aroſe, and three *Engliſh-men*, bold Fellows, *John Hern*, *Lilburn*, and one *Starhed*, ſet upon him, one came behind and ran him through his Back with a Lance, and, when he was wounded, the other two diſpatched him quite. This Buſineſs was likely to create a War; but *Henry*, as he was juſt in other Things, ſo in this was as angry as *James* at the foulneſs of the Fact, and therefore he cauſed *John Hern*, the Brother of th'other *John*, Lord of † *Foord*, and Governour of the *Engliſh* Borders, to be delivered up to the *Scots*, with *Lilburne*, for the other Two had made their eſcape. They were ſhut up in Priſon in *Faſt-Caſtle*, and there *Lilburne* died. And for the expiation of ſo manifeſt a Crime, it was decreed, That in future Aſſemblings of that kind, the *Engliſh* ſhould firſt crave the publick Faith for their Security, and ſo enter *Scotland*, and have their Meetings there; and the Ambaſſadors of *England*, by many ſolemn Proteſtations and Ceremony of Words, ſhould declare,

Robert Car ſevere againſt Moſs-Troopers.

He is ſlain.

* In *Northumberland*.

† Standing on a Rock above the *Firth* of *Forth*.

That the Publick was not concerned, as guilty of that particular Murder. The other two Murderers lurked in the inland Parts of *England*, till the Reign of *Henry* the 8*th*; and yet they went not unpunished, for when they had got a Young King, fierce, potent, and saw, that he was willing to shew the greatness of his Strength, they crept out of their Dens. *Hern*, by the mediation of his Kindred, lived openly at his own House, and privately sent in Robbers to *Scotland*, to disturb the Publick Peace, hoping, that if a War were once begun, he should obtain Indemnity for his *old* Offences, and Impunity even with freedom to commit *new*. But *Starhed* got a Place to live in, about 90 Miles from the Borders, thinking to be safe by reason of the remoteness of his Habitation; but *Andrew Carr*, the Son of *Robert*, who saw, that the Seeds of Hatred, which would soon break out into a War, were then sown, and fearing that if once they entred into Arms, he should lose the avengement of his Father's Blood, persuades two of his Tenants, of the Family of the *Tates*, to disguise themselves, and to kill *Starhed*. They undertook to do it, and so entred his House securely in the Night; for living so far from the Borders, he thought he needed no Watch; where they killed him, cut off his Head, and brought it to *Andrew*; he, in testimony of his desired Revenge, sends it to *Edinburgh*, and sets it up there upon an high and conspicuous Place. Of *Hern* I shall speak in due time.

The Murderers of *Robert Carr* escape not unpunished.

A new Fact trod on the Heels of this old Injury, which awakened the Anger of the King of *Scots*, that was rather asleep than extinguished, before. At that time, there was one *Andrew Breton*, a *Scots* Merchant, his Father had a Ship rifled by the *Portugals*, and himself cruelly slain: *Andrew* had the Cause heard in *Flanders*, (because there the Murder was committed) where the *Portugals* were cast; but they, not paying what was adjudged, neither did their King, tho' *James* sent an Herald to him for that end, compel them so to do. *Andrew* hereupon obtained Letters of Mart from *James*, to satisfy himself for the Damages and Murder; and it was directed to all Princes and Cities lying near the Sea, That they should not account him as a Pirate, or Robber, if, by open Force, he revenged himself on the *Portugals*, who were such Violaters of common Right and Equity: so that in a few Months he did much mischief to the *Portugals*. Their Ambassadors, in the height of the War the *French* made against Pope *Julius* the Second, and which was soon like to break out against the *English*, as siding with *Julius*, came to *Henry*, and told him, That this bold and impudent Fellow, *Andrew*, which had done them so much Mischief, who were the Ancient Allies of the *English*, would assuredly be his Enemy, when he warred against *France*; but now he was secure, and might easily be subdued and cut off; and if the Fact were evil spoken of, it might be excused, under a pretence of his exercising Piracy. This, if he would do, he might prevent the Losses of his own Subjects, and also gratify their King, his Friend and Ally, very much. *Henry* was thus easily persuaded by the *Portugals* to entrap *Andrew*: In order whereto, he sent his Admiral, *Thomas Howard*, with two strong Ships of the Navy Royal, well-appointed,

The Story of *Andrew Breton*.

appointed, to way-lay him in the *Downs*, (ſo they call the Heaps of Sand, which appear aloft when the Tide is out) in his return from *Flanders*. It was not long before they eſpied him coming in a ſmall Veſſel, with a leſſer one in his Company, and ſet upon him; *Howard* himſelf attaqued *Andrew*, between whom there was a ſharp Fight, and altho' *Howard* had all the Advantage imaginable againſt him, yet he had much ado to take the Ship; neither could he do that, till *Andrew* and many of his Men were ſlain. This is certain, That *Andrew* was a Man of that Courage, even when his Caſe was deſperate, that, tho' he had ſeveral Wounds, and one of his Legs was broken with a Cannon Bullet, yet he took a Drum and beat an Alarm, and a Charge to his Men, to incourage them to fight valiantly; this he did, till his Breath and Life failed him together. The leſſer Ship, ſeeing that ſhe was no way able to cope with the Enemy, endeavoured to ſave her ſelf by flight, but was taken with a great deal leſs oppoſition; They which were not killed in the Fight, were caſt into Priſon at *London*; from whence they were brought to the King, and humbly begging their Lives of him, as they were inſtructed to do by the *Engliſh*, he, in a proud oſtentation of his Mercifulneſs, diſmiſſed and ſent the poor innocent Souls away. Hereupon, Embaſſadors were ſent into *England* by *James*, to complain, That his Subjects Ships were taken in a time of Peace, and the Paſſengers ſlain. They were anſwered, That the killing of Pirats was no violation of Leagues, neither was it a juſtifiable Cauſe for a War. This Anſwer ſhewed the ſpight of one, that was willing to excuſe a plain Murder, and ſeemed as if he had ſought an occaſion for a War: Whereupon the *Engliſh*, which inhabited the Borders, by that which was acted above-board, gueſſed at their King's Mind; and being alſo accuſtomed to ſow the Seeds of Diſſention, in the times of the firmeſt Peace; and beſides, being much given to Innovation, began to prey upon the adjacent Countries of the *Scots*.

A ſharp Fight between the *Engliſh* Admiral and *Breton*, where *Breton* was ſlain.

K. *James* complains to *Henry* of *Breton*'s Death.

At that time, there was one *Alexander Hume*, who had the ſole command of all the *Scots* Borders, which was wont to be diſtributed into three Mens Hands; he was mightily beloved by *James*, but his Diſpoſition was more fierce than was expedient for the Good of thoſe Times. The King was intent upon War, and very ſolicitous how to blot out the Ignominy received by thoſe Incurſions; and *Hume* promiſed him, That he, and ſome of his Kindred and Vaſſals, would, in a little time, make the *Engliſh* repent of the Loſs and Damage they had done, as being reſolved to turn their Mirth into Sadneſs. To make good his Word, he gathered together about 3000 Horſe, entred *England*, and ſpoiled the Neighbouring Villages, before any Relief could come in; but, as he was returning, his Men, being accuſtomed to pillaging, and then alſo laden with a great deal of Booty, being impatient to ſtay there any longer, divided their Spoil, even in their Enemy's Country, and went their ways ſeverally Home. *Alexander*, with a few, brought up the Rear, to ſee that no aſſault might be made upon them in their Retreat; but perceiving none to follow, he was the more careleſs, and ſo fell into an Ambuſh of 300 *Engliſh*, who, taking

Alexander Hume marches with a Party into *England*;

But is worſted in his Retreat.

the opportunity, ſet upon them, and ſtruck ſuch a ſuddain Terror into them, that they routed and put them to flight. In this Conflict, a great many of the *Scots* were ſlain, and 200 taken Priſoners, amongſt whom was *George Hume*, *Alexander*'s Brother, who was exchanged for the Lord *Hern* of *Foord*, who had been kept Priſoner many Years in *Scotland*, for the Murder of *Robert Carr*: But all the Booty came ſafe into *Scotland*, becauſe they, who drove it, were marched on before.

K. *James* reſolves a War againſt *England*.

This new Offence, coming upon the King's Mind, which was not eaſy before, upon the account of what I formerly related, made him unruly and headſtrong; and thereupon he called a Convention to conſult concerning the War. The wiſer ſort were againſt it; but *L'amot*, the Embaſſador of *France*, earneſtly preſſed it, by Entreaties and Promiſes: And alſo frequent Letters from *Andrew Forman* urged the ſame thing; yea, the King himſelf inclined thereto, ſo that many, to gratify him, fell in with his Opinion; the reſt, being the *minor* part, leſt by a fruitleſs Oppoſition they might incur the King's Diſpleaſure, gave alſo their aſſent; ſo that a War was voted to be made againſt *England*, both by Land and Sea; ('tis doubtful, whether the Counſel or the Event was the worſt), a ſet day was appointed for the Army to meet together. An Herald was ſent into *France* to *Henry*, who was then beſieging *Tournay*, to denounce War upon him.

The pretended Cauſes of the War.

The Cauſes of it were rendred to be, That Satisfaction for Loſſes had been required, but not given. That *John Hume*, the Murderer of *Robert Carr*, did openly ſhew himſelf; That *Andrew Breton*, in violation of the Leagues betwixt the two Crowns, had been pillaged and ſlain, by the King's own Command: And though he did not mention any of thoſe Wrongs, yet he ſhould never endure, That the Territories of *Lewis*, King of *France*, his Ancient Ally; nor of *Charles*, Duke of *Gelderland*, his Kinſman, ſhould be ſo miſerably harraſſed with all the Calamities of War; and therefore, unleſs he deſiſted therefrom, he bid him Defiance. *Henry* being young, and having a flouriſhing and puiſſant Kingdom; and beſides, a general Combination of almoſt all *Europe* againſt *France* alone; theſe things kindled a deſire in his Mind, which was otherwiſe ambitious enough of Glory, to continue his Arms; and therefore he gave the Herald an Anſwer more fierce than ſuted with his youthful Age;

K. *Henry*'s Anſwer to King *James*'s Herald.

That he heard nothing from him, but what he long before had expected from ſuch a Violator of all Divine and Human Laws, and therefore he ſhould do as he thought fit; for his part, he was reſolved not to be threatned out of his Procedure in a War, wherein he had ſo well proſpered hitherto; and beſides, he did not value his Friendſhip, as having already had ſufficient proof of his Levity.

A ſtrange Apparition, of an old Man forbidding K. *James* to proceed in his War with *England*.

This Denunciation of War being brought into *Scotland*, as the King was going to his Army, at *Linlithgo* whilſt he was at *Veſpers* in the Church (as the manner then was); There entred an old Man, the Hair of his Head being Red, inclining to Yellow, and hanging down on his Shoulders; his Forehead ſleek thro' baldneſs, bare-headed, in a long Coat of a ruſſet Colour, girt with a linen Girdle about his Loins; in the reſt of his Aſpect, he was very

very venerable: He preſſed thro' the Crowd to come to the King: When he came to him, he leaned upon the Chair on which the King ſat, with a kind of ruſtick ſimplicity, and beſpoke him thus; *O King*, ſaid he, *I am ſent to warn thee, not to proceed in thy intended Deſign; which Monition if thou neglect, neither Thou nor thy Followers ſhall proſper. I am alſo commanded to tell thee, That thou ſhouldeſt not uſe the Familiarity, Intimacy, and Counſel of Women; which if thou doſt, it will redound to thy Ignominy and Loſs.* Having thus ſpoken, he withdrew himſelf into the Crowd; and when the King enquired for him, after Prayers were ended, he could not be found; which Matter ſeemed more ſtrange, becauſe none of thoſe who ſtood next, and obſerved him, as being deſirous to put many Queſtions to him, were ſenſible how he diſappeared; Amongſt them, there was *David Lindſy* of * *Mont*, a Man of approved Worth and Honeſty, (and a great Scholar too); for in the whole courſe of his Life, he abhorred Lying; and if I had not received this Story from him as a certain Truth, I had omitted it as a Romance of the Vulgar.

* A place near *Cowper*, in *Fife*.

But the King, notwithſtanding, went forward in his March, and near *Edinburgh* muſtered his Army, and a while after entred *England*, took the Caſtles of *Norham*, *Werk*, *Etel*, *Foord*, and ſome others near to the Borders of *Scotland*, by Storm, and demoliſhed them, and ſpoiled all the adjoining part of *Northumberland*; mean while, the King falls in Love with one of the Ladies he had taken Priſoner, (ſhe was *Hern*'s Wife of *Foord*) and neglected his preſent buſineſs, inſomuch that, Proviſion beginning to grow ſcarce, in a not very plentiful Country, and it being very difficult to fetch it from far, the greateſt part of his Army ſtole away, and left their Colours very thin; only the Nobles, with a few of their Friends, Clients and Vaſſals, and thoſe not very well pleaſed neither, abode in the Camp: The major part adviſed him, that he ſhould no longer puniſh himſelf and his Men by abiding in a Country that was waſted by War, and if it had not been ſo, yet was poor of it ſelf, but rather that he would retreat and attempt *Berwick*; the taking of which one Place would turn more to account, than of all the Towns and Caſtles thereabouts; neither, ſaid they, would it be very difficult to take it in, becauſe both Town and Caſtle were unprovided for Defence. But the King thought that nothing was too hard for his Arms, eſpecially ſince the *Engliſh* were intangled in the War with *France*, ſo that, ſome Court-Paraſites ſoothing him up in his Vanity, he judg'd, that he might eaſily reduce that Town, in his Retreat.

Yet he proceeds and enters *England* below *Oulor* in *Northumberland*.

Whilſt he thus lay encamped at *Foord*, there came Heraulds from the *Engliſh*, deſiring him to appoint a Place and Time for the Battel. Hereupon he called a Council of War, wherein the major part were of opinion, That it was beſt to return home, and not to hazard the State of the whole Kingdom with ſo ſmall a Force, eſpecially, ſince he had abundantly ſatisfied his Credit, his Renown, and the Laws of Friendſhip; neither was there any juſt Cauſe, why he ſhould venture his ſmall Army, and which had been alſo wearied out with the taking of ſo many Caſtles, againſt the

The *Engliſh* challenge him to give them Battel.

more

more numerous Forces of the *Engliſh*, who had alſo newly received an Addition of freſh Men; for it was reported, That at that very time *Thomas Howard* arrived in the Camp with 6000 Men, ſent back out of *France*. Beſides, if he retreated, the *Engliſh* Army muſt of neceſſity disband, and then they could not bring together Another, to be levied ſo far off, till the next Year. But if he would needs fight, it were better ſo to do in his own Country, where Place, Time, and Proviſion were more at his Command. But the *French* Embaſſador, and ſome Courtiers whom *French* Largeſſes had wrought over to him, were of another Mind, and eaſily perſuaded *James*, who longed to fight, to abide the Enemy in that place: In the mean time, the *Engliſh* came not at the Day appointed by the Herauld, and then the *Scots* Nobles took that opportunity to go again to the King, and told him, that it was the Craft of the Enemy to protract the time from one day to another, whilſt their own Force encreaſed, and the *Scots* were diminiſhed, and that therefore he ſhould uſe the ſame Art againſt them. That it was now no Diſhonour for the *Scots* to retreat, (ſince the *Engliſh* had not kept the deſigned Time) without fighting; or elſe, not to fight, but when they themſelves thought fit: The firſt of theſe Advices was in many reſpects the more ſafe; but, if that did not pleaſe him, he had a fair opportunity offered him to comply with the other. For ſeeing the * *Till* had very high Banks, and was almoſt no where fordable, there was no paſſing for an Army over it within many Miles, but by one Bridg, where a few Men might keep back a great Multitude; yea, if part of the *Engliſh* ſhould get over, he might ſo place his Ordnance as to cut off the Bridg, and ſo they, who had paſſed over, might be deſtroyed, before they could be relieved by thoſe on the contrary ſide. The King approved of neither Advice, but anſwered reſolutely, *That if the* Engliſh *were* 100000 *ſtrong, he would fight them.* All the Nobility were offended at this temerarious Anſwer; and *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, who was far ſuperior to all the reſt in Age and Authority, endeavoured to appeaſe the King's Fury by a mild Oration, and to open the Nature and Reaſon of the two former Advices;

The French Embaſſador preſſes *James* on to a Battel.

* In *Northumberland.*

K. *James* reſolved to fight.

Which Earl *Douglas* diſſwaded him from in an Oration.

'You have (ſaid he) ſufficiently ſatisfied your Alliance with *France*, 'in that you have called off a great part of their Enemy's Army 'from them; for, by this means, they cannot run over all *France*, as, 'by the multitude of their Forces, they hoped to do; neither can 'they do any great damage to *Scotland*, becauſe they cannot long 'keep their Army together in a cold Country, already waſted by 'War, and otherwiſe not very fruitful; and moreover, the Winter 'now approaching, which in the Northern Parts uſeth to begin be'times. As for the *French* Embaſſador (ſaid he) I do not wonder, 'that he is ſo earneſt to preſs us to a Battel, for he, being a 'Stranger, ſtudies not the common good of our whole Party, but 'the private Advantage of their own Nation, and therefore it is no 'News, if he puſh us on to fight, and ſo be prodigal of other Mens 'Blood. Beſides, his Demand is ſhameleſs, for he requires that of 'us, which his own King, tho highly wiſe and prudent, doth not 'think fit to do, for the maintenance of his whole Kingdom and

Dignity.

'Dignity. Neither ought the loſs of this Army to be accounted 'ſmall, becauſe we are but few in number: For that which is any 'ways eminent for Valour, Authority, or Counſel in the whole King-'dom of *Scotland*, is here ſumm'd up in a Body: If theſe are loſt, the 'reſt of the Commonalty will be but an eaſy Prey to the Conqueror. 'Beſides, to lengthen out the War, is at preſent more ſafe, and more 'conducive to the main Chance. For if *L'amot*'s Opinion be, that 'the *Engliſh* are to be either exhauſted by Expences, or wearied out 'by Delays, what can be more adviſeable, in the preſent Poſture of 'Affairs, than to compel the Enemy to divide his Force; ſo that 'part of them muſt attend us, as if we were continually likely to 'invade them; and the fear thereof would take off a great ſtreſs of 'the War from the *French*, tho with no ſmall Toil of ours. Beſides, 'we have conſulted ſufficiently for the Glory and Splendor of our 'Arms, which theſe Men (who, I am afraid, are more forward in '*Words* than *Actions*) pretend, as a Diſguiſe and Vail for their Teme-'rity: For what can be more ſplendid, than for the King to demo-'liſh ſo many Caſtles, to deſtroy the Country with Fire and Sword, 'and, from ſo large Devaſtations, to bring home ſo much Booty, 'that many Years Peace will not reſtore a Country, ſo deſolated, to 'its former hue? And what greater Advantage can we expect in a 'War, than that, in ſo mighty an hurry of Arms, to our great Honour 'and Renown, but the Shame and Diſgrace of our Enemies, we 'give our Souldiers leave to refreſh themſelves, having gotten E-'ſtates and Glory to boot? And this kind of Victory, which is ob-'tained rather by Wiſdom than by Arms, is moſt proper for a Man, 'eſpecially for a General, in regard the common Souldiers can chal-'leng no part thereof.

Repartees between the King and *Douglas* concerning a preſent Fight.

All that were preſent aſſented to what he ſpoke, as appeared by their Countenances: but the King had taken a ſolemn Oath, that he would fight the *Engliſh*, and therefore he entertained his whole Diſcourſe with great Diſguſt, and bid him, *Get him home again, if he were afraid.* He thereupon fell a weeping, as foreſeeing the ruin of Affairs, and of the King himſelf, by his Raſhneſs; but as ſoon as he was able to ſpeak, he uttered theſe few words; If 'my former Life have not ſufficiently vindicated me from any ſuſpi-'cion of Cowardize and Fear, I know not what will; as long as 'my Body was able to undergo Hardſhip, I never ſpared it for the 'Good of my Country, and to maintain the Honour of my King. 'But ſeeing *now* I am uſeful only for Advice, and the King's Ears 'are ſhut againſt it, I will leave my two Sons, which, next to my 'Country, are moſt dear to me, with my other Kinſmen and Friends, 'as ſure Pledges of my Fidelity to You and my Country; and I 'pray God, that my Fears do prove vain, and that I be rather ac-'counted a falſe Prophet, than what I dread, and do as it were 'foreſee in my Mind, ſhould come to paſs.

Earl *Douglas* in diſcontent retires.

Having thus ſpoken, he took his Convoy and Retinue, and ſo departed. The reſt of the Nobles, becauſe they could not work over the King to their Opinion, endeavoured to ſecure Things the beſt they could, and that was, in regard they were inferior in number, (for they had Intelligence by their Spies, that the *Engliſh* were

were 26000 fighting Men) to advantage themſelves by the opportunity of the Ground and Place, and ſo to encamp upon an Hill that was near them; It was where *Cheviot-Hills* do gently decline into a Plain, a ſmall Spot, with a narrow Entrance into it, gradually ſloping downwards: This Paſſage they defended with their Braſs-Guns; behind them were the Mountains, at the foot of them there was a mooriſh piece of Ground, which ſecured their left Wing; on the right, ran the River *Till*, whoſe Banks were very high, over which there was a Bridg for paſſage, not far from the Camp: When the *Engliſh* had intelligence, by their Scouts, that they could not attaque the *Scots* Camp, without great damage, or rather certain ruin, they marched off from the River, and made a ſhew, as if they intended to leave the Enemy and retire towards *Berwick*, and ſo directly into the neighbouring Parts of *Scotland*, which was the beſt part of the Country, there to damage the *Scots* more, than They had done the *Engliſh* before. And *James* was moſt inclinable to believe, they would do ſo, becauſe there was a Rumour ſpread abroad, either by uncertain Report, or elſe deviſed on purpoſe, by the *Engliſh*, that their Deſign lay that way, that ſo they might draw the Enemy down into the plain and Champion Country. *James* would not endure that, and therefore ſet Fire to the Straw and Huts, and removed his Camp too. The Smoke, occaſion'd by the Fire, covered all the River, ſo that the *Scots*, by means thereof, could not ſee the *Engliſh*; They marched farther from the River, thro' places more unpaſſable; but the *Scots* had a level and open march thereunto; till they both came at laſt to * *Fluidon*, or *Floddon*, a very high Hill, almoſt unknown one to another. There the Ground was more level, and ſtretched it ſelf out into a Campagn; and the River was alſo paſſable by a Bridg at † *Tuiſil*; and there was a Ford alſo at ‖ *Milford*. The *Engliſh* commanded their Forlorn, firſt to draw their Braſs-Pieces over the Bridg, the reſt marched thro' the Ford, and, by the opportunity of the Place, they ſet themſelves in Battel Array, to ſtop the Enemy in their paſſage. Their Numbers were ſo great, that they divided themſelves, as it were, into two Armies, diſtinct from one another, either of which did well-nigh equal the whole Army of the *Scots*. In their firſt Brigade, Admiral *Thomas Howard*, who a little before was come in with ſome of his Sea-Forces, commanded the Main Battel; *Edward Howard* led on the Right Wing; and *Marmaduke Conſtable*, the Left: Behind them, the reſt were placed, as Reſerves, being divided into three Bodies; *Dacres* commanded the Wing in the Right; *Edward Stanly*, That on the Left; and the Earl of *Surry*, General of the whole Army, the Main Body. The *Scots* had not Men enow to divide their Army into ſo many Parties, unleſs they would extreamly weaken their Front; and therefore they divided their Army into four Bodies, at a moderate diſtance one from another; of which, *three* were to charge *firſt*, and the *fourth* was for a Reſerve. The King led on the Main Body; *Alexander Gordon* commanded the Right Wing, to whom *Alexander Hume* and the *Merch*-Men were joined; *Matthew Stewart* Earl of *Lennox*, and *Gilleſpy Cambel* Earl of *Argyle*, led on the third Body; *Adam Hepburn*

* Or *Floddon-hill*, lying between the Town of *Oulet* and the River of *Tweed*.

† In *Northumberland*, on the North ſide of the River *Blich*, three miles above *Stanxington*-Bridg.

‖ Or *Milfeild*.

Flodden Fight, and the Manner of it deſcribed.

Hepburne with his Clans, and the reſt of the Nobility of *Lothian*, were in the Reſerves. The *Gordons* began a very ſharp Fight, and ſoon routed the left Wing of the *Engliſh*; but when they returned from the Purſuit, they found almoſt all the reſt of their Brigades defeated; for One of them, in which was *Lennox* and *Argyle*, being encouraged by the Succeſs of their Fellows, brake their Ranks, and fell upon the Enemy, in very great diſorder, leaving their Colours far in their Rear. Tho' *L'amot*, the *French* Reſident, cried out much againſt it, and told them, they would run head-long to their own deſtruction; for they were charged, not only by the *Engliſh*, ſtanding in Array before them, but were alſo ſet upon by another Party in the Rear, and ſo almoſt all cut off. The King's Body, and *Hepburn*'s Brigade with the *Lothianers*, fought it out ſtoutly. There was a great ſlaughter on both Sides, and the Diſpute continued till Night; by which time both Sides were weary. There were a great many ſlain of the King's main Body; they, who reckon'd the full number of the Slain, as their Names were taken, according to the ſeveral Pariſh-Regiſters, out of which they were preſſed, ſay, That there were ſlain above 5000 of the *Scots*; the loſs was moſt of the Nobility, and of the forwardeſt of them too, who choſe rather to die upon the Spot, than to ſupervive the ſlaughter of their Men. 'Tis reported, that the *Engliſh* loſt as many, but that they were moſt Common Souldiers. This is the famous Fight of *Floddon*, amongſt the few Overthrows which the *Scots* have received from the *Engliſh*, one of the moſt memorable, not ſo much for the number of the Slain, (for they had loſt more than double that Number, in former Battels,) but for the Quality of the Perſons, the King and Prime of the Nobility falling there, ſo that few were left to govern the Rabble, who were fierce by Nature, and lawleſs alſo in hope of Impunity.

And yet there were Two ſorts of Men, that gained Advantage by this Calamity of others. For the richer ſort of Church-men grew ſo inſolent thereby, that, not contented with their own Function, they ſought to draw all the Offices of the Kingdom into their own Hands: And the *Mendicant Fryars* (for that ſort of Monks were *then* counted moſt ſuperſtitiouſly religious) had received much Mony of thoſe that were ſlain, to keep for them; but it being delivered without Witneſs, they were mightily enriched by this Booty, and thereupon omitted the ſeverity of their Ancient Diſcipline; yea, there were ſome amongſt them, who counted That Gain, as a Pious and Holy Fraud, alleging, That the Mony could never be better beſtowed, than to be given to Devout Perſons, that they might pray (forſooth) for the Redemption of their Souls out of Purgatory.

The Fight was carried on ſo obſtinately, that, towards Night, both Parties were weary, and withdrew, almoſt Ignorant of one anothers Condition; ſo that *Alexander Hume*, and his Souldiers, who remained untouched, gathered up a great part of the Spoil at their pleaſure. But the next day, in the Morning, *Dacres* being ſent out with a Party of Horſe, to make diſcovery, when he came to the place of Fight, and ſaw the *Scots* Braſs-Guns without

a Guard, and also a great part of the Dead unstripp'd, he sent for *Howard*, and so gathered up the Spoil at leasure, and celebrated the Victory with great Mirth.

Various Reports concerning K. *James*'s Death.

Concerning the King of *Scotland*, there goes a double Report; The *English* say, he was slain in the Battel. But the *Scots* affirm, That, in the Day of Battel, there were several others cloathed in the like Coat of Armour, and the Habit of the King; which was done on purpose, on a double account; *partly*, that the Enemy might principally aim at one Man, as their chief Opponent, on whose Life the safeguard of the Army, and total ruin of the Enemy, did depend; and *partly* also, if the King hapned to be slain, that the Souldiers might not be discouraged, nor sensible of his loss, as long as they saw any Man armed and clothed like him, in the Field, and riding up and down as a Witness of their Cowardise or Valour. And that one of these was *Alexander Elphinston*, who, in Countenance and Stature, was very like the King; and many of the Nobility, perceiving him armed in Kingly Habiliments, followed him, in a Mistake, and so died resolutely with him; but that the King himself repassed the *Tweed*, and was slain by some of *Humes* his Men, near the Town of *Kelsoe*; but it is uncertain, whether it were done by his Command, or else by the forwardness of his Souldiers, who were willing to gratify their Commander; for they, being desirous of Innovation, thought, that they should escape Punishment, if he were taken off; but if he were alive, they should be punished for their Cowardise in the Fight. Some Conjectures are also added, as, that, the same Night, after this unhappy Fight, the Monastery of *Kelsoe* was seized upon by *Car*, an Intimate of *Hume*'s, and the *Abbat* thereof ejected; which it was not likely he would dare to have done, unless the King were slain; and moreover, *David Galbreth*, one of the Family of the *Hume*'s, some Years after, when *John* the Regent questioned the *Hume*'s, and was troublesome to their Family, is said to have blamed the sluggish Cowardise of his Allys, who would suffer that Stranger to rule so arbitrarily and imperiously over them, whereas he himself had been one of the Six, that had put an end to the like Insolency of the King, at *Kelsoe*. But these Things were so uncertain, that when *Humes* was afterward tried for his Life, by *James* Earl of *Murray*, the King's Natural Son, they did not much prejudice his Cause.

However the Truth of this Matter stands, yet I shall not conceal what I have heard *Lawrence Talifer*, an Honest and a Learned Man, to report more than once. He was *then* one of the King's Servants, and was a Spectator of the Fight; he saw the King, when the Day was lost, set upon an Horse, and pass the *Tweed*; many others affirmed the same thing: So that the Report went currant, for many Years after, That the King was alive, and was gone to *Jerusalem*, to perform a Religious Vow he had made, but would return again in due Time: But that Rumor was found as vain, as another of the same Batch, which was heretofore spread abroad by the *Britons*, concerning their *Arthur*: And, but a few Years since, by the *Burgundians*, concerning *Charles*. This is certain,

certain, That the *Engliſh* found the Body of the King, or of *Alexander Elphinſton*, and carried it into *England*, and, retaining an inexpiable Hatred againſt the Dead, they left it unburied, in a Lead Coffin, (I know not, whether their Cruelty therein were more fooliſh, or more barbarous,) becauſe he had born ſacrilegious Arms againſt Pope *Julius* the Second, whom the *Engliſh* then ſought to curry favour with; or elſe, as ſome ſay, becauſe he was perjured, as having contrary to the Oath and League between them, taken up Arms againſt *Henry* the Eighth: Neither of which Exprobrations ought to have been laid to his Charge; eſpecially by *ſuch* a King, who, during his Life was not conſtant or tight in any one Religion; nor, by *ſuch* a People, who had took up Arms, ſo often, againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*. Not to ſpeak of many of the Kings of *England*, whom their own Writers do accuſe as guilty of Perjury, as *William Rufus*, who is charged with That Crime by *Polydore* and *Grafton*; *Henry* the Firſt, by *Thomas Walſingham*, in his Deſcription of *Normandy*. King *Stephen* hath the like Brand inured upon him, by *Neobrigenſis*, *Grafton*, and *Polydore*: *Henry* the Eighth, by the ſame *Newberry*, *Grafton*, and *Polydore*. *Richard* the Firſt, by *Walſingham*, in his *Hypodigma Neuſtriæ*. *Richard* the Third, by *Grafton*, and *Walſingham*: *Edward* the Firſt, by *Walſingham*. I cull out theſe few, for Example-ſake, not of the Firſt Kings of the *Saxon* Race, of which I might inſtance in a great Many, but in Thoſe of the *Norman* Family, whoſe Poſterity enjoy the Kingdom to this Day, and who lived in the moſt flouriſhing Times of *England*'s Glory; to put them in mind, not to be ſo bitter againſt Strangers, who, with ſo much Indulgence, bore the Perjuries of their own Kings; eſpecially, ſince the guilt of the Crime objected lies principally on thoſe, who were the firſt Violaters of the Truce. But to return to the Matter.

Howard Earl of *Surrey*, General againſt the *Scots* at *Flodden*, falls afterwards into Diſgrace.

Thomas Howard, Earl of *Surrey*, had gone off with great Renown for That Victory over the *Scots*, if he had uſed his Succeſs with Moderation; but being a Man, almoſt drunk with the Happineſs of his proſperous Succeſs, and little mindful of the Inſtability of Human Affairs, he made his Houſhold Servants (as the *Engliſh* cuſtom is) to wear a Badg on their left Arms, which was a *White Lyon* (his own Arms) on the top of a *Red one*, and rending him with his Paws: God Almighty did ſeem to puniſh this his inſolent Ambition, for there were, in a manner, none of his Poſterity, of either ſide, but dyed in great Diſgrace and Ignominy.

The Character of K. *James* the Fourth.

But King *James*, as he was dear to all whilſt living, ſo he was mightily lamented at his Death; and the Remembrance of him ſtuck ſo faſt in the Minds of Men, as the like was not known of any other King, that we have heard or read of. 'Tis probable, that it hapned, by making a Compariſon with the bad Kings, who preceded his Reign; or elſe, were likely ſpeedily to follow after It; conſidering alſo, his eminent Virtues; yea, his popular Vices did eaſily deceive vulgar Minds, under a ſpecious Reſemblance and Affinity to Virtue. For he was of a ſtrong Body, juſt Stature, a Majeſtick Countenance, of a quick Wit, but, by the default of the Times, not cultivated by Learning. He did greedily imbibe one

Scots Nobility, all anciently had Skill in Chirurgery.

ancient Custom of the Nation, for he was skilful in curing of Wounds; for, in old Times, that kind of Knowledg was common to all the Nobility, as Men continually accustomed to Arms. The Access to his Presence was easy, his Answers were mild, he was just in Judgment and moderate in Punishment, so that he seemed to be drawn to it against his Will. He bore the malevolent Speeches of his Enemies, and the Monitions of his Friends, with a Greatness of Mind, which arose in him from the Tranquillity of a good Conscience, and the Confidence of his own Innocency; insomuch, that he was so far from being angry, that he never returned them an harsh Word. There were also some Vices, which crept in among these Virtues, by reason of his two great affectation of Popularity. For, by endeavouring to avoid the Name of a covetous Prince, which his Father had incurred, he laboured to insinuate himself into the Good will of the Vulgar, by sumptuous Buildings, by costly Pageants, and immoderate Largesses, so that his Exchequer was very low, and his want of Money such, that, if he had lived longer, the Merits of his former Reign would have been extinguished, or, at least, out-ballanced by his Imposition of new Taxes; so that his Death seemed to have hapned rather commodiously, than immaturely, to him.

JAMES the Vth, *the* CVI*th King.*

James the 5*th*, of about 2 years old, proclaimed *King*.

WHen *James* the Fourth was slain, he left his Wife *Margaret* and Two Sons behind him; the Eldest of which was not yet full two Years old. The Parliament, assembled at *Sterlin*, proclaimed him King, according to the Custom of the Country, on the 24*th* day of *February*, and then they addressed themselves to settle the publick Affairs, in doing whereof they first perceived the greatness of their Loss. For those of the Nobility, who bore any thing of Authority and Wisdom before them, being slain, the major part of those, who survived, by reason of their youthful Age, or incapacity of Mind, were unfit to meddle with Matters of State, especially in so troublesom a time; and they who were left alive, of the better sort, who had any thing of Prudence in them, by reason of their Ambitions and Covetousness, abhorred all Counsels tending to Peace. *Alexander Hume*, Lord Warden of all the *Marches*, had got a great Name, and a large Estate, in the King's Life-time; but when he was dead, he obtained an (almost) Regal Authority in the Countries bordering upon *England*. He, out of a wicked Ambition, did not restrain Robbers, that so he might more engage those bold and lewd Persons to him, thinking, thereby, to make way for his greater Puissance: but that Design was unhappy to him, and, in the end, pernicious. The Command of the Country, on this side the *Forth*, was committed to him; the Parts beyond, to *Alexander Gordon*, to keep those Seditious Provinces within the Bounds of their Duty: But the Name of Regent was in the Queen her self. For the King had left, in his Will, which he made before he went to fight, that, if he miscarried, as long as she remained a Widow, she should have the

The Ambition of *Alexander Hume*.

the * *Supream Power.* This was contrary to the Law of the Land, and the firſt Example of any Woman, who ever had the Supream Rule in *Scotland*; yet the want of Men made it ſeem tolerable, eſpecially to them, who were deſirous of Peace and Quietneſs. But her Office continued not long; for before the end of the Spring ſhe married *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, one of the prime young Men of *Scotland* for Lineage, Beauty, and Accompliſhments in all good Arts; and before the end of that Year, the Seeds of Diſcord were ſown. They took their Riſe from the Eccleſiaſtical Order; for, after the Nobles were ſlain, in all publick Aſſemblies, a great part were of that ſort of Men, and many of them did their own buſineſs amidſt the publick Calamity, and got ſuch Eſtates, that nothing did more haſten their Ruin, than that inordinate Power, which they afterwards as arrogantly uſed.

* Q. *Margaret* the firſt Female Regent, in *Scotland.*

She loſes her Regency by her Marriage.

Alexander Stuart, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was ſlain at *Flodden*, and there were Three which ſtrove for that Preferment, but upon different Intereſts. *Gawin Douglas*, upon the account of the Splendor of his Family, and his own Perſonal Worth and Learning, was nominated to the place by the Queen, and accordingly took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*. *Andrew Hepburn*, Abbat of St. *Andrews*, before any Archbiſhop was nominated, gathered up the Revenues of the place, as a Sequeſtrator; and he, being a potent, factious, and ſubtile Man, was choſen by his Monks to the Vacancy (for he alleged, that the Power of electing an Archbiſhop, by ancient Cuſtom, was in Them) ſo that he drove out the Officers of *Gawin*, and placed a ſtrong Gariſon in the Caſtle. *Andrew Forman* had obtained great Favour in the Courts both of *Rome* and *France*, by his former Services; ſo that, beſides the Biſhoprick of *Murray* in *Scotland*, which he held from the beginning, *Lewis* the 12*th* of *France*, gave him the Archbiſhoprick of *Bourges*: And Pope *Julius* had alſo diſmiſſed him, loaden with many rich Preferments, for he beſtowed on him the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews*, the two rich Abbies of *Dumfermling*, and *Aberbrothock*, and made him his Legate (*à Latere*, as they call him,) beſides. But ſo great was the Power of the *Hepburns* at that time, that the *Hume's* being yet at Concord with them, no Man could be found that durſt proclaim the Popes *Bull*, for the Election of *Forman* to that Dignity; until, at laſt, *Alexander Humes* was induced by great Promiſes, and, beſides other Gifts, with the actual Donation of the Abby of * *Coldingham* to *David* his younger Brother, to undertake the Cauſe, which ſeemed to be honeſt and juſt; and eſpecially, becauſe the Family of the *Formans* was in the Clanſhip, or Protection, of the *Hume's*; ſo that he cauſed the *Popes* Bull to be publiſhed at *Edinburgh*: And that was the Original of many Miſchiefs which enſued; for *Hepburn*, being a Man of a lofty Spirit, from that day forward, ſtudied day and night how to deſtroy the Family of the *Hume's*.

Three Competitors for the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews*, *Douglas*, *Hepburn* and *Forman.*

* Lying within two Miles of *Aymouth* in the *Merſs*, near the *Scotiſh* Sea.

The Queen, whilſt ſhe ſat at Helm, did this one thing Worthy to be remembred, that ſhe wrote to her Brother, that he would not make War upon *Scotland*, in reſpect to her, and her young Children; and that he would not infeſt the Dominions of his Couſin by his Foreign Arms, which, of its own accord, was divided

vided into ſo many Domeſtick Factions; but that he would rather defend them againſt the Wrongs of others, upon the account of his Age, and the Affinity betwixt them. *Henry* anſwered very Nobly and Prince-like, That if the *Scots* deſired Peace, they ſhould have it; if War, he would make it upon them.

The Nobility divided about chooſing a Regent, in the room of Q. *Margaret*.

When the Queen, by reaſon of her Marriage, fell from her Regency, the Nobility was manifeſtly divided into two Factions; the *Douglaſſian* Party endeavoured, that the chief Power might reſide in the Queen, and that This was the way to have Peace with *England*, which was not only advantagious, but even neceſſary, for them. The other Party, headed by *Humes*, pretended an Umbrage of the Publick Good, and that it was againſt the old Laws of the Land, to chooſe a Woman to be Regent; as for the Queen, they would be ſtudious of her Honour as far as they might ſo do by the Law, and as far as the Publick Safety would permit, and that a ſufficient Proof had been given thereof, in regard that they hitherto ſubmitted to her Government, (tho it were againſt the Law of their fore-Fathers) not by any legal Compulſion, but of mere good Will, and that they were ready to endure it longer, if any honeſt and equitable Pretence could be alleged for it. But ſeeing ſhe, by her Marriage, had voluntarily depoſed her ſelf from that Dignity, ſhe ought not to take it amiſs, if they ſubſtituted another to enjoy that Office, which ſhe had left; and which indeed, by the Law, ſhe could not hold; for the Laws of *Scotland* do not permit Women to have the Supream Power, no not in times of Peace, much more in ſuch troubleſome days as Ours, wherein the powerfulleſt and the prudenteſt Man alive could hardly find Remedies for the many growing Evils of the Times.

Thus whilſt each Faction ſtrove pertinaciouſly about the Choice of a Regent, either out of wicked Ambition, or occult Envy, they paſſed over All there preſent, and inclined to chooſe *John*, Duke of *Albany*, then living with good Repute in *France*; whereupon *William Elphinſton*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, is reported to have burſt forth into Tears, in bewailing the publick Misfortune; and his Speech affected many, eſpecially when he came to that Point of reckoning up what Men were ſlain in the laſt Fight, and how few, like Them, were left behind, of whom none was thought fit to ſit at the Helm of Government: He alſo told them, how empty the Exchequer was, and how it had been exhauſted by the late King, and how great a Portion thereof was the Queen's Joynture, and how much neceſſarily muſt be expended on the Education of the King, and then how little part would remain to maintain publick Charges; and that, tho none were more fit for the place of Regency than the Queen, yet ſeeing Concord could not be had on other terms, ſhe was forced to yeild to that Party, who were for calling *John*, Duke of *Albany*, out of *France*, to take the Regency upon him, tho he thought, that the publick Miſery would be rather deferred than fully healed thereby. *Alexander Hume* was ſo violent for *Albany*, that he profeſſed openly in the Aſſembly, that if they all refuſed, yet he himſelf would go alone, and bring him over into *Scotland*, to undertake the Government. It is

thought,

thought, he did this, not for the Love of his Country, or for any private Advantage to himself, but merely out of This respect, that, being an ambitious Man, and knowing that his Interest in the People was more upon the account of his Power, than out of any real Love, therefore, himself despairing of the place, he was afraid if the Queen should have it, the *Douglasses*, his Neighbours, would grow too great, and his Power would abate; for the Men of *Liddisdale* and *Annandale* had already withdrawn themselves, and had, by little and little, betook themselves to the Clanship of the *Douglasses*: And besides, he considered, that the Queen, by Assistance from *England*, was easily able to obviate all his Designs; so that most Voices carried it for * *John*, and an Embassy was appointed (the chief whereof was *Andrew Wood* of the † *Largs*, (a famous Cavaleer in those days) to call him into *Scotland* for the Government, both upon the account of his own Virtue, and also by reason of his near Consanguinity with the King, for he was the Son of *Alexander*, Brother to *James* the Third. He being thus called to the supream Government by the *Scots*; *Francis*, King of *France*, did not think that Office unsutable to his Interest, and therefore he furnished him with Mony and a Retinue at his Departure. Before his Arrival, in regard there was no one Person to administer the Publick Government, there were many Murders and Rapines committed; and whilst the richer sort made up their private *Clans* and Factions, the poor desolate Vulgar were afflicted with all kind of Miseries. The chief Robber of those times was *Mac-Robert Stran*, who committed Outrages all over *Athol*, and the Neighbouring Parts, at his Pleasure, having 800 Men, and sometimes more, under his Command. At length, when he was at his Uncles *John Creighton*'s, he was way-laid, apprehended, and put to Death: But there was more Mischief like to arise from the Fewd between *Andrew Forman* and *John Hepburn*; yet, the Nature of them both, and the Discord, rather of their Manners than Minds, deferred the Mischief for a season, which then was just a breaking out. *John* was profoundly covetous; and *Andrew* was as great a Despiser of Mony, and profuse in his Largesses. The Designs and Purposes of *Andrew* were open and manifest to the view of all; neither was there any need that he should conceal them, because his Vices were accounted Virtues by the Vulgar, and the simplicity of his Nature did Him as much Kindness among them, as the occult Craft of *Hepburn*, together with his malicious Dissimulation, his implacable remembrance of Injuries, and his desire of Revenge, did Him. And therefore *Forman*, hearing as yet no certainty of the coming of the Duke of *Albany*, neither could he be put into Possession by *Hume*, seeing *Hepburn* resided at his Castle and Monastery, which he had strongly garison'd, which were at a great distance from those places in which the Power of the *Hume's* might be formidable, he determined, by his Friends, to try, whether he could, with Mony, either satisfy, or at least, in some degree, abate the Avarice of the Man; so that at last they came to an Agreement upon these Terms, That *Forman* should remit and forgive the Revenues of the last Year, which *John* had gathered

* *John* Duke of *Albany*, then in *France*, chosen Regent.

† A little Town in *Cuningham*, standing on the *Firth* of *Clyd*.

thered in, as a Sequeſtrator; that he ſhould ſurrender up to him the Biſhoprick of *Murray*, and that he ſhould pay him yearly 3000 *French* Crowns out of his Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, to be divided amongſt his Friends. And thus the Man's implacable Hate was a little abated, and Matters ſettled on that ſide.

The Fourteenth BOOK.

John Duke of *Albany*, the new Regent, arrives in *Scotland*.

THIS was the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, when *John* Duke of *Albany* arrived at *Dunbarton*, on the 20*th* day of *May*, in the Year of our Salvation 1515, with the exceeding gratulation of all good Men. For, under his Government, they hoped for more quiet Times, and an equal diſtribution of Juſtice. In a full Aſſembly of the Nobility, called in his Name, he had a large Revenue ſettled upon him; he was made Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March*, and Regent, till the King came to be of Age.

Moreover, *James*, the Natural Son of the late King, was made Earl of *Murray*, a young Man of ſuch virtuous Endowments, that he far exceeded all the hopes Men had conceived of him. There was alſo one Fact, which much enhaunſed the eſtimation of *John*, and it was done almoſt in the Face of the Aſſembly, and that was the puniſhment of *Peter Muffat*. He was a notable Thief, who, after many cruel & nefarious Pranks, plaid by him, in the Two laſt licentious Years, arrived at length to that audaciouſneſs, that he appeared openly at Court: His unexpected Puniſhment made ſuch a ſuddain change of Things, that Criminals began to withdraw for ſhelter: The Minds of the Good were erected, and the Face of Things began ſoon to be changed, from a ſtormy Tempeſt to a ſuddain Tranquillity.

Peter Muffat, a noted Robber, puniſhed.

* *Hepburn* inſinuates himſelf into the new Regent.

In the mean time, * *John Hepburn* had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the Regent, by the help of his Friends, whom he had privately greaſed in the Fiſt; and afterwards by his obſequiouſneſs, and pretence of knowing the old Cuſtoms of the Country, he got his Ear, who of himſelf was ignorant of *Scotiſh* Affairs, inſomuch that none was credited, in Matters of great Moment, but He alone; He was ſent abroad with Commiſſion, by the Regent, all over *Scotland*, to inquire into Their Offences, who oppreſſed the Vulgar, and made them as their Slaves. He obtained that Office principally upon theſe Grounds; Firſt of all, he acquainted the Regent, What new Diſcords and old Fewds there were in every County; and alſo, what Factions there were, and who were their reſpective Heads: Hitherto his Relations were true, for the Things were known to all. But if any Occaſion were offered to ſpeak of *Hume*, he ſtirr'd up ſome to complain of his Enormity; ſo that by the Imputation, partly of True, and partly of Feigned, Crimes, the Regent's Ears were

were ſhut againſt all Defence, he could make. But when he had almoſt gone over the whole Kingdom, and expreſly declared the Alliances, Affinities, and Leagues which had interceded between each ſeveral Family; and had perſuaded the Regent, That no Man of Power, tho' a Criminal, could be puniſhed without the Offence of his Clans; and that, not ſo much for the Enmity and Conſpiracies of their Kindred, as, that the Puniſhment reaching to a few, yet the Example would extend to a great many more; whom a ſimilitude of Faults, and a like fear of Puniſhments, out of Enemies would make Friends; ſo that theſe great and large ſpreading Factions were not able to be puniſhed by the Force of *Scotland*, only; and therefore it was adviſeable to deſire an Auxiliary Strength from the King of *France*, to break this Knot of Contumacious Offenders; and that this would be of uſe to *France*, as much as to *Scotland*. In the mean time, the Heads of the Factions were to be kept under, and (if it were poſſible) taken off, yet with that prudence, that they might not think too many of them to be aimed at at once. The Heads of the Factions at preſent were Three; of them, *Archibald Douglas* was wonderfully popular, inſomuch that the Vulgar doted on him: His Name was much adored, by reaſon of the great Merits of his Anceſtors; beſides, he was in the flower of his Youth, and relied ſo much on his Affinity with *England*, that he bore a Spirit too big for a private Man. As for *Hume*, he was formidable of himſelf, and yet rendred more *ſo*, becauſe he was confirmed in his Power by length of Time. Neither did he ſtop here, but made an invidious commemoration of what the *Hume*'s had acted againſt the Regent's Father and Uncle; of all which, tho' the *Hepburns* were partakers, yet he caſt the *Odium* upon the *Hume*'s only: He often mentioned his Cowardiſe in the laſt Battel againſt the *Engliſh*; and the Talk abroad about the King's Death reflecting upon him, together with the repairing of *Norham* Caſtle, which was done by his connivance; theſe things he repeated with great earneſtneſs before the Regent. As for *Forman*, (ſays he) 'tis true, he was not to be feared upon the account of his Kindred, or any Nobleneſs of Deſcent, yet he would make a great acceſſion of ſtrength to what Party ſoever he inclined, becauſe all the Wealth of the whole Kingdom was gathered together (as it were) into one Houſe, for he was able to ſupply the preſent Want of the Party he ſided with, with Mony; or elſe, by his Promiſes, (all Things being then in his Power) he could draw many into the Partnerſhip of the ſame Deſign with himſelf. This was *Hepburn*'s Speech to the Regent.

Douglas, *Hume*, and *Forman*, accuſed by *Hepburn*, as the Three Heads of the then Factions.

The noted Fewds, that had paſſed between *Hepburne* and *Forman*, were the Cauſe, that *Hepburne* was not ſo much believed, in that part: And beſides, his Eſtate was not ſo much to be envied, for he rather loved to lay it out, than hord it up; neither was he ſo munificent to any, as to the *French* that waited on the Regent; and beſides, his deſire was more to join all Parties in an univerſal Concord, than to addict himſelf to any one Faction. But the ſuſpicion of the * Lord of the *Marches* ſunk deeper into the Regent's Mind, which was manifeſt by the averſion of his Mind from him;

* *Hume.*

him; and because his Countenance was not so friendly to him, as before: So that after a few Months, * *Alexander Hume*, perceiving that he was not entertained by the Regent answerable to his hope, began to have secret Meetings with the Queen and her Husband: In those Congresses, *Hume* grievously lamented the State of the Publick, that the King, in that Age wherein he could not understand his own Misery, was fallen into the Hands of an Exile, one born and brought up in that Condition; who, by a wicked Ambition, had endeavoured to rob his Elder Brother of the Kingdom: And, He being the next Heir, Who did not see that all his Endeavours were, to settle other Things according to his Mind, and then to pack the innocent Child out of the World, that He might translate the Kingdom to himself; that so, what his Father had impiously designed, he himself might as wickedly accomplish? There was but one Remedy in the Case, and that was, for the Queen to retire with her Son into *England*, and there to put her Self and Concerns into the Protection of her Brother.

* *Hume*, in discontent, applies himself to the Queen and *Douglas*.

These things being brought to the Regent's Ears, were easily believed by him; but, being a Man of an active Spirit, and of quick dispatch in Business, with those Forces which he had ready about him, he prevented their Design, for he took the Castle of *Sterlin*, and the Queen in it; He took the Oath of Allegiance to the King publickly, by the Decree of the Nobles; the Queen and the *Douglasses* were removed, and Three of the Nobility, of great estimation for their Faithfulness & Integrity, were joined with *John Erskin* Governor of the Castle, to preside over the Education of the Young King; they were to succeed one another by turns, and he allowed them a Guard for their Security; upon this, * *Hume* and his Brother *William* fled into *England*. And *Douglas* and his Wife staid no longer behind them, but till they knew *Henry*'s Mind, who commanded them to stay at *Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, till his Pleasure was further known.

* *Hume*'s Design disappointed.

Three Governors over the young King, the Queen and *Douglas* being displaced.

* *Hume*, the Queen, and *Douglas*, fly into *England*;

John, the Regent, was very much concern'd at all their departures, and therefore he presently sent Embassadors into *England*, to acquit himself before *Henry*, that he had done nothing, why the Queen should fear him, or be in the least disaffected towards him; neither had he acted any thing against those, who accompanied her in her Flight and Departure, but that they might enjoy their Country, their Freedom, and, if they pleased, their Estates. Thus publickly he wrote to the King: But besides that, he did not omit secretly to promote the return of the *Hume*'s and *Douglas*, by the mediation of their Friends; he made them many large Promises, till he had brought them over to his Will. Whereupon, the rest returned Home; but the Queen being big, and near the Time of her Delivery, was constrained to stay there, where she brought forth a Daughter named *Margaret*, of whom in due place: But as soon as she was able to travel, she had a Royal Accommodation and Retinue sent from *London* to bring her up thither, where she was honourably and nobly received by *Henry*, her Brother, and *Mary*, her Sister, (who upon the death of her Husband, *Lewis* of *France*, had a little before returned into her own Country.

But, upon Reconciliation with the Regent, return home again.

And

And yet the Suſpicions before raiſed in *Scotland*, were not much abated, either by the departure of the Queen, or by the return of ſome of her Retinue: For *Gawin Douglas*, Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, *Patrick Pantar*, Secretary of State to the former King, and *John Drummond* chief of his Family, were ſent to ſeveral Priſons and baniſhed. And (a) *Alexander Hume* was ſummon'd to appear before the Aſſembly of Eſtates, on the 12*th* day of *July*, in the Year of *Chriſt* 1516; but he, not appearing, was condemned, and his Goods confiſcate. He was inraged at this contumelious Wrong, (for ſo it was in his Eye) and to drive out one Fear by another, he either ſent in, or elſe incouraged, Tories, to commit great Outrages upon the Neighbourhood: Whereupon the States order'd the Regent to raiſe Ten thouſand Horſe and Foot, to repreſs thoſe Inſolencies, and either to take *Hume*, or elſe drive him out of the Country. But before it came to Blows, *Hume*, by the perſuaſion of his Friends, ſurrendred himſelf to the Regent, and ſo was conveyed to *Edinburgh*, to be a Priſoner under *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, his Siſter's Husband, who was to be eſteemed as a Traitor, if he ſuffer'd him to eſcape; but the Iſſue of that Matter fell out otherwiſe than any Body expected, for *Hume* perſuaded *Hamilton* to eſcape away with him, and to make a Party, and ſo to enter on the Government Himſelf, he being the next Heir after the former King's Children, in regard he was born of a Siſter of *James* the Third; and therefore it was more equitable, that he ſhould enjoy the next Place to the King, than *John*, who, 'tis true, was alſo the Son of a Brother, but born in his Baniſhment; and in all other things a perfect Foreigner, one who could not ſo much as ſpeak the *Scotiſh* Language.

(a) *Alexander Hume* raiſes an Inſurrection,

But ſubmits, and is made Priſoner.

He eſcapes, and creates further Diſturbances,

When the Regent heard of this, he went to take in *Hamilton*'s Caſtle, and, placing his Braſs-Guns againſt it, had it ſurrendred in two Days. In the mean time *Hume* made Excurſions out of *Merch*, and pillaged the Country about, and at length burnt down a great part of the Town of *Dunbar*. Theſe were the Tranſactions of that Year.

At the beginning of the Spring, *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, whoſe Mother was *Hamilton*'s Siſter, join'd himſelf, with a great many of his Friends and Vaſſals, to the Rebels. Theſe ſeiz'd upon the Caſtle of *Glaſgoe*, and there they ſtaid with *Hamilton* himſelf, expecting the Regents coming. The Regent had called a Council of the Nobles of his Party at *Edinburgh*, and there rais'd a ſuddain Force, and entred *Glaſgoe* Caſtle; one Gunner, a *French*-Man, was puniſh'd as a Deſerter; the reſt were pardon'd by the interceſſion of *Andrew Forman*, who was then a Mediator for Peace between them. The Earl of *Lennox*, a few days after, was receiv'd into Favour, and from that day forward carry'd it with great Faithfulneſs and Obſervance towards the Regent. And not long after, firſt *Hamilton*, and then the *Hume*'s, return'd to Court, and had an Amneſty for what was paſt; it was granted to *Hume* with greater difficulty than to the reſt, becauſe he had rebelled ſo often; and an expreſs Condition was added, that if he offended another time after that, the memory of his old Crimes ſhould be again re-

But is quelled, with his Party.

vived, and charged upon him. Peace being thus ſetled, the Regent retired to *Falkland*, where he ſtaid ſome Months; but hearing of great Suſpicions againſt *Hume*, he returned to *Edinburgh*. And on the 24*th* day of *September* held a Council of the Nobility, where he endeavoured, by his Friends, to draw *Hume* to Court. Large Promiſes were made to intice him ſo to do; but many of his Party diſſuaded him; or, if he himſelf were reſolved to go, yet he ſhould leave his Brother *William* (who by his Valour and Munificence had almoſt obtained as great, or a greater Authority than himſelf) at Home, in regard the Regent would be afraid to uſe any high Severity againſt him, as long as his Brother was alive; but he being, as it were, hurried on by a Fatal Neceſſity, ſlighted the advice of his Friends; and, with his Brother *William*, and *Andrew Car* of *Farnihurſt*, came to Court, where preſently they were all clapt up in ſeveral Priſons. And, by the advice of the Council, a few days after, were tried, for their Lives, after the Country Cuſtom. And yet there was no new Fact urged againſt them, Prince *James*, Earl of *Murray*, accuſed him for the Death of his Father, who came alive off the Field, as many Witneſſes did prove. This Fact was ſtrongly urged, but the Proofs were weak, ſo that they gave it over, and inſiſted only on his private Crimes, and the many former Rebellions were objected, of all which *Alexander* was either the Author, or at leaſt Partaker in them; and moreover, 'twas alleged, that he did not do his Duty in the Battel of *Flodden*.

Both the *Hume*'s come to Court,

Are impriſon'd,

Hereupon, the *Hume*'s were condemn'd, *Alexander* had his Head ſtruck off the 11*th* of *October*, and his Brother, the Day after; both of their Heads were ſet up on an high place, as a Terror to others, and their Eſtates were confiſcate. This was the end of *Alexander Hume*, the powerfulleſt Man in *Scotland* of his Time. He, in his Life-time, had raiſed up the Hatred and Envy of a great many Men againſt him; yet, thoſe Prejudices in time abating, his Death was variouſly ſpoke of, and ſo much the more, becauſe he fell not, for the perpetration of any new Crime, but merely by the Calumnies (as 'twas thought) of (*c*) *John Hepburn*, the Abbat. For he, being a Factious Man, and eager of Revenge, bore an implacable Hatred againſt *Hume*; becauſe, by his Means alone, he was diſappointed of the Arch-Biſhoprick of St. *Andrews*: So that, tho he had ſtifled his old Hatred for a Time, yet, 'twas believ'd, he puſh'd on the Regent (who of himſelf was ſuſpicious enough of, and diſaffected to, the *Hume*'s) to the greater Severity againſt him, by telling him, how dangerous it would be to the King and all *Scotland*, if he, at his going into *France*, ſhould leave ſo fierce an Enemy alive behind him. For, what would he not attempt in his Abſence, who had deſpiſed his Authority when preſent? So that the Contumacy of the Man, which could not be lenified by Rewards, Honours, nor by frequent Pardons, had need be conquered by the Axe, if he would ever keep *Scotland* in quiet. Theſe and ſuch like Inſinuations, upon pretence of conſulting the publick Safety, being buzz'd into the Ears of a Man diſaffected to them before, contributed more to the Deſtruction of the *Hume*'s, (in the Judgment of many) than any of their Crimes. When the *Hume*'s were put to Death, (*d*) *Andrew Car* obtained

Tryed and Executed;

(*c*) Chiefly by the Inſtigation of *John Hepburn*.

(*d*) *Andrew Car* eſcapes out of Priſon.

obtained the Reſpite of one Night, to provide for his Souls Health; but, by means of his Friends, and eſpecially a *French-man* his Keeper, it was ſuſpected, upon the payment of a good Sum of Money down upon the Nail, he made his Eſcape.

Alexander Hume left three Brothers behind him, who all met with various Misfortunes in thoſe Days; *George*, for a Murder he had committed, lay private, as an Exile, in *England*: *John*, Abbat of *Jedburgh*, was baniſhed beyond the *Tay*: *David*, the youngeſt, Prior of *Coldingham*, about two Years after the Execution of his Brothers, being called forth by *James Hepburn*, his Siſters Husband, upon pretence of a Conference, fell into an Ambuſh, laid purpoſely for him, and was ſlain, being much pityed by all; that an innocent young Man, of ſo great hopes, ſhould be betrayed ſo unworthily by one, who had little reaſon ſo to do. When Severities and Puniſhments had thus ranged over the whole Family of the *Hume*'s, at laſt it fell to their Enemies ſhare, and eſpecially to *John Hepburn*'s, who had been ſo ſevere an Exactor of the unjuſt Puniſhment of others; yet the Deſtruction of one Family, once ſo powerful, brought ſuch a Pannick Fear upon all the reſt, that Matters were the quieter a great while after. The next *December*, the Regent brought the King from *Sterlin* to *Edinburgh*, and then he deſired leave of the Nobility of *Scotland* to return into *France*; every one, almoſt, was againſt the Motion, ſo that he was forced to ſtay, till late in the Spring, and then took Shipping, promiſing ſpeedily to return, in caſe any more than ordinary Commotion ſhould ariſe, which required his Preſence. For the Government of the Kingdom, in his Abſence,* he left the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Argyle*, and *Huntly*, the Arch-Biſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgoe*, to whom he added *Anthony Darcy*, a *French-man*, Governour of *Dunbar*, who was injoined to correſpond with him, and to inform him of all Paſſages in his Abſence. And that no Diſcord might ariſe, out of an ambitious Principle, between ſuch Great and Noble Perſonages, by reaſon of their Parity in the Government, he allotted to each of them their ſeveral Provinces. *Darcy*, the *French-man*, the reſt condeſcending thereunto, had the chief Place amongſt them, *Merch* and *Lothian* being appointed to be under his Government. The other Provinces were diſtributed to the reſt, according to each Man's particular Conveniency. Mean while, the Queen, about a Year after ſhe had been in *England*, near the end of *May*, returned to *Scotland*, and was attended by her Husband from *Berwick*: But they lived not together, ſo lovingly, as before.

(*e*) The Regent deſires leave to paſs over into *France*.

* He appoints ſeven Deputies to govern, in his abſence.

(*f*) Q. *Margaret* returns to *Scotland*.

The Regent, at his Departure, to prevent the budding and growth of Sedition in his Abſence, had carryed along with him, either the Heads of the nobleſt Families, or elſe their Sons and Kindred, (upon a pretence of doing them Honour, but, indeed, as Pledges) into *France*: And he had ſent others of them into different and remote parts of the Kingdom, where they had as 'twere but a larger Priſon. He had alſo placed *French* Governors in the Caſtles of *Dunbar*, *Dunbarton*, and * *Garvy*, yet a Commotion aroſe, upon a ſlight occaſion, whence it was leaſt feared, or dreamt of.

* Or *Iſle-Garvy*, a fortify'd Rock lying in the middle of the Forth, or Scotiſh Sea.

Anthony

Anthony Darcy had carried it with a great deal of Equity and Prudence in his Government, especially in restraining of Robberies. The first Tumult in his Province, which tended to any thing of a War, was made by *William Cockburn*, Uncle to the Lord of (*g*) *Langton*; he had driven away the Guardians of the young *Ward*, and had seized upon the Castle of *Langton*, relying principally on the power of *David Hume* of (*h*) *Wederburn*, whose Sister *Cockburn* had married. Thither *Darcy* marched with a sufficient Guard, but they Within refused to surrender the Castle; and moreover, *David Hume*, with some few nimble Horse, riding up to him, upbraided him with the cruel Death of his Kinsman *Alexander*; the (*i*) *French-man*, partly distrusting his Men, and partly confiding in the Swiftness of the Horse he rode upon, fled towards *Dunbar*; but, his Horse falling under him, his Enemy overtook and slew him, and set up his Head in an eminent place on *Hume*-Castle; he was slain the 20*th* of *September*, in the Year 1517.

(*g*) A Town in the *Merse*, a mile west of *Duns*.

(*h*) *Wederburn* in the *Merse*.

(*i*) *Darcy* slain by *David Hume*.

Whereupon, the other Governours had a Meeting, and fearing a greater Combustion, after this terrible beginning, they made the Earl of *Arran*, their President, and committed *George Douglas* (Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, upon Suspicion of his being privy to the Murder newly committed) Prisoner to *Inse Garvy*-Castle: They also sent to the Regent in *France* to call him back into *Scotland*, as soon as ever he could. About the same time, some Seeds of Discord were sown, between the Earl of (*k*) *Angus*, and *Andrew Car* of *Farnihurst*, by reason of the Jurisdiction over some Lands which did belong to the Earl, but *Andrew* alleged, he had Power to keep Courts in them: The rest of the Family of the *Car*'s sided with the Earl, but the *Hamilton*'s took part with *Andrew*, which they did, more out of hate to the *Douglas*'s, than for any Justice *Car* had, for his Pretensions; so that both Parties provided themselves against the Court-day, to run a greater hazard than the matter they strove about was worth. And *John Somerval*, a noble and high-spirited young Man, of the *Douglas*'s Faction, set upon *James*, the Natural Son of the Earl of *Arran*, on the Way, and slew five of his Retinue, putting the rest to flight, he also took above thirty of their Horses.

(*k*) Discord between *Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, and *Andrew Car*.

When an Assembly was summoned to be held at *Edinburgh*, *April* the 29*th*, 1520. The *Hamiltons* alleged, that they could not be safe in that City, where *Archibald Douglas* was Governour; whereupon, (*l*) *Douglas*, that he might not impede publick Business, about the end of *March*, resigned up his Government, of his own accord; and *Robert Long*, a Citizen of *Edinburgh*, was substituted in his Place. The Nobility of the (*m*) West part of *Scotland*, of which there were very many, had frequent Meetings in the House of *James Beton*, the Chancellor; their Design was, to apprehend the Earl of *Angus*, for they alleged, that his Power was too great and formidable to the Publick; that, as long as he was at Liberty, they should have no freedom for Debate, or Resolution. And Opportunity seemed to favour their Design; for he, having now but a few of his Vassals about him, might be easily surprized, before his Kindred came in to his Assistance. When he perceived what was agitated against

(*l*) *Archibald Douglas* surrenders up his Government.

(*m*) The Western Nobles conspire to apprehend the Earl of *Angus*.

againſt him, he ſent his Uncle *Gawin*, Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, to them, to pacify them, whom, he ſaid, he had provoked with no Injury, and to deſire them to manage the Diſpute without force of Arms; for, if they could make out any juſt Complaint againſt him, he was willing, in Equity, to give them all due Satisfaction. But his Speech profited not, or being made to Men prepoſſeſſed, fierce, puiſſant, and greedy of Revenge. And therefore *Gawin* could obtain no good Terms from them, but returned to *Angus*, and acquainted him with the Arrogance of his Enemy, and then cauſed his whole Family to follow the Earl; He himſelf, being a Prieſt, and infirm too, by reaſon of Age, retired to his own Lodging. Some think, he did this to upbraid the unſeaſonable Pride of the Chancellor, who, when he ought to have been a Promoter of Peace, flew armed up and down, like a Fire-brand of Sedition. (*n*) *Douglas*, ſeeing there was no hopes of Agreement, exhorted his Men rather to die valiantly, than, like Daſtards, to hide themſelves in their Lodgings, from whence (to be ſure) they would ſoon be pluck'd out by the Ears, to their Deaths; for their Enemies had ſtopp'd all Avenues and Paſſages, ſo that not a Man of them could get out of the City: All that were there preſent, aſſented to what he had ſpoken; and thereupon he and his Party, being clad in their Armour, ſeized upon the broadeſt Street in all the Town. He had about fourſcore in his Train, but all ſtout reſolute Men and of known Valour. They divided themſelves into the moſt convenient places, and ſo ſet upon their Enemies as they came out of ſeveral narrow Alleys, at once; the firſt they ſlew, and drove the reſt back, tumbling one upon another with a witneſs. The Earl of *Arran*, who commanded the oppoſite Party, with his Son *James*, got to a Ford and made their eſcape by the *North-Lough*; the reſt ran ſeveral ways for ſhelter to the Convent of the *Dominicans*. Whilſt theſe things were acting, there was a mighty Combuſtion all over the Town; and, in the midſt of the Buſtle, *William*, *Angus*'s Brother, enters the City, with a great Party of his Clan-ſhip. When *Douglas* had got this Acceſſion to his former Strength, tho there were abundance of his Enemies in the Town, yet he made a Proclamation, by a Trumpeter, that none ſhould dare to appear in the Streets, with Arms about them, but his Friends and Party. Thoſe that deſired Paſſes to depart quietly, had them eaſily granted; there went out, in one Company, about 800 Horſe, (beſides thoſe who had taken their Flight, before) with greater Ignominy than Loſs. For there fell not above 72, but amongſt them, were Men of Note, as the Brother of the Earl of *Arran* and *Eglington*'s Son. This was done the 30*th* day of *April*, 1520. To revenge this Diſgrace, the *Hamilton*'s beſieged *Kilmarnock* (a Caſtle in *Cuningham*); *Robert Boyd*, a Friend of the *Douglas*'s, commanded it, but they ſoon left it, without effecting any thing. The next Year, *Douglas* came to *Edinburgh*, on the 20*th* of *July*, bringing with him the *Hume*'s, which had been baniſhed, and there he took down the Heads of *Alexander* and *William Hume*, which had been ſet up on Poles. The whole five (*o*) Years, that the Regent was abſent, were very full of Tumults, there was no end of pillaging and killing, till his Return, which was *Octob.* 30. 1521. Upon his Arrival, he reſolved

(*n*) But he defends himſelf by force, and worſts them.

(*o*) The Regent, after 5 Years abſence, returns from *France*.

resolved to abate the Power of the *Douglas*'s, in order to the quieting of those Seditions, which had hapned in his absence. The Earl of *Angus*, Head of that Family, he sent into *France*; he caused the Pope, to call over his Uncle, the Bishop of *Dunkelden*, to *Rome*, to purge himself there from some imputed Crimes; who, the Year after in his Journy to *Rome*, fell sick of the Plague in *London*, and died: His Virtues were such, that he was very much lamented; for, besides the splendor of his Ancestry, and the comlines of his Personage, he was Master of a great deal of Learning, (as for those Times) and being also a Man of high prudence, and singular Moderation, even in troublesome Times, he was much esteem'd, in point of Faithfulnes and Authority, even by contrary Factions; he left behind him considerable Monuments of his Ingenuity and Learning, written in his Mother-Tongue The next Year after the return of the Regent, a Parliament was held, and an Army levyed, appointed to rendevouz at *Edinburgh*, on a set day; whither they came accordingly, and pitch'd their Tents in the Fields, near * *Rosselin*, none knowing upon what Service they were to be put; but at last an Herauld proclaim'd, that they were to march towards *Annandale*; a great Punishment being denounced on those, who refused so to do. The rest of the Army marched, obediently enough, to the River *Solway*, the Boundary of *Scotland*, only *Alexander Gordon*, and his Party, staid behind three Miles, backward, further from *England*: When the Regent heard of it, he came back to him the next Day, and brought him up to the Camp: There he called the Nobles and chief Commanders together, and shewed them many great and weighty Reasons, why he invaded *England*, on that side. But a great part of the Nobility, by the Instigation of *Gordon*, who was their Senior, and of greater Authority than them all, wholly refused to set Foot on *English* Ground; whether out of Disaffection to the Regent; or else, (as they pretended) that 'twas not for the Interest of *Scotland*, so to do. The specious Pretences, cast abroad amongst the Soldiers, pleased them well enough; for if they had levyed an Army in favour of the *French*, lest the *English* might bring their whole Strength upon them, it was sufficient for that purpose, only to make a shew of War; but, if the Interest of *Scotland* were considered, Matters were not well setled at home, and their King was but a Child; so that, 'twas most adviseable for them, at that time, only to be on the Defensive, and to keep their own Country in quiet; for, if they should march forward, the blame, even of fortuitous Miscarriages, might be laid to their charge, and an account of such their Misfortunes might be required at their Hands, in a very short time. Lastly, tho they were never so willing to march forward against the Enemy, and so to slight the common Danger, as well as to overlook their own Concerns at Home; yet they were afraid the *Scots* would not be obedient to Command in an Enemies Country; great heed therefore was to be taken, lest, by Emulation, Envy, or late Disgusts, some notable Affront, or shameful Loss, might be received. The Regent, perceiving it in vain to oppose, was fain to yield; yet, that he might not seem to have acted a Pageantry only, with such vast Preparations

* In *Mid-Lothian.*

(p) The Regent raise an Army against *England*;

(q) But the Nobility oppose his Design.

ons in marching his Army, as far as the *Solway*, he ſuborned a fit Perſon, who uſed to traffick into *England*, to acquaint *Dacres*, then Lord Warden of the *Engliſh* Marches, that ſome good might be done, if he did treat with *John* the Regent. He willingly hearkned to the Propoſal, becauſe he was unprovided for Defence, never imagining, that the *Scots* would have made an Irruption into *England* on that ſide; nor, indeed, ſcarce believing, that they would have made any ſuch Attempt at all. Whereupon he ſent an Herauld of Arms, and had a Paſsport to come and go, with ſafety, into the Camp. The next Day, *Thomas Dacres* and *Thomas Muſgrave*, with about twenty more brave Cavaliers, came to the Regent's Tent; where they had private Diſcourſe together, all alone, each having their Interpreters. *Dacres*, being taken unprovided, was not averſe from a Peace; and the Regent, not being able to effect any thing, without the Conſent of his Army, clapt up a Truce; and thus an hopeful Introduction to a Peace was made, and ſo they parted. Thoſe of the *Scots*, who were the greateſt Hinderances of the Action, to avert the blame from themſelves, ſpread abroad Reports, that *Dacres* had bought a Peace from the Regent, for a Sum of Money, of which, Part was in Hand paid, the reſt promiſed, but never paid. Thus they endeavoured to diſparage the Conference, amongſt the Vulgar.

Whereupon he claps up a Truce with the *Engliſh*, and retreats.

The Regent went again, on the 25*th* of *October* into *France*, but promiſed to return before *Auguſt* the Firſt, next enſuing; yet, he kept not his Day, becauſe he was informed, that the *Engliſh* had a Fleet to intercept his Paſſage; however he ſent 500 Foot in the Month of *June*, both to incourage the *Scots*, and alſo, as an Earneſt of his ſpeedy return; they never ſaw the Face of an Enemy, in all their Voyage, till they came near the Iſle of *May*, which is ſcituate in the *Firth* of *Forth*, there they fell among the *Engliſh* Ships, who lay in wait, in thoſe Straits, to ſtop their Paſſage. There they had a ſharp Fight, and the *French* boarded their Enemies Ships, but with the loſs of their Admiral. When he was ſlain, the Sea-men would not obey the Captains of the Foot, and the Land-Souldiers, being ignorant of Sea-Affairs, could not command the Mariners; ſo that, after a great ſlaughter of the *Engliſh*, they could ſcarce be forced back into their own Ships.

The Regent, a ſecond time, goes into *France*.

A Skirmiſh between the *French* and *Engliſh* Fleets.

In the abſence of the Regent, *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, was ſent, with ten thouſand Men, and a great many Voluntiers, into *Scotland*: His Advantage was, that the *Scots* were at Diſcord amongſt themſelves, their chief Magiſtrates were abſent, and they were under no certain Command, ſo that he march'd over *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and took the Caſtles of both Shires, to the great loſs of the Nobles, yea, and of the Commons too (who uſed upon ſudden Invaſions to ſecure themſelves, and their Goods, in thoſe Forts.) But *Scotland* did then labour with ſuch inteſtine Diſcords, that no Man thought his Neighbours Calamity did at all belong to him; the *Engliſh* march'd up and down, for ſeveral Months, where they liſted, without any Oppoſition; and when, at length, they retreated, the adjacent *Scots* endeavoured, in ſome ſort, to revenge themſelves for their Loſſes received, and thereupon daily Incurſions

The Earl of *Surry* with an Army ravages over part of *Scotland*.

were made by them into *Northumberland*, and great Booties gained from thence; so that *Howard* was sent against them a second time, who took *Jedburgh* (a Town unfortified, as the *Scots* Custom is,) but it cost him some toil, and loss of Men. Whilst these Things were acting in *Teviotdale*, the Horses of the English Army were so terrified in the Night, ('tis not known, upon what occasion) that about 500 of them broke their Bridles, running up and down the Camp, and overturning all that were in the way; some of the Soldiers they trampled down and trod upon; and then ran out into the open Field, as if they had been mad, and so became a Prey to such of the Country *Scots*, as could take them up. Hereupon, there was a great Consternation in the whole Camp, all crying out *Arm, Arm*, neither could the Tumult be appeased, till the next Morning. Three days after, the *English*, without making any further Attempt, disbanded their Army, and returned Home.

Jedburgh taken by the *English*.

A strange Fright among the Horses of the *English* Army.

The *English* Army retreats.

The Duke of *Albany*, knowing, that all the Ports on the *French* Shore were way-laid, by the *English*, to intercept him in his Return; being inferior in Strength, resolv'd to piece it out by Stratagem; whereupon, he kept not his Navy together in any one Port, but so dispersed them into several Harbours, (here one Ship, there another) that there was no appearance at all of any Warlike Preparation: And besides, he quartered his Soldiers in the Inland-Country, that no Body could imagin, he designed to ship them; so that the Admiral of the *English* Fleet, who waited to disturb his Passage, till the 13*th* of *August*, was weary to rove up and down in the Sea any longer, to no purpose; and, understanding by his Spies, that there was neither Fleet, nor Army, on all the *French* Coasts, he withdrew his Fleet, as supposing, *John* would not wag, till the next Spring. The Duke of *Albany*, being informed of the Departure of the *English*, presently drew together his Navy of 50 Ships, aboard of which were 3000 Foot, and an 100 Curiasiers; and so, after the Autumnal Æquinox, he set sail from *France*, and by the 24*th* of *September* made the Isle of *Arran* in *Scotland*, which happened to be the same day, wherein the *English* burnt *Jedburgh*.

The Regent arrives in *Scotland* from *France*, a second time.

I shew'd before, how miserable the State of Affairs in *Scotland* was, the last Summer. The Nobles were at variance one with another; the *English* wasted all the Countries near them; they were Masters of the Sea, and thereby all hopes of Foreign Aid were cut off. The Design of the Enemy herein, was, to take down the Pride of the *Scot*, and, by Sufferings, to incline him to a Pacification; neither were those *Scots* that were adverse to the *French* Faction, less addicted thereto, for they earnestly desired a perpetual Peace with *England*; of which Faction, the Queen was the Chief. For when *Hume* was taken off, *Douglas* pack'd away, and the other Nobles were judg'd rather fit to *follow*, than to *lead*, in the Management of Matters; all those that were not Favourers of the *French* Interest, applyed themselves to the Queen. She, on the other side, to gratify her Brother, and also to draw the Power into her own Hands, dissembled her private Ambition, and exhorted them, saying, that now was the time to free their young King, who was almost of Age, from the Bondage of a Stranger; and also, to deliver

Q. *Margaret*, with her Brother *Henry* the 8*th* of *England*, persuade the *Scots* to break with the *French*, with their Arguments to inforce it.

deliver themselves from the same Yoke; for the Queen now laboured to strengthen her Party against her Husband, whom she long before began to disgust: Besides, the King of *England* sent frequent Letters, stuft with large Promises, to the Nobles of *Scotland*, desiring them, to promote his Sisters Designs: He told them, it was not his Fault, that there was not a perpetual Amity between the two neighbouring Kingdoms; and that he, with others, did much desire it at this time; not for any private end of his own, but to make it appear, that he bore a respect to his Sister's Son, whom he was resolved to support, and gratify, as much as ever he was able. And if the *Scots* would be perswaded to break their League with *France*, and to strike in with *England*, they should quickly find, his aim was not Ambition, but Love and Concord only. That *Mary*, his only Daughter, being married to *James*, by that Affinity, the *Scots* would not come over to the Government of the *English*, but the *English* to That of the *Scots*. That Enmities as great as theirs, had intervened betwixt Nations, heretofore, which, yet, by Alliances, mutual Commerce, and interchangeable Kindnesses, had been wholly abolish'd and extinct. Moreover, he reckon'd up the Advantages, or Inconveniencies, which might accrue to either Nation, by this Union with each other, rather than with the *French*; as, that they were one People, born in the same Island, brought up under the same Climate, agreeable one to another in their Language, Manners, Laws, Customs, Countenance, Colour, and in the very Lineaments of their Bodies; so that they seemed rather to be *one* Nation than *two*: But as for the *French*, they differed from them, not only in Climate and Soil, but also in the whole course of their Conversations. Besides, if *France* were an Enemy, she could do no great damage to *Scotland*; and, if a Friend, yet she could not be highly advantageous; as for the Assistance of *England*, That was near at Hand; but *French* Aid, was much more remote, there was no Passage for it, but by Sea; and therefore, it might be prevented by Enemies, or else hindered by Storms. They were therfore desired to consider, how inconvenient it was for the management of Affairs, and how unsafe for the Publick, to hang the hopes of their, and the Kingdoms, Safety, upon so unconstant and variable a thing, as a blast of Wind. How much they might expect from absent Friends, against present Dangers, may be easily perceived by the Actions of the last Summer, wherein the *Scots* not only felt, but even saw with their Eyes, how the *English* did baffle them, being forsaken by their Friends, and came upon them with all their Strength, ready to devour them; but the *French* Aid, so long looked for, was kept back by the *English* Navy, in their own Harbours.

These were the Allegations for a Peace with *England*: And not a few, being convinced thereby, inclined thereunto; but Others argued to the contrary, for there were Many in that Assembly, whom the *French* had brib'd; and some, who had got great Estates out of the publick Losses, for fear they should lose them, did abhor the thoughts of Peace. There were others, who suspected the readiness and facility of the *English*, in making such large Promises, especially since matters in *England* were manag'd, for the most part, at the

But the *French* Faction in *Scotland* oppose it, with their Reasons.

Cardinal *Woolsy* a self-ended and ambitious Statesman.

will and pleasure of *Thomas Woolsey*, a Cardinal, a Man wicked and ambitious, who referr'd all his Designs to his own private Advantage, and the inlargement of his Power and Authority; and therefore he accommodated them to every turn of the Wheel of Fortune, as men say. All these did equally favour a League with *France*, tho induced thereunto on different Grounds. They alleged, that the sudden Liberality of the *English* was not free and gratuitous, but done out of Design; and that This was not the first time, that they had us'd such Arts to intrap the unwary *Scots*. For *Edward* the *First*, (said they) when he had sworn and obliged himself, by all the Bonds of Law and Equity, to decide the thing in Dispute, and therefore was chosen Arbitrator by the *Scots*, had, most injuriously, made himself King of *Scotland*; and of late *Edward* the *4th* had betrothed his Daughter *Cicely* to the Son of *James* the *3d*; but when the young Lady grew up to be marriageable, and the day of Consummation thereof almost appointed, he took the opportunity of a War, which arose upon the account of our private Discords, and so broke off the Match: And that the *English* King aim'd at nothing else now, but to cast the tempting bait of Rule before them, that so he might make them really Slaves; and, when they were destitute of Foreign Aid, might subdue them at his Pleasure, and unawares, with all his force. Neither was that Position a true one, wherein the contrary party did pride themselves, *That an Allyance near at hand was better than one farther off*; For causes of Dissension would never be wanting among those which were near; which were oftentimes produc'd, even by sudden chances; and sometimes, great Men would promote them, upon every light occasion; and then the Laws of Concord will be prescrib'd by him, who hath the longest Sword. That there was never such a firm and sacred Bond of Friendship, between Neighbouring Kingdoms, which, upon occasions offer'd, or sought for, was not often violated; neither could we hope, that the *English* would more refrain now from violating such a League, than they formerly did, against so many Kings of their own Blood; 'tis true, the Sanctity of Leagues, and the Religion of an Oath for the faithful Performance of Pacts and Agreements are firm Bonds and Ingagements to good Men; but amongst those which are bad, they are but as so many Snares and Gins, and give only opportunity to deceive; and such an Opportunity is most visible in a Propinquity of Borders and Habitations, in the Sameness of a Language, and in a Similitude of Conversation. But if all these things were otherwise, yet, (proceeded they) there are Two things to be regarded and provided for: First, that we reject not our old Friends, even without an hearing, who have so oft well deserv'd of us. The other, that we do not here spend our time in Quarrels and Disputes, especially about a Business, wherein nothing can be determin'd, but in an Assemby of all the Estates of the Kingdom. Thus stood the Inclinations of those of the *French* Faction; and so they obtain'd, that no Determination should be made, till they receiv'd certain News of the *French* Supplies.

When the return of the Regent was made known, it mightily rejoiced his Friends, strengthned the wavering, and kept back many,

many, who favour'd the League with *England*, from complying with it. He ſent his Warlike Proviſions up the River *Clyde* to *Glaſgoe*, and there muſter'd his Army; He alſo publiſh'd a Proclamation, that the Nobility ſhould attend him at *Edinburgh*, where he made an elegant Speech to them, commending their Conſtancy in maintaining their ancient League, and their Prudence in rejecting the perfidious Promiſes of the *Engliſh*: He highly extolled the Goodwill, Love, and Liberality of *Francis*, the *French* King, towards the *Scots*; and exhorted them, to lay aſide their private Animoſities and Fewds; and, ſeeing foreign Aid was come in to them, to revenge their Wrongs, and to repreſs the Inſolence of their Enemy, by ſome notable blow. Hereupon, after his Souldiers had refreſh'd themſelves, and the *Scots* Forces had joined them, he marched towards the * Borders, whither he came the 22*d* of *Octob.* But being about to enter *England*, and having already ſent part of his Forces over a Wooden Bridg, which was at *Mulroſs*, the *Scots* made the ſame Pretences, as they did in the former Expedition at *Solway*; and refus'd to enter *England*, ſo that he was forc'd to recal that party, which he had commanded over; and pitching his Tents a little below, on the left ſide of the *Tweed*, endeavour'd to ſtorm the Caſtle of † *Werke*, ſcituated over againſt him, on the right ſide of the River. In the mean time, the Horſe that had paſs'd over the River, beſet all Paſſages, that no Relief could come to the Beſieged, they alſo raged with Fire and Sword againſt all the Country thereabouts. The Deſcription of ‖ *Werke* Caſtle is this: In the inner Court of it, there is a very high Tower, well fortifi'd, it is compaſs'd with a double Wall; the outward Wall incloſes a large ſpace of Ground, (whither the Country-People were wont to fly in time of War, and to bring their Corn and Cattle, with them, for Safeguard) the inner Wall is narrower, but trench'd round about, and better fortifi'd with Towers built thereon. The *French* took the outward Court by Storm, but the *Engliſh* ſet Fire to the Barns, and the Straw that was in them, which made ſuch a Smoke and Flame, that they drove them out again. For the next two days, they batter'd the inner Wall with their great Guns; and after they had made a Breach wide enough for Entrance, the *French* again attempted the matter, and valiantly ſtorm'd at the Breach they had made; but they in the inner Caſtle, being yet ſafe, darted down all ſorts of Weapons upon them, and they lay expos'd to every Blow; ſo that having loſt ſome few of their Men, they were beat back to their Army, and ſo returned over the River. The Regent perceiving that the Minds of the *Scots* were averſe from Action; and alſo hearing for certain, that the *Engliſh* were coming againſt them with a numerous Army; their own Writers ſay, no leſs than 40000 fighting Men; and beſides, that 6000 more were left to defend *Berwick*, a Neighbour-town: The 11*th* of *Novemb.* he removed his Camp to a Nunnery, called * *Eccles*, about ſix Miles diſtant from his preſent Encampment; thence at the 3*d* Watch he marched by Night to *Lauder*; both Horſe and Man were much incommoded in their March, by the ſudden Fall of a great Snow. The ſame Storm occaſion'd the *Engliſh* alſo to disband, and return home, without effecting

* The Regent again marches with an Army into *England*,

† Beſieges *Werke*-Caſtle, is repulſed and retreats.

‖ *Werke*-Caſtle deſcribed.

* In the *Merſe* near *Hume*-Caſtle.

effecting any thing. The rest of the Winter was quiet enough.

* The Regent undertakes his third Voyage into *France*.

At Spring, the * Regent, in an Assembly of the Nobles, told them the Causes, why he must needs go again into *France*, but he promised them to return, before the 1*st* of *September* next following. And moreover, he desired them, that, during his Absence, the King might remain at *Sterlin*, and that they would make no Peace or Truce with the *English*, before his Return; as also, that they would innovate nothing in the Government. They promised him faithfully to obey his Commands; and thus on the 14*th* of *May*, He, and his Retinue set Sail for *France*. In his absence, the Reins were let loose, every Man's Will was his Law, and a great deal of havock was made, and Mischief done, without any Punishment at all; whereupon the King, though but a Child, by the advice of his Mother, and the Earls of *Arran*, *Lennox*, *Crawford*, and many other of the prime Nobility, came from *Sterlin* to *Edinburgh*, and on the 29*th* of *July*, by the Counsel of his Nobles, whom he had convened at his Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, he took upon him the ‖ Government of the Kingdom; and the next day, caused them all to swear Fealty to him, a second time; and, to shew that he had actually assumed the Administration of matters into his own Hands, he discharged all publick Officers; but a few days after he restored them to their places again.

‖ In his absence the young King enters upon the Government;

There was a great Assembly of the Nobles held on the 20*th* Day of *August*, that so he might * vacate the Power of the Regent, which he had now taken upon himself; and so went in great Pomp (as the manner is) into the publick Hall of the Town; only the Bishops of St. *Andrews* and *Aberdene* dissented, alleging, That they ought to stay till the first of *September*, at which time the Regent had promis'd to return; whereupon they were imprison'd. But they reveng'd themselves with their own Church-weapons, and excommunicated all of their Dioceses. However, in about a Month or two after, they were reconcil'd to the King, and restor'd to the same place in his Favour, which they held before.

* And vacates the Regents Power.

† *Archibald Douglas*, *Margarite*'s Husband, returns from *France*, through *England*, into *Scotland*.

About the same time † *Archibald Douglas*, who, as I said before, was sent into *France*, sent *Simon Penning*, an active Man, and much trusted by him, to the King of *England*, to persuade him to give him the liberty of returning home through his Dominions, which was granted. For *Henry* was well enough pleased at the Diminution of the Authority of so active a Person, as the Duke of *Albany*; and at the Change which was made in *Scotland*, so that he entertained the Earl courteously, and dismiss'd him very honourably. But his Return did variously affect the Minds of the *Scots*: For seeing all publick Business was transacted under the Conduct of the Queen, and the Earl of *Arran*; a great part of the Nobility, the Heads whereof were *John Stuart* Earl of *Lennox*, and *Calen Cambel* Earl of *Argyle*, taking it in great Distaste, that they were not admitted to any part of the publick Administration, received *Douglas* with high Expressions of Joy, as hoping, by his Aid, either to gain over the Power of the adverse Faction to themselves, or, at least, to abate their Pride. On the other side, the Queen, who, as I said before, was disaffected towards her Husband, was much troubled

troubled at his coming, and ſought by all means to undermine him. And moreover *Hamilton*, out of the Relicks of his old Hatred, was none of his Friend; beſides, he fear'd, leſt *Douglas*, who he knew would not be content with a ſecond place, ſhould mount the Saddle, and make him truckle under; ſo that he ſtrove to maintain his own Dignity, and oppoſed him with all his Might. They kept themſelves within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and tho they knew very well, that many of the Nobility affected Alterations; yet, truſting to the Strength of the Place, and the Authority of the Kingly Name, (tho it were but a ſorry Defence, in thoſe Circumſtances) they thought themſelves ſecure from Force. ‖ The adverſe Party had a great meeting of the Nobles, where they choſe Three of their own Party to be Guardians of King and Kingdom, * *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*; *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*; and *Calen Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*; they made great haſte in their buſineſs: Firſt, they paſſed the *Forth*, and cauſed *James Beton*, a prudent Man, to join with them, who, perceiving the Strength of the Party, durſt not reſiſt. From thence they went to *Sterlin*, and conferr'd all publick Offices and Employments on the Men of their own Faction, only; and from thence they came to *Edinburgh*, which they entred without Force, for it was not fortified at all. They caſt up a ſmall Trench againſt the Caſtle, and beſiedg'd it. The Defendants had made no Proviſion for a Siege, and therefore ſoon ſurrendred up both It and Themſelves. All but the King were ſent away, ſo that now the whole weight of the Government lay upon the Shoulders of thoſe Three Aſſociates; who agreed among themſelves, That they would manage it by turns, each of them attending four Months apiece on the King. But this Conjunction was not hearty, neither did it laſt long. *Douglas* attended the firſt four Months, who brought the King into the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* Houſe, and made uſe of all the Biſhop's Houſhold ſtuff, and other Accommodations, as if they had been his own; (for he had a little before revolted from their Faction) and to engage the King to him the more, he ſuffer'd him to wallow in all kind of Pleaſure; and yet he obtain'd not his End neither, in regard the King's Domeſticks were corrupted by the adverſe Faction, headed by the *Queen* and *Hamilton*.

‖ He, with his *Partiſans*, ſeize on the young King, and manage the Government.

* Three Moderators of the Kingdom, *Douglas*, *Stuart* and *Cambel*.

The firſt Grudges at Court brake forth, upon the account of diſtributing Eccleſiaſtical Preferments; for the † *Douglaſſes* drew all to themſelves; *George Creighton* was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkelden*: The Abby of *Holy Rood* in the Suburbs, which was left by him, *Douglas* gave to his Brother *William*, who had now for 5 years forcibly held That of *Coldingham*, about ſix Miles from *Berwick*, after the Murder of *Robert Blacketer*, the former Abbat: For *Robert Blacketer*, *Robert*'s Couſin-german, had the Abby beſtowed on him by the Pope, with the Conſent of *John*, the Regent. He had alſo commenced a Suit againſt *John Hume*, an Intimate of the Earl of *Angus*'s, and Husband to his Siſter's Daughter, about the whole ancient Eſtate of the *Blacketers*. And therefore *Patrick* being unable to cope with the *Douglaſſes*, ſuffer'd his Eſtate to be made a Prey to his Enemies, and reſerv'd himſelf for better times amongſt his Mother's

† But *Douglas* ſoon ours the other Two.

Mother's Kindred, far from those Counties, which were obnoxious to the Faction of the *Douglasses*. They, on the other side, though they did not much value *Patrick*, yet having the Supreme Power in their Hands, and being unwilling to incur the Blot of invading other Mens Rights by mere Force, made use of Friends, to proffer him some kind of Amends and Satisfaction; he, shewing himself inclinable to an Agreement, even tho he remitted part of his Right, had thereupon a Pass, and the publick Faith given him by *Douglas*, to come to *Edinburgh*, which he did, only with a small Retinue, and unarm'd; and not far from the Gates of the City he was set upon by *John Hume*, who lay in Ambush for that purpose, and slain. As soon as the Noise of the Fact was spread over the City, many mounted their Horses, and pursued the Murderers some Miles, in order to their apprehension; but, understanding that *George Douglas*, Brother to the Earl, was in their Company, and many more of *Douglas*'s Faction, with the Kindred of *Hume*, not knowing with what intent they came out, whether to catch, or to defend, the Murderers, they desisted from their Pursuit; whereupon strange Reports were divulged abroad concerning the *Douglasses*.

As for *Calen Cambel*, he had already withdrawn himself from the Triumvirate; and the Earl of *Lennox*, though he followed the King, yet, in regard the *Douglasses* drew all Offices of publick Advantage to themselves, he gave many Testimonies of his Dislike, and that his Mind was quite alienated from them. But they, being confident of their Power, slighted the Reports and ill-will of others; mean while, the King, though he were us'd more indulgently than was fit, that so his infirm Spirit might be the longer in Subjection to them; yet notwithstanding, by little and little, grew weary of their Government, being also alienated from them by his Domesticks, who laid to their charge Actions, some true, some false, and interpreted the doubtful in the worst sense; whereupon, he held secret Cabals with such as he could trust, concerning vindicating himself into his Freedom and Liberty: Neither was he afraid to open the Secrets of his Heart to *John* Earl of *Lennox*, one of his Nobles; for, besides his other Virtues of Mind and Body, he was an honest and fine-spoken Man, and excellently compos'd to conciliate and win upon Men, by a natural Sweetness of Manners and Deportment: Him he made privy to his Designs; and whilst they were consulting concerning the Time, Place, and Manner of it's Accomplishment, *Douglas* was making many Expeditions against the Banditty, but with no great Success; at length, about the end of *July*, he resolv'd to carry the King into *Teviotdale*, as supposing, that his presence would be advantageous, by striking a Terror into the Licentious. Thus an Assembly being held at *Jedburgh*, the King call'd together all the Heads of the chief Families round about, and commanded them to apprehend those Criminals, every one within his own Precinct, of which he then gave them a List: They willingly and industriously obey'd this Command, so that, the Heads of the Thieves were many of them put to Death, and Others were spared in hopes of Amendment. Thus, whilst the Minds of all were very merry and jocund; they, who had a design

At which, the Nobility is much discontented, and endeavour to take the King, by Force, out of his Hands.

ſign to free the King from the Pupillage of the *Douglaſſes*, thought that a good opportunity to effect it, becauſe one * *Walter Scot*, living not far from *Jedburgh*, had great Clanſhips in the Counties thereabouts. The manner of the accompliſhing their Project was thus laid; *Walter* was to invite the King to his Houſe, and there he was to remain with his own good liking, till greater Forces came in, at the Noiſe of the thing: But their Deſign ſeem'd to be diſcovered, either by Chance, or upon ſome private Intimation. Whereupon the King was carried back to *Mulroſs*. Yet *Walter* was not diſcouraged, but proceeded on ſtrait in his Journy to the King: when he was but a little way off, frightful News were brought to the *Douglaſſes*, that *Walter* was at hand, well-arm'd, and a great Troop of arm'd Men accompanying him. So that there was no doubt to be made, but he, being a factious Man, and withal, good at his Weapon, did intend ſome Miſchief; inſomuch that they all preſently ran to their Arms. *Douglas*, tho inferior in number, yet knowing that the Men he had of his own, were choice ones; and beſides that, he had ſeveral valiant Perſons of the Family of the *Carrs* and *Humes*'s in his Train, with *John Hume* and *Andrew Carr* their Principals, reſolv'd to put it to a Battel: In the very nick of time, *George Hume* had almoſt ſpoil'd all, who, when *Douglas* commanded him to alight from his Horſe, and manage his part in the Fight; anſwered, He would not ſo do; no, not if the King himſelf commanded him. They fought eagerly and couragiouſly on both ſides, as Men who had their King (the price of the Combat) their Spectator. *John Stuart* ſtood near the King, without ſtriking a Stroke, only as a Spectator of the Fight.

* *Walter Scot* overthrown by the *Douglaſſes*, in his Endeavours to free the King.

After a ſharp Encounter, *Walter* was wounded, and then his Men gave ground: but the Joy of the *Douglaſſes* Victory was much allayed by the Loſs of *Andrew Carr*, who for his ſingular Virtues was, equally lamented by both Parties. Upon the account of his being ſlain, there enſued a perpetual Feud between the Families of the *Carrs* and the *Scots*, which was not ended without Blood. From that time forward, *John Stuart*, who carried himſelf as a Neuter in the Fight, being afore ſuſpected by the *Douglaſſes*, was now accounted their open Enemy, ſo that he departed from the Court. Theſe things were acted *July* 23. in the Year 1521.

The *Douglaſſians*, perceiving themſelves ſubject to the Envy of many, ſought to ſtrengthen their Faction by new Acquiſts; and therefore they made up the old Breach betwixt them and the *Hamiltons*, a Family much abounding in Wealth, Power and Number, but remote from Court. Them he admitted into part of the Government. On the other ſide, || *John Stuart* had the advantage of being highly favoured by moſt People; and having alſo privately obtain'd the King's Letter to the chief of the Nobility, who, he thought, would have kept his Counſel, he mightily ſtrengthened his Party. And therefore in a Convention of his Faction at *Sterlin*, where were alſo preſent *James Beton*, ſome other Biſhops, and many Heads of the nobleſt Families; he openly propounded to them the Deſign of aſſerting the King to his Liberty. This was unanimouſly agreed to, and tho the Day for muſtering their Forces was not yet

|| *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, with the King's Privity, renews the Deſign of redeeming the King from the *Douglaſſes*.

come; yet, hearing that the *Hamiltons* were gathered together at *Linlithgow* to intercept their March, it was judged adviseable to attack them, before they join'd with the *Douglasses*; and accordingly with the present Force which he had, he marched directly towards them: But the *Hamiltons* having Intelligence that *John* would march out of *Sterlin* that Day, early in the Morning had called the *Douglassians* out of *Edinburgh*, to their Assistance, before. But the King, besides other Obstacles, did somewhat retard them, by pretending himself *not well*; so that he rose later out of his Bed that day, than ordinary; and besides, he march'd very slowly; and upon the way would often turn aside to ease Nature, as if he had been troubled with a Lask. And when *George Douglas* had in vain flattered him, to make more haste, at last he brake forth into this menacing Expression, Sir, said he, *Rather than our Enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold on your Body; and if it be rent in pieces, we will be sure to retain one part thereof.* Those Words struck a deeper Impression on the King's Mind, than is usual in one of his Age; insomuch, that when the *Douglasses* were banish'd many Years after, and he had some Inclination to recal the rest of them, he could not endure to hear any body speak of a Reconciliation with *George*. The *Hamiltons*, betwixt fear of their Enemy approaching, and hope of Aid at hand, had set themselves in Array at the Bridg of the River *Aven*, which is about a Mile from *Linlithgoe*, they plac'd a small Guard at the Bridg, and the rest of their Forces on the Brow of the Hills, which they knew the Enemy must pass. *Lennox*, seeing that his Passage over the Bridg was stopp'd, commanded his Men to pass over a small River, a little above, by a Nunnery (call'd * *Manuel*) and so to beat the *Hamiltonians* from the Hills, before *Douglas*'s Forces had join'd them. The *Lennoxians* made towards their Enemies thorough thick and thin, as we say; but by casting down of Stones from the Hills, they were much prejudiced; and when they came to handy Blows, the Word was given, that the *Douglasses* were at hand; and indeed they, from their March, ran in hastily into the Fight, and soon carry'd the Day; so that || *Lennox*'s Men were grievously wounded and put to flight. The *Hamiltonians*, especially *James* the Bastard, used their Victory with a great deal of Cruelty; *William Cuningham*, Son to the Earl of *Glencarn*, receiv'd many Wounds, but his Life was saved by the *Douglasses* his Kinsmen. *John Stuart* was slain, much lamented by the Earl of *Arran*, his Uncle; and also by *Douglas* himself, but most of all, by the King; For he had sent *Andrew Wood* of the *Largs*, his Favourite, before, (as soon as ever as he had heard of the Fight, by the clashing of the Armour) to save *Lennox*'s Life, if possible, but he came, as we say, a day after the Fair.

* A Mile above the Bridg near *Linlithgo*.

|| *Lennox* fights with the *Douglassians* and *Hamiltonians*, is worsted and slain.

Great Severity used by the *Douglasses* against *Lennox*'s Party.

After this Victory, the *Douglasses*, to keep down the Faction of their Enemies, and make them subject to their Will, proceeded in the Law against those who had taken up Arms against their King, as they phrased it; so that, for fear of a Trial, many were forc'd to compound with them for Mony; some put themselves into the Clanship of the *Hamiltons*; others, into that of the *Douglasses*; but the most obstinate were called to the Bar: Amongst whom was

Gilbert

Gilbert Earl of *Caſſils*, who, when he was preſs'd by *James Hamilton* the Baſtard, to ſhrewd himſelf under the Protection of the *Hamiltons*, out of the Greatneſs of his Spirit made this Anſwer, *That there was an old League of Friendſhip made between both their Grandfathers; in which his Grandfather was always named* Firſt, *as the more honourable. And now he would not ſo far degenerate from the Dignity of his Family, or the Glory of his Anceſtors, as to put himſelf under the Patronage (which was but one degree below plain Slavery) of that Family, whoſe* Chief, *in an equal Alliance, was always content with the Second Place.* So that when *Gilbert* was call'd to his Anſwer at a Day appointed, * *Hugh Kennedy*, his Kinſman, made Anſwer for him, That he had not taken up Arms *againſt* the King, but *for* him, for he was commanded by the King to be at that Fight, and, if it were needful, he proffered to produce the King's Letters to that purpoſe. The *Hamiltons* were much troubled at his Boldneſs: For indeed, the King had wrote to *Gilbert*, when he went from Court, as well as to others, That he ſhould take part with *John Stuart*. But ſeeing the Battel was at hand, inſomuch that he could have no time to call together his Clanſhip and Kindred, as he was upon the way, he turn'd aſide, with thoſe of his Family that were with him, to *Sterlin*.

* The couragious Anſwer of *Hugh Kennedy*, in behalf of *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils*.

The Violence of the *Hamiltons* was ſomewhat abated by this Trial, but *James*, the Baſtard, burnt with a mortal Hatred againſt *Kennedy*; and a few days after, as he was returning home he caus'd him to be murther'd upon the way, by means of *Hugh Cambel* Laird of *Air*. This *Hugh*, the ſame day the Murder was committed, (which he had commanded his Vaſſals to execute, that ſo he might avert all Suſpition of ſo horrid a fact from himſelf) went to *John Erskin*'s Houſe, whoſe Wife was Siſter to *Gilbert Kennedy*'s Wife; She, as ſoon as ever ſhe heard of this cruel Murther, did not ceaſe to upbraid him moſt grievouſly therewith, to his very face. Thus the noble Family of the *Kennedy*'s was almoſt quite extinguiſhed; the Son of the Earl, after his Father was ſlain, being but a Child, fled to his Kinſman *Archibald Douglas*, who was then Lord Treaſurer, and put himſelf and his Family under his Protection; he lovingly receiv'd him, and ſuch was the great Ingenuity of his promiſing Years, that he deſigned him for his Son-in-law. *Hugh Cambel* was ſummon'd to appear, but his Crime being manifeſt, he fled out of the Land Neither did the *Douglaſſes* exerciſe their Revenge and Hatred leſs fiercely upon *James Beton*, for they led their Forces to St. *Andrews*, ſeized upon, pillaged and ruined his Caſtle, becauſe they counted him the Author of all the Projects the Earl of *Lennox* had undertaken; but he himſelf went under frequent Diſguiſes, becauſe no Man durſt entertain him openly, and ſo eſcaped. And with the like kind of Diſſimulation and Solitude the Queen *Herſelf* made her Retirement, that ſo She might not fall into the Hands of her Husband, whom ſhe hated.

At the beginning of the next Spring, *Douglas* made an Expedition into *Liddiſdale*, where he ſlew many of the Thieves, falling upon them unawares in their Hutts, before they could gather themſelves together for defence; twelve of them he hang'd up, and

twelve more he kept as Hostages; but because their Fellows did not forbear their old trade of robbing, a few Months after, he put them to Death also. At his Entrance on that Expedition, there hapned a matter very memorable, which, for the Novelty of the thing, I shall not pretermit: There was an Under-Groom, or Helper, belonging to the Stables of *John Stuart*, of mean Descent, and therefore used in a mean Employment, to dress Horses; when his Lord and Master was kill'd by the *Hamiltons*, he wander'd up and down for a time, not knowing what course to take; at last he took Heart and resolved to attempt a Fact, far superior to the rank and condition, he had been born and brought up in. For he undertook a Journey to *Edinburgh*, with an intent to revenge the Death of his Lord who was slain; and there he casually lighted upon a Man of the same Family and Fortune with himself; he demanded of him, whether he had seen *James Hamilton* the Bastard, in the City; who answer'd him, he had; What, said he, *Thou ungratefullest of Men, hast thou seen him, and would'st thou not kill him, who slew so good a Master as we Both had; get thee gone with a witness; all Misery betide thee.* And thereupon he presently hastned on in his designed Voyage, and came directly to Court. There were then in a large Court, which is before the Palace in the Suburbs, about 2000 arm'd Men of *Douglasses* and *Hamilton*'s Dependants, ready prepared for the Expedition, I spake of before; he, seeing them, past by all the rest, and fix'd his Eye and Mind on *Hamilton* only, who was then coming out of the Court-yard in his Cloak without his Armor, when he saw him in a pretty long Gallery, (and somewhat dark) which is over the Gate, he flew at him, and gave him six Wounds, one of them almost pierc'd to his Vitals, others of them he pretty well avoided by the Flexure of his Body, and by warding them off with his Cloak which he held before him; and then the Groom presently mixt himself among the Croud; immediately a great hubbub was raised, and some of the *Hamiltons* suspected, that the *Douglasses* had done so horrid a Fact, out of the relicks of their old Feuds; so that those two Factions had almost like to go together by the Ears; at last, when their Fear and Surprise was allay'd, they were all commanded to stand in single ranks, by the Walls which were round about the Court-yard; there the Murderer was discovered, as yet holding the bloody Knife in his hand. Being demanded, what he was, and whence and for what he came thither? he made no ready Answer; upon which he was dragg'd to Prison, and put to the Rack, and then he confess'd immediately, that he had undertaken the Fact, in revenge of his good Lord and Master, and that he was sorry for nothing, but that so famous an Attempt did not take effect; he was tortur'd a long time, but discover'd no Body, as privy to his Design; at, last he was condemned and carried up and down the City, and every part of his naked Body was nipp'd with Iron Pinchers red hot; and yet, neither in his Speech, nor in his Countenance, did he discover the least sense of Pain; when his right Hand was cut off, he said, that it was punish'd less than it had deserved, for not sufficiently seconding the Dictates of so stout a Spirit. Moreover the same Year

The bold Attempt of an Under-Groom, to destroy *James Hamilton*, in Revenge of his Master's, the Earl of *Lennox* his Death.

The Groom apprehended and tortured, yet dies very resolutely.

Year, *Patrick Hamilton*, Son to a Sister of *John* Duke of *Albany*, and of a Brother of the Earl of *Arran's*, her Husband, a young Man of great Judgment and singular Learning, by a Conspiracy of the Priests, was burnt at St. *Andrews*: And not long after his Suffering, Men were much terrified at the Death of *Alexander Cambel*, he was of the Order of the *Dominicans*; a Man also of good Ingenuity, and accounted one of the most learn'd of all those, who follow'd the Sect of *Thomas Aquinas*; *Patrick* had often Conference with him concerning the meaning of the Holy Scripture, and at last he brought the Man to confess and acknowledg, that almost all the Articles, which were then counted Heterodox, were really true. And yet this *Alexander*, being more desirous to save his Life, than to hazard it for Truths sake, was persuaded by his Friends to prefer a publick Accusation and Charge against him; *Patrick*, being a Man of a zealous Spirit, could not brook this Desire of Vainglory in the ambitious Man, but brake forth into this Expression openly: *O thou vilest of Men*, says he, *who art convinc'd, that the Tenents which thou now condemneth are most certainly true, and not long since didst confess to me that they were so; I do therefore cite thee to the Tribunal of the living God.* * *Alexander* was so astonished at that word, that he was never himself from that day forward, and not long after he died in a Fit of Madness.

Patrick Hamilton, nobly descended, put to Death upon the account of Religion.

* The strange Death of *Alexander Cambel*, the self-condemned Persecutor of *Patrick Hamilton*.

All this time, and for a great part of the Year ensuing, the *Douglasses*, being severally intent upon other Matters and Concerns, were secure, as to the King's Departure from them; because they believed, that now his Mind was fully reconciled to them by those Blandishments and immoderate Pleasures they had indulg'd him in. And besides, they thought, if he had a mind to remove, there was no Faction strong enough to oppose them, neither was there any strong Garison, whither to retire, but only *Sterlin* Castle, which was allotted to the Queen for her Habitation; but then it was deserted for a time, by the Queen's Officers, when she hid her self for fear of the *Douglasses*; and when the Tumult was a little appeased, 'twas somewhat fortified, but rather for a Shew, than for any real Defence. † The King having obtained some small Relaxation, saw that this must be his only refuge, and therefore he bargain'd with his Mother privately to exchange that Castle, and the Land adjoyning, for other Lands as convenient for her; and providing all other Requisites as secretly as he could, the *Douglasses* not being so intent, as formerly, in their Watch over him, he retired by Night with a few in his Company from * *Falkland* to *Sterlin*; whither he soon sent for some of the Nobles to come to him, and others hearing the News, came in of their own accord; so that now he seemed sufficiently secured against all Force: There, by the Advice of his Nobles, he published a Proclamation, that the *Douglasses* should abstain from all Administration of publick Affairs. And moreover, that none of their Kin, by Blood or Marriage, or of their Dependants, should come within twelve Miles of the Court; he that did otherwise, was to lose his Life. When the Edict was served upon the *Douglasses*, as they were coming to *Sterlin*, many were of opinion, that they should go on in their Journy,

† The King frees himself from the *Douglasses*.

* Or *Falceland*, about the middle of *Fife*.

The *Douglasses* forbidden, by Proclamation, to intermeddle in the Government.

Journey, but the Earl and his Brother *George* thought it beſt to obey the Edict. Thus they went back to *Linlithgo*, reſolving to ſtay there, till they heard ſome more News from the Court. In the mean time, the King, with great Diligence, ſent Meſſengers, even to the furtheſt parts of the Kingdom, to call in all the Nobles, who had a Privileg of voting, to an Aſſemby at *Edinburgh*, to be celebrated *Septemb.* the 3*d.* next enſuing. In the Interim, He at *Sterlin*, and the *Douglaſſes* at *Edinburgh*, gathered Forces about them, but it was rather to defend themſelves, than offend one another. At length *July* the 2*d.* the *Douglaſſes* departed out of the City, and the King, with his Forces and Banners diſplay'd, enter'd in; but by the Mediation of Friends, deprecating the King, on their Behalf, Conditions were offer'd to them, which were, That the Earl of *Angus* ſhould be baniſhed beyond the *Spey*; That *George* his Brother, and *Archibald* his Uncle, ſhould be kept in hold in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: If they ſubmitted to theſe Terms, then there was hopes of the King's Mercy, otherwiſe not. Theſe Terms being rejected by them, they were commanded, by an Herauld, to attend the Parliament, that was to be held at *Edinburgh* the 3*d.* of *Septemb.* In the mean time, their publick Offices were taken from them, and *Gawin Dunbar*, the King's Tutor, was made Chancellor inſtead of the Earl; He was a good and a learned Man, but ſome thought him a little defective in Politicks: and *Robert Carncroſs* was made Treaſurer in the place of *Archibald*, one more known for his Wealth than his Virtue. The *Douglaſſes* being now driven to their laſt ſhifts, endeavoured to ſeize upon *Edinburgh*, which was void by the King's Departure, and accordingly they ſent *Archibald* thither, with ſome Troops of Horſe; their Deſign was to keep out the King, and ſo to diſſolve the Parliament: But (on the 7*th* of the ‖*Calends* of *September*) *Robert Maxwell*, with his Vaſſals, had, by the King's Command, prevented them, and kept them from entring the City; yea, the Guards and Sentinels were mounted, and diſpoſed, ſo carefully in all convenient places, that things were kept there in great Tranquillity, till the Parliament's time of Meeting. *Douglas*, being diſappointed of this hope, retired to his Caſtle of * *Tantallon*, about fourteen Miles diſtant from the City. The ſame day that the King came out of *Sterlin*, there fell ſuch mighty Showers of Rain from the Heavens, and the Brooks and Rivers did ſo overflow their Banks, that the King's Retinue was ſcatter'd into many parties, ſo that they came much haraſſed, and late in the Night, to *Edinburgh*: They were ſo mightily batter'd with the Violence of the Storm, that a very few Horſe, if they had charged them, might have done them a great deal of Miſchief. In that Parliament, the Earl of *Angus*, *George* his Brother, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *Alexander Drummond* of † *Carnock* (their intimate Friend) were out-lawed, and their Goods confiſcate. This Edict or Clauſe was alſo added to their Condemnation, that whoſoever did harbor them in their Houſes, or give them any other Aſſiſtance, ſhould incur the ſame Puniſhment. That which moſt of all moved the Court to condemn them, was this, becauſe the King had affirmed upon Oath, That as long as he was in the

New Officers at Court.

‖ *Auguſt* 26.

* In *Eaſt-Lothian*, oppoſite to the *Baſs-Iſle*.

† In *Sterlingſhire*, not far from *Torwood*.

the Power of the *Douglaſſes*, he was afraid of his Life; he alſo profeſs'd, that his Fear was heightned, and made a deeper Impreſſion on him, after *George* had given him ſuch cutting Menaces, before mention'd. There was only one Man found in this Aſſembly, by name *John Bannatine*, a Vaſſal of the *Douglaſſes*, who was ſo bold as to make a publick Proteſtation againſt all that was acted againſt the Earl, becauſe (as he alleged) his Non-appearance at the day limitted was occaſion'd by his juſt Fear.

A few days after, *William*, another Brother of the Earl's, Abbat of the Monaſtery of *Holy Rood*, died of Sickneſs, trouble of Mind and Grief, for the preſent Poſture of Affairs. *Robert Carncroſs*, one meanly deſcended, but well monyed, bought that Preferment of the King, who then wanted Mony; eluding the Law againſt Simony, by a new kind of Fraud. The Law was, that Eccleſiaſtical Preferments ſhould not be ſold, but he laid a great Wager with the King, that he would not beſtow upon him the next Preferment, of that kind, that fell; and by that means, loſt his Wager, but got the Abbacy. Thus the || *Douglaſſes*, ſeeing that all hope of Pardon was cut off, betook themſelves to open force, and to the only Comfort they had left, which was in Revenge, for they uſed great Extremity, and committed all ſorts of Outrages upon the Lands of their Enemies; they burnt * *Couſland* and † *Cranſton*, and every day skirted by the Gates of *Edinburgh*, with their Horſe; ſo that the City was almoſt beſieged, and the Poor were made to ſuffer for the Offences of the great Ones. During theſe Hurly Burlies, *on the* 11th *of the Calends of* || *December*. A Ship called the *Marina*, a brave Veſſel in thoſe days and richly laden, by ſtreſs of Weather, was forc'd upon the Shore of * *Enverwick*; part of the Lading was pillaged by *Douglaſſes* Horſe, who rang'd up and down in thoſe parts; the reſt was taken away by the Country-men, who were ſo ignorant of the price of it, that they thought the Cinnamon therein, to be but a low priz'd Bark, and ſo ſold it to make Fire with, yet the whole Envy of the matter fell upon the *Douglaſſes*. Upon this change of Affairs, the Tories, who had a long time refrain'd their Depredations, for fear of Puniſhment, came forth out of their lurking holes, and grievouſly infeſted all the circumjacent Countries. And though many Pranks were plaid by others, up and down; yet all the Murders and Robberies, every where committed, were charg'd upon the ſcore of the *Douglaſſes*, by thoſe Courtiers, who thought they humour'd the King by ſo doing; that ſo they might make the name of that Family, otherwiſe popular, invidious to the vulgar. And in the beginning of Winter, the King march'd to † *Tantallon*, a Caſtle of the *Douglaſſes*, by the Sea ſide, to take it in, that ſo no Refuge might be left for the Exiles; and that he might take the place with leſs Labour and Coſt, he was ſupplied with Braſs-Guns and Powder from *Dunbar*. That Caſtle was diſtant from || *Dunbar* ſix Miles, and it was gariſon'd by the Souldiers of *John* the Regent, becauſe it was part of his Patrimony; he continued the Siege for ſome days, wherein ſome of the Beſiegers were ſlain, others wounded; and ſome blown up with Gun-Powder; but none at all of the Beſieged

|| The *Douglaſſes* arm in deſperation.

* In *Lothian*.
† About four Miles South of *Dalkeith*.

|| *November* 21.

* A Town lying in the *Firth* or *Forth* in *East-Lothian*, four Miles South of *Dunbar*.

† *Tantallon*-Caſtle beſieged by the King.

|| In the Author it is *Tantallon*, but, I judg it to be a Miſtake of the Tranſcriber for *Dunbar*.

* The Siege of *Tantallon* raiſed.

ſieged were loſt, ſo that he raiſed his Siege, and * retreated. In his return, *David Falkner*, who was left behind, with ſome Foot-Souldiers, to carry back the Braſs-Ordnance, was ſet upon by *Douglaſſes* Horſe, (who were ſent out to ſnap up the Stragglers in the Rear) and ſlain; his Death did ſo inrage the young King, who was incens'd enough before, that he ſolemnly ſwore in his Paſſion, that, as long as he liv'd, the *Douglaſſes* ſhould never have the Sentence of their Baniſhment revoked: And as ſoon as he came to *Edinburgh*, to ſtraiten them the more, by the Advice of his Council, he order'd, that a party of Souldiers ſhould be continually kept at † *Coldingham*, which was to be rather an active, or flying, than a numerous one, to prevent the pillaging of the Country by them. The charge of doing it was commended by the King to *Bothwel*, one of the greateſt Perſons, for Authority and Puiſſance, in *Lothian*: but he refuſed the Imployment, either out of Fear of the Power of the *Douglaſſes*, which, not long ſince, all the reſt of *Scotland* was not able to cope with; or elſe, becauſe he would not have the Diſpoſition of the young King, who was eager and over-violent of his own accord, to be inur'd to ſuch Cruelty, as totally to deſtroy ſo noble a Family: And whereas the King had no great Confidence in the *Hamiltons*, as being Friends to his Enemies; and he did alſo diſguſt them upon the account of the Slaughter of *John Stuart* Earl of *Lennox*; and beſides there being none of the Nobility of the adjacent parts, that had Power or Intereſt enough for that Service, at laſt he reſolved to ſend *Calen Cambel*, with an Army, againſt the Rebels, a Perſon living in the furtheſt parts of the Kingdom, but a prudent Man, of approv'd Valour; and upon the account of his Juſtice, very popular. || The *Douglaſſians*, when the *Hamiltons* and the reſt of their Friends failed them, were reduced to great ſtraits, ſo that they were compell'd by *Calen* and by *George* chief of the *Humes*, to retire, like Exiles, into *England*.

† Within two Miles of *Eymouth*, in the *Merſs*.

|| The *Douglaſſes* forced to fly into *England*.

In the Month of *October*, two eminent Perſons came Embaſſadors from the King of *England* about a Peace; which tho earneſtly deſir'd by both Kings, yet they could ſcarce find out the way to make it up. For *Henry*, being about to make War upon *Charles* the Emperor, was willing to leave all ſafe behind his back; and with the ſame labour to procure the Reſtitution of the *Douglaſſes*. As for *James*, he did much deſire to have *Tantallon* Caſtle in his Power, but his Mind was very averſe to reſtore the *Douglaſſes*; and for that Reaſon, the Matter was canvaſſed to and fro, for ſome Days, and no Temper for Accommodation could be found out; but at laſt, they came to this, That *Tantallon* Caſtle ſhould be ſurrendred to *James*, and a Truce be granted for five Years; and their other Demands the King was to promiſe the granting of, under his Signet. The Caſtle was ſurrendred accordingly, but the other Demands were not as punctually performed, ſave only, that *Alexander Drummond* had leave given him to return home, for *Robert Brittain*'s ſake: For, ſome Months before, *James Colvill*, and *Robert Carncroſs*, upon ſuſpicion of their favouring the *Douglaſſes*, were removed from Court, and their Offices beſtowed on *Robert Brittain*, who then was in high Favour at Court, and had great Command *there*. After

* Embaſſadors from *England* to piece up an Accommodation between King *James* and the *Douglaſſes*.

ter this, tho Matters were not quite settled abroad, (for the *English* had burnt *Arn*, a Town in *Teviotdale*, before their Embassadors return'd) yet the rest of the Year was more quiet; but the Insolence of the *Banditti* was not quite suppressed; whereupon the King caus'd *William Cockburn* of † *Henderland*, and *Adam Scot*, noted Robbers, to be apprehended at *Edinburgh*, and for a Terror to the rest, he put them to Death. The next Year, in the Month of *March*, the King sent ‖ *James* Earl of *Murray*, whom he had made Deputy-Governour of the whole Kingdom, to the Borders, there to have a Meeting with the Earl of *Northumberland*, in order to settle a Peace, and to treat about mutual Satisfaction for Losses. But a Contention arose betwixt them, about expiating the Murder of *Robert Car*. The *One* pleaded, that the Process ought to be form'd in *Scotland*, according to the Law. The *Other* would have it in *England*. In the Interim, each of them sent Messengers to their several Kings, to know their Minds in the Case.

† In *Tiviotdale*.

‖ *James* Earl of *Murray*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, meet to settle Matters betwixt the Borderers.

On the 17*th* of the Calends of * *May*, there was held a Council of the Nobility, where, after a long Debate, which lasted till Night, 'twas concluded, That the Earl of *Bothwel*, *Robert Maxwel*, *Walter Scot*, and *Mark Carr* should be committed Prisoners to *Edinburgh* Castle. And that the Earls, and chief Men of *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, should be sent Prisoners to other Places; it being supposed, That they privately scatter'd abroad the Seeds of a War against *England*. And in *July*, the King levied about 8000 Men, and marched out against the Robbers; and that with so much speed, that he quickly pitch'd his Tents by the River † *Ewse*. Not far from thence, lived one *John Armstrong* chief of one Faction of the Thieves, who had struck such a Fear to all the neighbouring Parts, that even the *English* themselves for many Miles about, bought their Peace, by paying him a certain Tribute; yea, *Maxwel* was also afraid of his Power; and therefore endeavoured his Destruction by all possible ways. This *John* was enticed by the King's Officers to make his Repair to the King, which he did, unarm'd, with about fifty Horse in his Company; but having forgot to obtain the King's Pass and safe Conduct for his Security, he fell into an Ambush, who brought him to the King, as if he had been taken Prisoner by them; so that he, and most of his Followers, were trussed up. They, who were the Causers of his Death, gave forth, That he had promised to bring that part of *Scotland* for some Miles, under the Obedience of the *English*, if he himself might be well considered for that Service: But, on the other side, the *English* were glad of his Death, for they were thereby freed of a dangerous Enemy. Six of his surviving Companions, the King kept as Hostages; but, in regard their Fellows were no way deterred thereby, from committing the like Insolencies, in a few Months they were hanged also. And the King took new Hostages of those who staid at home; for the *Liddisdale* Men left their homes, and passed over in Troops to *England*, making daily Incursions, and great Spoil in the neighbouring Parts.

* *April* 15.

† In *Teviotdale*.

John Armstrong with many of his Followers hanged.

Not long after, the King restor'd the noble Men to their Liberty, having first taken Hostages from them; Of these, *Walter Scot*, to gratify the King, killed *Robert Johnston*, a noted Tory amongst

the Thieves, which bred a deadly Feud between the two Families, to the great loss and prejudice of them both.

The next Year, which was 1531, there happened a matter very memorable, neither did the Obscurity of the Author, nor the Curiosity of the Time, which made a strict Enquiry thereinto, abate any thing of Mens Admiration of the Novelty thereof. One || *John Scot*, a Man of no Learning, nor of any great Experience in Business, neither had he a subtil Wit of his own to impose Tricks upon Men, being overthrown in a Law-suit, and not having Ability to pay Damages, hid himself some days in the Sanctuary of the Monastery of *Holy-Rood-House*, without eating or drinking any thing at all. When the thing was known and related to the King, he commanded that his Apparel should be chang'd and diligently search'd, and so caus'd him to be kept apart from all Company in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where every Day Bread and Water was set before him, but he voluntarily abstained from all human Food for thirty two days. After that time, as if he had been sufficiently tried, he was brought forth naked into publick view, where, the People flocking about him, he made them a long, but sorry, Speech, in which there was nothing memorable, but that he affirm'd, he was assisted by the Virgin *Mary* to fast as long as he himself pleased. This Answer, savouring of Simplicity, rather than Craft, he was releas'd from his Imprisonment, and went to *Rome*, where he was also impriſon'd by Pope *Clement*, until he had fasted long enough to convince him of the Truth of the Miracle: Then they clothed him with the Habit that Priests say Mass in, and bestowed many Presents on him, and gave him a Testimonial under the *Leaden-Seal*, which is of great Authority amongst the Papists: Whereupon he went to *Venice*, where he also confirm'd their Belief by his miraculous Fasting; and, alleging, That he was obliged by a Vow he had made, to visit *Jerusalem*, he receiv'd of them fifty Ducats of Gold for his Charges on the way. At his Return, he brought back some Leaves of Palm-trees, and a Bag full of Stones, which, he said, were taken out of the Pillar, which Christ was tied to, when he was scourg'd. In his Return, he past through *London*, and mounted the Pulpit in *Paul's* Church-yard, and, in a great Audience of People, preached much about the Divorce of King *Henry* from his Queen, and of his Defection from the See of *Rome*; his Words were bitter, and if he had been looked upon of any Repute for Wisdom, he must have eaten them again; but, being imprisoned for some time, and having wholly abstained from Food for almost fifty days together, he was dismiss'd. When he came back to *Scotland*, he would have joined himself to one *Thomas Doughty*, who about that time came from *Italy*, and had built a Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, out of the Alms the People had given him, and had got great Gain by his feigned Miracles. But the Life of this *Thomas* was sufficiently known to be very wicked; and the Cheats of his pretended Miracles were discovered, yet no Man durst openly gainsay him, for fear of the Bishops, who, by this their new *Atlas*, sought to prop up the Pile of their Purgatory, then a tottering; and he, to requite them for their Courtesy, when any

|| The strange, and (seemingly) miraculous Fast of one *John Scot*, for many weeks together, with his Story.

Thomas Doughty a great Cheat.

any of the richer ſort of Prieſts came to the Place, where he was to ſay Maſs, had ſtill one Beggar or other ready at hand, to counterfeit himſelf mad, or diſeaſed in Body, that ſo (forſooth) by his Maſſing, he might be recovered and healed. But *Thomas* rejected *John Scot*, becauſe he was not willing to admit any other into the Society of his Gain, and thereupon he hired an obſcure Cell in the Suburbs of *Edinburgh*; and there, having erected an Altar, and furniſhed it according to his Ability, he ſet up his own Daughter, who was young, but very beautiful, with Wax-Tapers lighted about her, to be adored, inſtead of the Virgin *Mary*. But that way of Gain not anſwering his Expectation, he returned to his old courſe of Life, having gain'd nothing by all his prepoſterous Diſſimulation of Sanctity, but to let all Men know, that he wanted not a Will, but Ability rather, to become an errand Cheat.

At the beginning of the following Year, which was 1532, the Earl of *Bothwel* was committed Priſoner to *Edinburgh*-Caſtle, *January* 16, becauſe he had taken a private Journy into *England*, and there had ſecret Conference with the Earl of *Northumberland*. *John Sunderland*, a Knight, by reaſon of the great Prudence, Integrity and Authority, which he had amongſt all good Men, even beyond his State and Degree, was ſent to *Hermitage* (a Caſtle of *Liddiſdale*) to reſtrain the Incurſions of Thieves and Robbers.

Of ancient time, there had been no fix'd Days, nor any ſet Place, appointed for Matters of *Niſi Prius*, to be handled by the Judges, until *John* Duke of *Albany* had obtained of the Pope, that a yearly Sum of Mony, as much as was ſufficient to pay a Salary to a few * Judges, ſhould be charged on the Eccleſiaſtical Order, and 'twas to be levied on every one, according to the value of his Benefice: *Gawin Dunbar*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, hereupon made his Appeal to the Pope, in the behalf of himſelf and other Prieſts. The Controverſy held from the 11*th* of *March* to the 24*th* of *April*; and then there was a College of Judges ſettled at *Edinburgh*. At their firſt Sitting, they deviſed many advantageous Projects for the equal diſtribution of Juſtice, yet the hoped Event did not follow. For ſeeing in *Scotland* there are almoſt no Laws, but Decrees of the Eſtates, and many of them too made not for perpetuity, but temporary; and the Judges hinder the enacting of Laws what they can: The Eſtates of all the Subjects were committed to the Pleaſure of fifteen Men, who were to have a perpetual Power, and even a Tyrannical Government, for their Wills were their Laws. In favour of the Pope, they were very ſevere againſt the *Lutherans*; and the Pope, on the contrary, to gratify a King ſo well deſerving at his Hands, gave him the Tithes of all Parſonages, for the next Year following.

Fifteen Judges, with Salary, appointed to decide Controverſal Matters in *Scotland*;

But quickly diſuſed.

This Year, the * *Engliſh* perceived that the State of Affairs in *Scotland* grew every day more quiet than other; but yet, that they were deſtitute of foreign Aid, becauſe they themſelves had joined with the *French* againſt *Charles* the *Emperor*. Hereupon they ſought out an occaſion for a War. In *April* they made an Expedition out of *Berwick*, and ſpoiled *Coldingham*, *Douglas*, and many other neighbouring Towns, and drove away great Booty. They had no

* The *Engliſh* make War upon *Scotland*.

apparent Provocation, neither did they denounce War before-hand. How eager they were upon War, appears by that King's Proclamation ſoon after publiſh'd, wherein 'twas ſaid, that the Gariſon of *Berwick* was provoked by ſome licentious and contumelious Words, which the *Scots* had let fall. But the Words mentioned in the Proclamation carry no Contumely in them at all. But, this Cauſe not ſeeming juſt enough for a War, they demanded † *Canabie*, a ſmall Village in the Borders, with a poor Monaſtery in it, as if it belonged to them, which they never pretended to, before; and likewiſe, that the *Douglaſſes* might be reſtor'd. For the King of *England* perceiving, that his Aid was abſolutely neceſſary to the *French* King, ſo that he could by no means want it; and alſo knowing, that he had him faſt in a League, wherein the Intereſt of *Scotland* was not conſidered; hereupon, he thought it no hard Matter to bring the *Scots* to what Conditions he pleaſed: Moreover, becauſe the Emperor was alienated from him by the Peace with *France*, and the Divorce with his Aunt; and the Pope of *Rome* did raiſe up Wars amongſt all Chriſtian Princes, he thought he ſhould omit a great opportunity at home for innovating of things, if he neglected That: The King of *Scots*, that he might not be unprovided againſt this Storm, by a publick Proclamation, made all over the Kingdom, appointed his Brother, the Earl of *Murray*, to be his Vicegerent; and becauſe the Borderers of themſelves were not able to cope with the *Engliſh*, who had alſo a great number of Auxiliaries with them, he divided the Kingdom into four Parts, and commanded each of them to ſend out the ableſt Men amongſt them with their Clans, and Proviſion for fourty Days. Theſe Forces, thus ſucceeding one another by turns, made great Havock in the Towns and Caſtles in thoſe Parts; ſo that the King of *England* was fruſtrated in his Expectation, ſeeing the War was likely to be drawn out in length; and other Concerns were alſo to be cared for by him, and therefore he was willing to hearken to a Peace, but would have it ſought for at his Hands; for he thought, it was not for his Honour, either to offer it, or to ſeek it of himſelf. And therefore it ſeem'd moſt convenient to tranſact the Matter by the King of *France*, the common Friend to both Nations. Whereupon the *French* King ſent his Embaſſador, ‖ *Stephen D'Aix*, into *Scotland*, to enquire, by whoſe Default ſuch a War was commenced between the two Neighbour-Kings. The King of *Scots* clearly acquitted himſelf from being any Cauſe of the War; he alſo made a Complaint to him, how long his Ambaſſadors had been detained in *France*, without Hearing: And, at the Ambaſſador's Departure, he ſent Letters by him to his Maſter, deſiring him to obſerve the ancient League, which was renewed by *John* the Regent at *Roan*; he alſo ſent *David Beton* into *France*, to anſwer the Calumnies of the *Engliſh*, and, beſides, to treat concerning the keeping of the old League, and to contract a new Affinity between *France* and *Scotland*. He alſo ſent Letters, by him, to the Parliament of *Paris*, very bitter and full of Complaints, concerning thoſe matters, which had been tranſacted and agreed between *Francis* their King, and *John*, Regent of *Scotland*; how that ancient Friendſhips, Pacts and

Agree-

† Upon the River *Eſk*.

‖ The *French* Ambaſſador mediates a Peace between the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Kings.

Agreements were ſlighted in behalf of Thoſe, who were once their common Enemies. His Ambaſſador *Beton* was commanded, if he ſaw that the things, he had in Command, did not ſucceed well in *France*, to deliver thoſe Letters to the Council of the Judges, and preſently to withdraw himſelf into *Flanders*, with an Intent (as it might be conjectured) to make a League, Agreement and Affinity, with the Emperor.

In the mean time, War was waged in *Britain*, and Diſputes were manag'd at *New-caſtle*, concerning the Lawfulneſs thereof; when the Embaſſadors ſent from both Nations, could not agree on terms of Peace, *Monſieur Guy Flower* was ſent over by the King of *France* to compoſe matters: The *Scotiſh* King told him, that he would gratify his Maſter, as far as ever he was able, and alſo he had ſome Communication with him, as much as was ſeaſonable at that time, concerning the conjugal Affinity, about which he had ſent Embaſſadors before, which were then in *France*. *Flory*, or *Flower*, being thus the Umpire for Peace; the Gariſons were withdrawn on both ſides from the Borders, and a Truce was made, which was afterwards followed with a Peace: When the Peace was ſettled, the King having for ſome Years laſt paſt, tranſacted Buſineſs with the King of *France*, and with the * Emperor by his Embaſſadors, about a matrimonial Contract, now being freed from other cares, his Thoughts were more intent that way, than ever. For, beſides the common cauſes which might incline him to ſome potent Alliance, he was thoughtful how to perpetuate his Family by Iſſue of his Body, he himſelf being the laſt Male that was left alive; inſomuch that his next Heirs had already conceived a firm hope in their Minds of the Kingdom, which did not a little trouble Him, who was otherwiſe ſuſpicious enough of himſelf: And indeed, things did very much concur to raiſe them up to that hope; as for inſtance, their own domeſtick Power, the Kings being a Batchelor, his Venturouſneſs in ſlighting all Danger, ſo that he would not only ſtoutly undergo all Hazards, but often court and invite Them; for with a ſmall party, he would march againſt the fierceſt Thieves, and tho they were ſuperior in number, yet he would either prevent them by his Speed, or elſe fright them by the Reverence of his Name, and ſo force them to a Surrender; he would ſit Night and Day on Horſe-back in this Employment, and if he did take any Refreſhment or Food, 'twas that which he lighted on by chance, and but little of that neither.

* *James* tranſacts with the French King, and afterwards with the Emperour, about a Match;

Theſe Circumſtances made the † *Hamiltons* almoſt confident of the Succeſſion, yet it ſeem'd to them a long way about to ſtay for either fortuitous or natural Dangers, and therefore they ſtudied to haſten his Death by Treachery. A fair Opportunity was offer'd them to effect it by his Night-Walkings to his *Miſſes*, having but one or two in his Company. But all theſe things not anſwering their Expectation, they reſolved to cut off the hope of lawful Iſſue, by hindring his Marriage, what they could; although *John* Duke of *Albany*, when he was *Regent*, ſeemed to have made ſufficient Proviſion againſt that Inconvenience, for when he renewed the ancient League between the *French* and *Scots* at || *Roan*, he had inſerted one

† Which the *Hamiltons* labour to hinder.

|| The chief City of *Normandy*.

one Article, that *James* ſhould marry *Francis*'s eldeſt Daughter. But there were two Impediments in the way, which almoſt broke off, and cut this League aſunder. For *Francis*, being freed out of the Hand of the *Spaniard*, by the Induſtry and Diligence principally of *Henry* the 8*th*, had entred into ſo ſtrict a League with the *Engliſh*, that the *Scotiſh* League was much intrenched upon thereby; and beſides, the eldeſt Daughter of *Francis* was deceas'd a while before, and therefore *James* deſired *Magdalen*, his next Daughter, to Wife, and ſent Embaſſadors over to that purpoſe; but her Father excuſed the matter, alleging, that his Daughter was of ſo weak a Conſtitution of Body, that there was little hopes of Children by her; no, nor hardly any Likelihood of her Life it ſelf, for any long time.

About the ſame time, there was an Affinity treated of with *Charles* the Emperor by Embaſſadors, and at length the 24*th* day of *April*, 1534. The Emperor ſent *Godſcalk Ericus*, that the matter might be carry'd with greater Secrecy, from *Toledo* in *Spain*, through *Ireland*, to *James*. After he had declared the Commands, he had in charge from the Emperor, concerning the Wrongs offer'd to his Aunt *Catharine* and her Daughter, by King *Henry*; concerning the calling a general Council; concerning the rooting out the Sect of the *Lutherans*; and concerning contracting an Affinity. The Emperor, by his Letters, gave the King his choice of three *Marys*, all of them of his Blood; they were, *Mary* Siſter to *Charles*, a Widow, ever ſince the Death of her Husband *Lewis* of *Hungary*, who was ſlain in Battel by the *Turks*; *Mary* of *Portugal* the Daughter of his Siſter *Leonora*; and *Mary* of *England*, his Niece by his Aunt *Catharine*: And becauſe *Charles* knew, that King *James* was more inclinable to this laſt Match, he alſo ſhewed a greater Propenſion thereunto, that ſo he might take off *James* from his valuing of, and adhering to, the League with *Francis*, and at the ſame time might ſet him at ods with *Henry*. *James* made anſwer, that the Marriage with *England* was indeed, in many reſpects, moſt advantageous, if it could be obtained, but 'twas a Buſineſs of uncertain Hope, but of great Danger and Toil, and would be encumber'd with ſo many Delays, that his ſingle Life, he being the laſt of his Family, could hardly bear it; and therefore of all *Caſar*'s Neices, he told Him, that the Daughter of *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark* was moſt convenient for him, who was begotten upon *Iſabel*, the Siſter of *Charles*. A while after, *Charles* anſwered this his Demand from *Madrid*, that ſhe was already promiſed to another, and though *Caſar* by offering Conditions ſeem'd rather to prolong the matter, than really to bring it to paſs, yet the Treaty was not wholly laid aſide. Matters being quiet at home, *James* reſolved to go a Ship-board to take a View of all his Dominions round about, and to curb the ſtubborn Spirits of the *Iſlanders*, and make them more obedient. Firſt, he ſailed to the *Orcades*, where he quieted all Diſorders, by apprehending and impriſoning a few of the Nobility, he gariſon'd two Caſtles there, his Own and the Biſhops; afterwards he viſited the reſt of the Iſlands, and ſent for the chief Men to come to him; thoſe that refus'd, he ſeiz'd by force; he laid a

* Three *Marys* offered by *Charles* the Emperor, to King *James*, out of which to chuſe a Conſort.

† King *James* viſits the *Orcades*, and other Iſles of *Scotland*.

Tax

Tax on them, took Hoſtages, and carried away with him, thoſe who were moſt likely to be Incendiaries, and clapping ſome of his own Train into their Caſtles, he ſent the leading Men of them, ſome to *Edinburgh*, and ſome to *Dunbar*, Priſoners: For about that time, *John* Duke of *Albany* had ſurrendred up *Dunbar* to the King, which till then had been kept by a French Gariſon. In the next Month of *Auguſt*, great Severity was uſed againſt the || *Lutherans*, ſome were compelled to make a publick Recantation; others, refuſing to appear upon Summons, were baniſhed. Two were burnt, of which one named *David Straiton* was free enough from *Lutheraniſm*, but he was accuſed thereof, becauſe he was ſomewhat refractary in Payment of Tithes to the Collectors of them, and ſo was put to Death only for a ſuppoſed Crime. In an Aſſembly which the King cauſed to be convened at *Jedburgh*, in order to the ſuppreſſing of the Robbers thereabouts; *Walter Scot* was condemned of high Treaſon, and ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh* Caſtle, where he remained, as long as the King lived. The ſame Month of *Auguſt*, when *Francis* (as I ſaid before) had excuſed his Daughters Marriage on account of her Health, but withal had offer'd him any other of the Blood Royal: The King ſent Embaſſadors into *France*, *James* Earl of *Murray*, *Vice-roy* of the Kingdom, and *William Stuart* Biſhop of *Aberdene* (thoſe Two went by Sea) and *John Erskin* by Land, becauſe he had ſome Commands to deliver to *Henry* of *England* by the way. To them be added a Fourth, *i. e. Robert Reed*, a good Man, and highly prudent. There * *Mary* of *Bourbon*, the Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Vendoſme*, a Lady of the Blood was offer'd to them, as a fit Wife for their King: Other points were accorded eaſily enough, but the Embaſſadors, fearing, that this Marriage would not pleaſe their Maſter, would make no Eſpouſal, till they had acquainted him therewith. In the mean time, *Henry* of *England*, to trouble a matter which was upon the point of concluding, in *November*, ſent the Biſhop of St. *Davids* into *Scotland*, who brought *James* ſome Engliſh Books, containing the *Theſes's* of the Chriſtian Religion, deſiring *James* to read them, and diligently to weigh what was written therein; but he gave them to ſome of his Courtiers, who were moſt addicted to the Sacerdotal Order, to inſpect: They, before ever they had ſcarce look'd on them, condemn'd them as *Heretical*; and moreover, they highly gratulated the King, that he had not polluted his Eye (ſo they phraſed it) with reading ſuch peſtiferous † Books. This was the cauſe of their Embaſſy, according to common Vogue, yet, ſome ſay, that they brought ſome other ſecret Meſſages to *James*: Afterward, the ſame Biſhop (together with *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*,) came ſo unexpectedly to *Sterlin*, that they almoſt ſurprized the King, before he heard any News of their coming; their Errand was, that *Henry* deſir'd *James* to appoint a day of Interview, wherein they might confer together, for he had at that meeting things of high Concernment, and of mighty Advantage to both Nations to propound to him: In that Meſſage, he gave great hope, if other matters could be well accorded, that he would beſtow his Daughter in Marriage upon him, and leave him King

|| *Lutherans* ſeverely dealt with.

* *Mary* of *Bourbon* offered by *Francis* as a Wife to *James*.

† *Henry* of *England* ſends Controverſal Books of Divinity to *James*, by his Ambaſſadors.

King of all *Britain* after his Deceaſe; and that he might give more credit to his Promiſes, he would make him for the preſent, Duke of *York*, and Vice-roy of the Kingdom of *England*. *James* willingly aſſented to ſuch large and alluring Promiſes, and accordingly fixt a day for the Interview: But there were two Factions, which reſolved to oppoſe his Journy for *England*. || Firſt, the *Hamiltons*, who ſecretly laboured to keep the King from marrying, that ſo they being the next Heirs, he might have no Children to exclude them from the Succeſſion. And next, the Prieſts alſo were mightily againſt it; and their Pretences were ſeemingly juſt and honeſt, as firſt, the danger he would run, if with a ſmall Retinue he ſhould put himſelf into the Power of his old Enemy, for then he muſt comply with his Will, though it were never ſo much againſt his Own: They alſo recited the Examples of his Anceſtors, who, either by their own Credulity; or elſe by the Perfidiouſneſs of the Enemy, were drawn into a Nouſe; and from flattering Promiſes of Friendſhip, had brought home nothing but Ignominy and Loſs: They alſo urg'd the unhappy Miſtake of *James* the Firſt, who, in a time of Truce, landing, as he thought, in his Friends Country, was there kept Priſoner eighteen Years; and, at laſt, had ſuch Conditions impoſed upon him, which he neither lawfully could, nor ought to have accepted; and then, ſaid they, he was avariciouſly ſold to his own Subjects. Moreover, firſt *Malcolm*, after him his Brother *William*, Kings of *Scotland*, were brought on the Stage, who were inticed to *London* by *Henry* the 2*d*. and then carried over into *France*, to make a ſhew of aſſiſting in a War there, againſt the *French* King, their old Ally. But (ſay they) if it be objected, *Henry* the 8*th* will do none of theſe things; they anſwered firſt, How ſhall we be aſſured of that? next, Is it not a point of high Imprudence, to venture ones Fortune, Life and Dignity, which are now in ones own Power, into the Hands of another? Beſides, the Prieſts ſaw, that all their Concerns were now at ſtake, and therefore they muſt, now or never, ſtand up for them; in order whereto, they cauſed *James Beton*, Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and *George Creighton*, Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, two old decrepit Men, to come to Court, there to baul it out, That Religion would be betrayed by this Meeting and Interview, even, That Religion, (ſaid they) which had been obſerved ſo many Ages by their Anceſtors; and which had all along preſerved its Defenders, till now; The Ruin of which would be attended with the total Deſtruction of the Kingdom, alſo; to forſake that Religion, upon every light Grounds, eſpecially in ſuch a time, wherein the whole World doth conſpire together, with Arms in their Hands, for its Preſervation, could not be done without great Danger at preſent, and Infamy for future; yea, it would be a thing of great Wickedneſs and Impiety alſo. With theſe Engines they battered *James*'s Mind, which, of it ſelf, was inclined enough to Superſtition; and moreover, they corrupted thoſe Courtiers, who could do moſt with him, deſiring them, in their Names, to promiſe him a great Sum of Mony; ſo that hereby, they wholly turned away his Mind from the Thoughts of an Interview.* *Henry* took this Diſappointment in great Diſdain, (as

|| Ambaſſadors ſent by *Henry* to *James*, deſiring an Interview, which was agreed to;

Tho afterwards diſappointed upon ſeveral pretences.

* *Henry* takes the diſappointment of the Interview in great diſdain.

(as indeed he had reaſon ſo to do) and thus the Seeds of Diſſenſion were again ſown between the two Kings.

In the mean time, the King was weary of his ſingle Life, and by reaſon of foreign Embaſſies, and his Court-Diſtractions at home, was variouſly agitated in his Thoughts; all pretended the publick Good, but ſome aimed at their own private Advantage under that Vail, and though many perſuaded him to an Affinity with *Charles*, in regard of the flouriſhing Eſtate of the *Empire* at that time, yet he rather inclined to an Alliance with *France*. And therefore, ſeeing the matter could not be ended by Embaſſadors, he himſelf reſolved to ſail over into *France*, and accordingly, rigging out a ſmall Navy, the beſt he could fit in ſo ſhort a time, on the *26th* of *July* he ſet Sail from *Leith*, none knowing whither he would go; many were of opinion, that his Deſign was for *England*, to viſit his Uncle, and to ask him pardon for diſappointing the Interview, agreed on the Year before. But a Tempeſt ariſing, and being alſo toſs'd with contrary Winds, the Pilot ask'd him, what courſe he ſhould ſteer? If there be a neceſſity, ſaid he, *Land me any where but in* England: Then his Mind was underſtood. He might have return'd home, but he was willing rather to ſail round *Scotland*, and to try the Weſtern Ocean; there alſo he had very bad Weather, and by the advice of a few of his Domeſticks as he was aſleep, he was carried back again; when he was awake, he took the matter in ſuch great Indignation, that for ever after he bore an implacable Hatred againſt *James Hamilton*, (whom he alſo diſguſted before, upon the account of the killing the Earl of *Lennox*) neither was he well pleaſed with the reſt of the Authors of that Counſel, ever after; and there were ſome, who, in compliance with the King's angry Humour, buzz'd him in the Ears, That the *Hamiltons* under a pretence of a ſerviceable Attendance and Duty, had accompany'd him on purpoſe to undermine his Voyage. However he put to Sea again with a great Train of Nobles, *September* the *1ſt*, and in ten days arrived at *Diep* in *Normandy*; from thence, that he might prevent the News of his Arrival, he went diſguis'd, and in great ſpeed to the Town of *Vendoſme*, where the Duke then was, and ſaw his Daughter, which pleaſed him not, ſo that he preſently made haſte to Court; he came unexpectedly upon *Francis* and the whole Court, and yet was honourably receiv'd by him; and on the *26th* of *November*, almoſt againſt his Will, he beſtow'd in Marriage his Daughter *Magdalene* upon him; For her Father (as I related before) judging his eldeſt Daughter, by reaſon of her ſickly temper, unfit to bear Children, offer'd him his youngeſt, or any other Woman of the *French* Nobility, for a Wife: but *James* and *Magdalene* had contracted a Friendſhip by Meſſengers, which was confirmed by the mutual Sight, Meeting and Diſcourſe one with another, ſo that neither of them could be diverted from their purpoſe. The Marriage was celebrated *January* the *1ſt*, in the Year 1537, to the great Joy of all: and they both arrived in *Scotland* the *28th* of *May*, being attended by a *French* Navy. She lived not long after, but died of an *Hectick* Feaver *July* the *7th*, to the great Grief of all, except the Prieſts, for they feared, that her Life would

King *James* ſails over into *France*,

And marries *Magdalen*, that King's Daughter;

Who died ſoon after.

would have put an end to their Luxury and Ambition, because they knew, she was educated under the Discipline of her Aunt the Queen of *Navar*. As for others, they conceiv'd such a Grief for her Death, that then (as I think) Mourning Garments began first to be used in *Scotland*, which yet after forty Years do scarce continue to be worn, though the publick Manners do decline, and seem to require it. Ambassadors were presently sent into *France*, Cardinal *David Beton*, and *Robert Maxwel*, to bring over *Mary* of the House of *Guise*, Widow tothe Duke of *Longoville*; for the King, presaging the Loss of his Wife, had cast his Eye upon her. This same Year, the Earl of *Bothwel*, because he had past over secretly into *England*, and also had held private Cabals with the *English* in *Scotland*, was banish'd out of *England*, *Scotland* and *France*. Moreover, about the same time, many Persons were accused and condemned for high Treason; *John Forbes*, an active young Man, the Head of a great Family and Faction, was brought to his end, it was thought, by the Emulation of the *Huntly*'s; for there was one *Straughan*, a Man fit for any flagitious Enterprize, who was many Years very familiar with *Forbes*, and was either privy to, or else Partaker or Author of, all his bad Actions: He, being not as much respected by him, as he thought he deserv'd, deserted him, and apply'd himself to his Enemy, *Huntly*; and before him, accused *Forbes* of Treason, or (as many think) he there plotted the Accusation, with *Huntly* himself, against him) *viz.* That *Forbes*, many Years before, had a Design to kill the King. The Crime was not sufficiently prov'd against him, nor by fit and unexceptionable Witnesses, neither was the Plot of his Adversaries the *Huntlys* against his Life, hid in the Process; yet, on the 14*th* of *July*, the Judges, who were most of *Huntly*'s Faction, condemn'd him, and he had his Head struck off. His Punishment was the less lamented, because, though Men believed him guiltless, as to the Crime he suffered for; yet, they counted him worthy of Death, for the Flagitiousness of his former Life. *Straughan*, the Discoverer, because he had concealed so foul an Offence so long; was banish'd *Scotland*, and liv'd many Years after in *France*, so deboistly and filthily, that Men thought him a fit Instrument for any wicked Prank whatsoever. The King, not long after, as if he had repented of his Severity against *Forbes*, took another Brother of the *Forbes*'s into his Family, and another he advanced to a rich Match, restoring to them their Estate, which had been confiscate.

Mourning-garments when, and upon what occasion, first used in *Scotland*.

Ambassadors sent over into *France* to fetch *Mary* of the House of *Guise*.

Earl of *Bothwel* banished.

John Forbes condemn'd for Treason;

'Twas thought unjustly.

A few Days after, there was another Trial, which, on the account of the Family of the accused Parties, the Novelty of the Wickedness charged on them, and the heinousness of the Punishment was very lamentable. *Joan Douglas*, Sister to the Earl of *Angus*, and Wife to *John Lyons*, Lord of *Glames*; also her Son, and later Husband, *Gilespy Cambel*; *John Lyons*, Kinsman to her former Husband, and an old Priest, were accused for endeavouring to poison the King. All these, tho they lived continually in the Country, far from Court, and their Friends and Servants could not be brought to witness any thing against them, yet were put on the Rack, to make them confess, and so were condemn'd, and shut up

The Lady *Joan Douglas*, &c. accused for conspiring to poison the King,

up in *Edinburgh*-Caſtle. The fifth day after *Forbes* was executed, *Joan Douglas* was burnt alive, with the great Commiſeration of all the Spectators: The Nobleneſs, both of her ſelf and Husband, did much affect the Beholders; beſides, ſhe was in the vigour of her Youth, much commended for her rare Beauty, and, in her very Puniſhment, ſhe ſhewed a manlike Fortitude. But that which People were moſt concern'd for, was, That they thought the Enmity againſt her Brother, who was baniſh'd, did her more prejudice than her own (objected) Crime: Her Husband endeavoured to eſcape out of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, but the Rope being too ſhort, to let him down to the Foot of the Rock, he brake almoſt all the Bones of his Body in the Fall, and ſo ended his Days. Their Son, a young Man, and of greater innocent Simplicity, than to have the Suſpicion of ſuch a Wickedneſs juſtly charged upon him, was ſhut up Priſoner in the Caſtle; and, after the King's Death, was releaſed, and recovered the Eſtate, which had been taken away from his Parents. Their Accuſer was *William Lyons*; he afterwards perceiving, that ſo eminent a Family was like to be ruined by his falſe Information, repented when it was too late, and confeſs'd his Offence to the King; and yet he could not prevail, to prevent the Puniſhment of the Condemned, or to hinder their Eſtates from being confiſcate.

For which ſhe ſuffers Death, being burnt alive.

The next Year following, on the 12*th* of *June*, * *Mary* of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, arrived at † *Balcomy*, a Caſtle belonging to *James* Laird of *Lermont*; from whence ſhe was conveyed by Land to St. *Andrews*; and there, in a great Aſſembly of the Nobility, ſhe was married to the King. In the beginning of the Year following, which was 1539, many Perſons were apprehended, as ſuſpected of ‖ *Lutheraniſm*: And about the End of *February*, five were burnt, nine recanted, but many more were baniſh'd; amongſt the Sufferers of this Claſs, was * *George Buchanan*, who, when his Keepers were aſleep, made his Eſcape out of the Window of the Priſon, to which he was committed. This Year the Queen brought forth a † Son at St. *Andrews*; and the next Year, another in the ſame Place. Alſo this Year, and the former, Matters were rather ſomewhat huſhed than fully compoſed; ſome Men wanting rather a Leader, than an Occaſion, to rebel: For, tho many deſired it, yet no Man durſt openly avow himſelf Head of any Inſurrection. And now the King having Heirs to ſucceed him, and thereby becoming more confident of his Settledneſs and Eſtabliſhment, began to ſlight the Nobility, as a ſluggiſh and unwarlike Generation, and not likely to attempt any thing againſt him, whoſe Family was now rivetted and confirmed by Iſſue-Male: So that he applied his Mind to ſumptuous and unneceſſary Buildings; he ſtood in need of Mony for that Work; and, in regard he was as Covetous as he was Indigent, both Factions of Nobles and Prieſts were equally afraid, and each of them indeavoured to avert the Tempeſt from falling upon them, that it might light on the Other. And therefore, whenever the King complain'd of the Lowneſs of his Exchequer amongſt his Friends, One Party would extol the Riches of the Other, as if it were a Prey ready for the Seiſure; and the King hearkned ſometimes to the One, and ſometimes to the O-

* *Mary* of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, arrives in *Scotland*, and is married to K. *James*.

† In the Eaſt-corner of *Fife*.

‖ Troubles in *Scotland* about Religion.

* *George Buchanan*, the Author of this Hiſtory, impriſoned for the ſame cauſe, but makes his Eſcape.

† Queen *Mary* brings forth a Son, and the next year another.

ther, and so kept both in Suspence, between hope and fear: So that when * Ambassadors came at that time out of *England*, to Court, to desire the King to give his Uncle a Meeting at *York*, promising some mighty Advantages by that Interview, and making a large Harangue concerning the Love and Good-will of their King towards him: The Faction, which was adverse to the Priests, persuaded him, by all means, to meet at the Time and Place appointed: When the Sacerdotal Party heard of this, they thought their Order would be quite undone, if they did not hinder the Meeting; and so disturb the Concord, by casting in Seeds of Discord betwixt the King and his Nobles. And, considering of all ways how to effect it, no Remedy seemed more ready at hand for the present Malady, than to attempt the King's Mind, which was not able to resist Offers of Mony, by the Promises of large Subsidies; whereupon, they set before his Eyes the Greatness of the Danger, the doubtful and uncertain Credit of an Enemies Promise; that he might have a great Sum of Mony at home, and more easily procurable. First of all, They promised to give him of their own, 30000 Ducats of Gold, year by year; and all the rest of their Estates also should be at his Service; besides, enough to obviate future Emergencies, if any hapned; and as for those, who rebelled against the Authority of the *Pope*, and the King's, and so endeavoured to trouble the Peace of the Church, by new and wicked Errors; and thereby would subvert all Piety, overthrow the Rights of Magistracy, and cancel Laws of so long standing; out of their Estates he might get above an hundred thousand Ducats more, yearly, into his Exchequer, by way of Confiscation, if he would permit them to nominate a Lord-Chief-Justice in the Case, because they themselves could not, by Law, sit in Capital Causes to condemn any Man. And that, in the managing the Process against them, there would be no danger, nor any Delay in passing Sentence, seeing so many thousand Men were not afraid to take the Books of the Old and New Testament into their Hands; to discourse concerning the Power of the Pope; to contemn the ancient Ceremonies of the Church; and to detract from that Reverence and Observance, which was due to Religious Persons, consecrated to God's Service. This they urged upon him with such Vehemency, that he appointed them a Judg, according to their own Hearts, and that was ‖ *James Hamilton*, base Brother to the Earl of *Arran*; him they had oblig'd by great Gratuities before; and besides, he was resolv'd to conciliate the King's Favour, (who long since had been offended with him) with the Perpetration of some atoning Fact, though never so cruel.

* Ambassadors from *England*, to desire an Interview at *York*.

Which the Faction of the Ecclesiasticks prevent.

‖ *James Hamilton* set up for a Judge against *Lutherans*;

About the same time, there came into *Scotland*, *James Hamilton*, Sheriff of *Linlithgoe*, and Cousin-German to the former *James*: He, after a long Banishment, when he had commenced a Suit against *James* the Bastard, and had obtained leave to return, for a time, to his own Country; understanding in what Danger he and the rest of the Favourers of the Reformed Doctrine, were in, sent his Son in a Message to the King, as he was about to pass over into *Fife*; and having gotten him opportunely, before he went aboard, he filled

filled his Head, which was naturally ſuſpicious, with fearful Preſages, That this Commiſſion granted to *Hamilton*, would be a Capital Matter, and pernicious to the whole Kingdom, unleſs he did prevent this Sophiſtry by another Wile. The King, who was then haſtning into *Fife*, ſent the young Man back to *Edinburgh* to the Court, called the *Exchequer*-Court, where he alſo commanded to aſſemble *James Lermont*, *James Kircaldy*, and *Thomas Erskin*, of whom one was the Maſter of the Houſhold, the other Lord High Treaſurer, neither of them averſe from the Reformed Religion; the Third was highly of the Popiſh Faction, and his Secretary. Theſe were all ordered to meet: And the King commanded them to give the ſame Credit to the Meſſenger, as they would do to himſelf, if he were preſent; and ſo took the Ring off his Finger, and ſent it them as a known Token between them: They laid their Heads together, and apprehended *James* juſt after he had dined, and had fitted himſelf for his Journy, and committed him Priſoner to the Caſtle. But having Intelligence by their Spies at Court, that the King was pacified, and that he would be releaſed, beſides the publick Danger, they were afraid alſo for their particular ſelves, leſt a Man, factious and potent, being releaſed, after he had been provoked by ſo great an Affront and Ignominy, ſhould afterwards ſtudy a cruel and bitter Revenge againſt them: Whereupon they ſpeedily haſtned to Court, and inform'd the King of the Imminency of the Danger, of the naughty Diſpoſition, Fierceneſs and Power of the Man, all which they augmented, to raiſe the greater ſuſpicion upon him; ſo that they perſuaded the King not to ſuffer ſo crafty, and withal ſo puiſſant, a Perſon, being alſo provoked by this late Diſgrace, to be ſet at Liberty, without a legal Trial. Whereupon the King came to *Edinburgh*, and from thence to *Seton*, where he cauſed *James* to be brought to his Trial, and in a Court legally conſtituted, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, he was condemned, and had his Head ſtruck off, his Body was cut up after his Execution, and his Quarters hanged up in the publick Places of the City. The Crimes objected againſt him, in behalf of the King, were, That on a certain Day he had broke open the King's Bed-Chamber, and had deſigned to kill him, and that he had driven on ſecret Deſigns with the *Douglaſſes*, who were declared publick Enemies. Few were grieved for his Death, (becauſe of the Wickedneſs of his former Life) ſave only his own Kindred, and the Sacerdotal Order, who had placed all the Hopes of their Fortunes, in a manner, upon his Life only.

But prevented from executing his Commiſſion;

Impriſoned,

Tried,

Condemned, and put to Death.

From that time forward, the King increaſed in his Suſpicions againſt the Nobility; and beſides, he was exerciſed with ſundry diſtracting Cares, inſomuch that his unquiet Mind was much troubled with Dreams in the Night. There was One more remarkable than the reſt, which was much talked of, That in his Sleep, he ſaw *James Hamilton*, running at him with his drawn Sword, and that he, firſt, cut off his Right Arm, then his Left, and threatned him ſhortly to come, and take away his Life, and then diſappeared; when he awoke in a Fright, and pondering many things about the Event of his Dream, at laſt Word was brought him, that both

King *James*'s preſaging Dream.

* His two Sons depart this Life.

* both of his Sons departed this Life, almoſt at one and the ſame moment of Time, one at St. *Andrews*, and the other at *Sterlin*.

In the mean while, there was not a certain Peace, nor yet an open War, with the King of *England*, who was alienated, and offended afore; inſomuch, that, without any denunciation of a War, Preys were driven from the Borders of *Scotland*. Neither would the *Engliſh*, when called upon to make Reſtitution, give any favourable anſwer: So that all Men ſaw, That *Henry* was in an high Indignation, becauſe of the fruſtration of the Interview at *York*. And *James*, tho he knew that War was certainly at hand, and therefore had made Levies for that purpoſe, and had appointed his Brother the Earl of *Murray*, to be General of all his Forces, and had alſo made all neceſſary Preparation for a Defence, yet he ſent an Ambaſſador to the Enemy, if 'twere poſſible, to compoſe Matters without Blows: In the mean time, *George Gordon* was ſent to the Borders, with a ſmall Force, to prevent the pillaging Incurſions of the Enemy. The *Engliſh* deſpiſed the paucity of the *Gordonians*, and therefore haſten'd to burn *Jedburgh*. But *George Hume*, with 500 Horſe, interpos'd and charg'd them briskly; and, after a ſhort Fight, when they ſaw the *Gordons* a coming, they were put into a Fright, and ſo fled away ſcatteringly, to eſcape their Enemies; there were not many ſlain, but ſeveral taken Priſoners. *James Lermont*, who was treating about a Peace at *New-Caſtle*, had ſcarce received his anſwer; but, that the War might be carry'd on the more cunningly, he was commanded to return, in company of the *Engliſh* Army: Moreover, *John Erskin*, and .... were ſent Ambaſſadors from *Scotland* to meet the ſaid Army at *York*, where they were detained by *Howard*, the General, and never diſmiſſed, till they came to *Berwick*. *James*, being aſſured by his Spies, before the return of his Ambaſſadors, of the marching on of the *Engliſh* Army, formed his Camp at *Falkirk*, about 14 Miles from the Borders, but ſent *George Gordon* before, with ten thouſand Men, to prevent the plunderings of the *Engliſh*; yet, he did nothing conſiderable, and had not ſo much as a light Skirmiſh with the Enemy. The King of *Scotland* was mighty earneſt to give Battel, but the Nobility would not hear of it, by any means; ſo that he was full of Wrath, and brake forth in a Rage againſt them, calling them *Cowards, and unworthy of their Anceſtors*, ever and anon telling them, That *ſeeing he was betrayed by them, he himſelf and his own Family would do that, which they had cowardly refuſed to do*; neither could he be appeaſed, tho they came about him and told him, That he had done enough for his Honour, That he had not only kept the *Engliſh* Army, which was ſo long time a levying, and that had aſſaulted *Scotland* on a ſudden, (and that, with Threats to do great Matters) from wandring up and down for depredation, but alſo, for the ſpace of 8 Days, that it remained in *Scotland*, had ſo pent them up, that they never marched above a Mile from the Borders; for after they drew out of *Berwick* they went as far as* *Kelſo* up againſt the Stream; and there being informed of the march of the *Scotiſh* Army, they paſs'd over the Ford, being ſo fearful to ingage, that they ruſh'd into the River ſcatteringly, and in no order at all: and as every one paſs'd over, they

Henry of *England*, being affronted about the Interview, prepares War againſt *James*;

And ſends an Army againſt him, commanded by *Howard*, his General.

The Nobility of *Scotland* refuſe to fight againſt *England*; which moves *James*'s Paſſion againſt them.

* Standing upon the *Tweed*, 14 Miles above *Berwick*.

they left their Colours and haſtn'd home, the neareſt way they could; *Gordon*, in the mean time, who ſaw this afar off, not ſtirring at all, nor making any attempt upon them, in their Rear. For which, the King conceived againſt him an implacable hatred. *Maxwel*, to appeaſe the King's Anger, as much as he could, promiſed, if he might have ten thouſand Men, to march into *England* by the *Solway*, and to do ſome conſiderable Service; and he would have been as good as his Word, unleſs the King, being angry with his Nobles, had given ſecret Letters, and a Commiſſion, to *Oliver Sinclare*, Brother to the Laird of *Roſſelin*, which he was not to open till ſuch a prefixt time. The Contents were, That the whole Army ſhould acknowledg him for their General; *James*'s Deſign therein was, That, if his Army had the better, the Glory of the Victory might not redound to the Nobles. When they were come into their Enemies Countrey, and about 500 Engliſh Horſe appeared on the Neighbour-Hills, *Oliver Sinclare* was lifted up on high by thoſe of his Faction, and, leaning upon two Spears, cauſed the King's Commiſſion to be read; at which, the whole Army was ſo offended, and eſpecially *Maxwel*, that they broke their Ranks and ran in, higly piggly, one among another: Their Enemies, tho accuſtomed to Wars, yet never hoped for ſo great an Advantage, when, from the upper Ground, they beheld all things in ſuch a Confuſion amongſt them, ran in upon them with a great Shout, (as their manner is) and ſo aſſaulted them as they were in a Fright, and hovering between the deſign of Flying or Fighting; and thus Horſe, Foot and Baggage were all driven confuſedly into the next Marſhes, where many were taken by the *Engliſh*, more by the *Scotiſh* Moſs-Troopers, and ſold to the *Engliſh*. When this loſs of his Army was brought to the King, who was not far off, he was moved, beyond meaſure, with Indignation, Anger and Grief, inſomuch, that his Mind was diſtracted Two ways; ſometimes, to take Revenge of the perfidiouſneſs of his own People, (as he called it) and ſometimes to make Preparation for a new War, and Retrieval of his Affairs. But in that almoſt deſperate ſtate of things, it ſeemed the beſt way to make a Truce with the *Engliſh*, and to call back *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, on the beſt Conditions he could. But his Body being worn out with Watching and Faſting, and his Mind overwhelmed with Cares, he dyed, a few Days after, on the 13*th* of *December*, leaving his Daughter, his Heireſs, a Child of about five Days old; he was buried the 19 of *January* in the Monaſtery of *Holyrood*, near his firſt Wife *Magdalene*. In his life-time, his Countenance and the Make of his Body were very Comly, his Stature indifferent Tall, but his Strength, above the Proportion of his Body; his Wit was ſharp, but not ſufficiently cultivated with Learning, through the fault of the Times. His Diet was ſparing, he ſeldom drank Wine, he was moſt patient of Labour, Cold, Heat and Hunger; he would often ſit on Horſe-back, Night and Day, in the coldeſt Winter, that ſo he might catch the Thieves unawares; and his Nimbleneſs ſtruck ſuch fear into them, that they abſtained from their ill Pranks, as if he had always been preſent amongſt them: He was ſo well acquainted with the Cuſtoms of his Country, that he would give juſt Anſwers

K. *James* ſends an Army into *England*,

Which is defeated.

The overthrow of his Army breaks his Heart.

K. *James* the 5*th* his Character.

swers concerning weighty Matters, even on the High-way, as he rode on a Journy, with a great deal of Readiness and Prudence: He was of easy Access, even to the poorest. But his great Virtues were almost equalled by as many Vices, yet they had this Alleviation, That they seemed imputable rather to the Time he lived in, than to his own Disposition and Nature. For such an universal Licentiousness had over-run All, that Publick Discipline could not be retrieved, but with a great deal of Severity and Strictness. That which made him so covetous of Money, was, That, when he was under the Tutelage of others, he was educated in great Parsimony, and as soon as ever he came to be of Age, he entered into an empty Palace; for all his Houshold-Stuff was embezill'd: So that, all the Rooms of his House were to be new-furnish'd, at once; and his Guardians had expended his own proper Patrimony on those uses, which he wholly disapproved; besides, the Instructors of him in his Youth, made him more inclinable to Women, because, by that means, they hoped to have him longer under their Tuition. A great part of the Nobility did not much lament his Death, because he had banished some of them, and kept many others in Prison, and many, for fear of his Severity (a fresh Disgust being now added to their former Contempt) chose rather to surrender themselves to the *English* King, their Enemy, than to commit themselves to the Anger of their own King.

The

The Fifteenth BOOK.

Mary and *Henry Stuart*, the CVIIth *Queen and King*.

THE King dying in the Flower of his Age, rather of Grief than any Diſeaſe; the Tumults of the former Times were rather huſh'd aſleep than compos'd, ſo that wiſe Men foreſaw ſo great a Tempeſt impending over *Scotland*, as they had never heard of the like in ancient Records, nor had themſelves ſeen any like: The King had not ſo much as ordered his own Domeſtick Affairs, but had left a Daughter, born about 8 Days before his Death, Heireſs to the Crown; as for thoſe of the Nobility, who had born any ſway, either they were kill'd in Battel, or elſe were baniſh'd, or taken Priſoners by the Enemy. And if they had been at home, yet, by reaſon of private Animoſities, or of Diſſenſion on the account of Religion, which were ſtifled out of fear, during the King's Life; but now, that Reſtraint being taken off, were likely to break forth, they were at Diſcord amongſt themſelves, ſo that they were not likely to act like ſober Men.

And beſides, they had War abroad againſt a moſt Puiſſant King, and how he would uſe his Victory, every one ſpoke ſeverally according to his Hope or Fear. He that was the ſecond Heir, and next to the Crown, as he was not commonly reported to have much of Virtue, even for the management of his private Life, ſo he was as little noted for Counſel or Valour to manage a Kingdom. As for the * *Cardinal*, he thinking that, in theſe publick Calamities, he might have an Opportunity to greaten himſelf, that he might ſhew himſelf *Some body*, both to his own Order, and alſo to the *French* Faction, undertook an Attempt both bold and impudent. For he hired *Henry Balfore*, a Mercenary Prieſt, to ſuborn a falſe Will of the Kings, wherein he himſelf was nominated to the Supream Authority, with Three of the Potenteſt of the Nobility, to be his Aſſeſſors. He conceived an hope, that his Project would ſucceed, from the Diſpoſition of the Earl of *Arran*, which was not turbulent, but rather inclinable to quietneſs and reſt. And beſides, he was near of Kin to him, for he was Son to the Cardinal's Aunt: And further, he was one of thoſe Three Perſons, who was aſſum'd into a Partnerſhip in the Government. Moreover, the Opportunity to invade the Supream Power ſeem'd to require haſte, that he might prevent the return of the Priſoners, and of thoſe that were baniſhed, out of *England*, That ſo they might have no Hand in conferring of this Honour upon him, for he was afraid of their Power and Popularity; neither did he doubt, but that their Minds were alienated from him upon the ſcore of a different Religion: That was the Cauſe, that preſently after the King's Death he publiſhed the Edict, concerning

Cardinal *Beton* ſuborns a falſe Will of King *James*, therein nominating himſelf with three Aſſeſſors to be Vicegerents of the Kingdom.

the chuſing of four Governours for the Kingdom. He alſo bribed ſome of the Nobles by Promiſes and Gifts to ingage them to his Faction, and eſpecially the Queen, who was ſomewhat diſaffected to the adverſe Party. But *Hamilton*, the Head of the contrary Faction, was a Man not ambitious, but rather willing to live in quiet, (as was offer'd him) if his Kindred would have ſuffer'd him, but they ſtudying their own Humour and Intereſt, rather than his Honour, Night and Day puffed up the Mind of the young Gentleman, with ſtrange Hopes, and adviſed him by no means to let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity put into his Hands, for they had rather have Things all in a Combuſtion, than to live in a fix'd and private condition of Life. And beſides, the Hatred of the Cardinal got them ſome Friends, and the Indignity of their Bondage under a Mercenary Prieſt. They had alſo ſome appearance of hope, which, tho uncertain in it ſelf, yet was not inefficacious to ſtir up Mens Endeavours, That ſeeing *Hamilton* was the next Heir, many of them entertained ſuch Thoughts as theſe, That a Female, ſo few days old, and which was the only Perſon betwixt him and the Crown, might meet with many Miſchances, either caſually, or by the fraud of her Superviſors, before ſhe came to be Marriageable. Thus they laid the Foundation of the Greatneſs of the *Hamilton*'s for a long time after, yet ſo that it ſeemed moſt adviſeable to them, not to neglect the Advantage which the preſent State of Things did offer, and thus to cheriſh an hope of the future Advancement of the *Hamilton*'s, and if that hope did deceive them, yet it would not be difficult for them to regain the Favour, or at leaſt the Pardon, of a new Princeſs, who in the beginning of her Reign would ſtudy to win the Reſpects of all Men.

Hamilton oppoſes the Cardinal.

Whilſt Things were at this paſs in *Scotland*, the King of *England*, out of his extraordinary Joy for ſo unexpected a Victory, ſent for the chief of the *Scotiſh* Priſoners up to *London*, where after they had been impriſon'd in the Tower, two Days; on St. *Thomas* day, which was the 20*th* of *December*, they were brought all through the City, where it was the longeſt, as if they were to be ſhown as a publick Spectacle to the People, and coming to *Whitehal*, the King's Court, they were ſharply reprov'd by the *Chancellor*, as Violators of the League; and after he had made a large Diſcourſe concerning the Goodneſs and Clemency of his King, who had remitted much of that Rigour of Juſtice, he might have uſed towards them, they were diſtributed into ſeveral Families, as to a larger Priſon. There were ſeven of the Nobility, and twenty four of the Gentry, beſides. But when the News came three days after, That the King of *Scots* was dead, and had left one only Daughter, his Heireſs. *Henry* thought it a fit opportunity to conciliate and unite the Minds both of *Scots* and *Engliſh* in a Band of Concord, by eſpouſing his Son to their Queen. Upon this, he recalled the Priſoners to Court, and imployed ſome fit Perſons to feel their Pulſes in the Caſe, where being kindly entertained, and promiſing to afford their Aſſiſtance towards the Match, as far as they might, without detriment to the Publick, or their own Diſhonour; on the Firſt of *January*, at the beginning of the Year 1543, they were all releaſed and ſent back towards

towards *Scotland*: When they came to *Newcaſtle*, and had given Hoſtages to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, as to other matters, they were free, and ſo returned home. There returned alſo with them the *Douglas*'s, two Brothers, being reſtored to their Country, now fifteen Years after their Baniſhment. They were all received with the Gratulation of the major part of the People. The Cardinal, who ſaw that this Storm gathered againſt him, as making no doubt, but the Priſoners and the Exiles would be both his Contrariants in the Parliament, had taken care to be choſen *Regent* before their coming, but he injoy'd not that Honour long; for within a few days, his Fraud, in counterfeiting the King's Will and Teſtament, being diſcovered, he was thrown out of his Place, and * *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran* made *Regent*: That which occaſioned his ſetting up, was, becauſe ſome were willing to curry favour with him, as the next Heir of the Crown; Others foreſaw, ſo long before, the Cruelty of the Cardinal in matters of Religion, and therefore provided againſt it, by leſſening his Power. Their Fear was increas'd upon this ground, that there was found amongſt the King's Papers, after his Death, a Liſt, wherein the Names of above 300 of the Nobility were contained as Criminals, and amongſt them, He, now choſen Regent, was firſt to have been queſtioned. Whereupon, his Election was very grateful to the moſt, becauſe it ſeem'd the moſt probable *Medium* to eaſe the Grievances of many, and to curb the Pride of the Prieſts. Beſides, he himſelf did willingly read the Books, that contained Controverſies about Religion; and the Quietneſs and Retirement of his former Life, far remote from Court-Ambition, made many hope, that he would be ſober and moderate in his Government. Beſides, being out of the Magiſtracy, he had not yet diſcovered any Unactiveneſs or Sluggiſhneſs of Mind.

Scotiſh Priſoners and Exiles releaſed, and diſmiſſed at *London*, and the Reaſon, why?

* The Cardinal's Cheat diſcovered, and thereupon *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, choſen Regent.

In a Parliament which was held in *May*, † Sir *Ralph Sadler* came Embaſſador from *England*, in order to a Marriage, and ſetling a Peace; Some of the Nobility he put in Mind of their Promiſe; Others, as Report goes, he tempted with Mony. The Queen, Cardinal, and the whole Faction of Prieſts, were not only againſt this Peace, but, by diſturbing ſome Members and Counſellors, and corrupting others, they would not ſuffer it ſo much as to be put to the Vote; ſo that, by the general conſent of almoſt the whole Parliament, the Cardinal was confin'd to his Chamber till the Queſtion was put; when he was removed out of the way, the Agreement was eaſily made as to the Queen's Marriage, and other Articles and Hoſtages were promiſed to *Henry*, to ratify the Agreement: The Cardinal, at the Inſtance of the Queen-Mother, was kept in a looſe kind of Cuſtody by *Seton*, who was perſuaded, for a certain Sum of Mony, a while after, to let him go. When Peace ſeemed thus to be ſetled, to the great Advantage of both Kingdoms, after ſo great a fear of an imminent War, every Body thought it would be a laſting One; and therefore the Merchants, who, for ſome Years before, had been hindred from trading, went thick and threefold to Sea, and laded very many Ships with the beſt Commodities they could procure, for the time al-

† *Sir Ralph Sadler* ſent Embaſſador to *Scotland*, to treat about a Match for the young Queen with King *Henry*'s Son;

lotted them so to do. *Edinburgh* sent out twelve Ships; other Cities of that Circuit (which is the richest part of *Scotland*) rigg'd out Ships, each according to their respective Abilities. This Fleet, in Confidence of the Peace with *England*, some of them drew nearer the Shores, than they needed to have done, and when the Wind was calm, there they lay at Anchor: Others entred into the Ports, open to the Injuries of the *English*, if any Tumult of War should arise.

About the same time, *John Hamilton*, Abbat of *Paisley*, and *David Painter*, returned out of *France*. These Men now cast off the Vizard, wherewith before they had disguised themselves for many Years, and returned to their true Manners; for as if they had been educated not in the School of Piety, but of Profaneness, they were the Ring-leaders at Court, to all manner of Flagitiousness. The Cardinal being restor'd to his Liberty unexpectedly, being also of a proud Disposition, which was aggravated by the affront he had receiv'd, and by the Ignominy accruing on the Detection of his Fraud, sought out all occasions whatsoever, to disturb this Concord. First of all, he communicated the matter to the Queen *Dowager*; and they Both took it in great Indignation, That the *Douglasses*, (who, for the many Benefits they had received from the *English*, must needs be their fast Friends,) should immediately, after so many Years Banishment, be admitted into the Parliament-House, to debate the weightiest Affairs of the Kingdom. Besides, they all jointly feared a Change of the Establish'd Religion, the Consequent whereof must needs be a Breach of the League with *France*. Hereupon the Cardinal, by the consent of the Queen, summon'd a Convocation of Priests, and extorted from them a great Sum of Mony, as fearing the universal Ruin of the whole Papal Church. Part of this Mony was paid to some of the Nobles of the adverse Party, and many large Promises were made them besides, to persuade them not to give any Hostages to the *English*; and as for those, who were newly return'd from their Imprisonment, and had left their Children or Kindred, as Hostages for their Return, he desired them, not to prefer those (otherwise dear) Pledges before the Laws, the publick Safety, and their ancient Religion, whose Preservation was turn'd upon this Hinge alone; and that they would not run willingly into a perpetual Bondage. Besides, he caused the Ecclesiasticks to carry it proudly and disrespectfully towards the *English* Embassador, insomuch that the very Rabble did reproach and abuse his Retinue, and what he said, or did, was all taken in the worst Sense. But the Embassador resolv'd to bear all Affronts, and to tide it out, till the day, for delivering the Hostages, did approach, that so he might give no occasion of a Rupture on his part. And when that Day was come, he went to the Regent, and complained of the Affronts, which had been offered, not so much to himself, as to his King, whom he represented, and how that the Law of Nations was violated thereby; and moreover, he desired him to give Hostages according to the Tenor of the League newly made, that so the Amity might be kept sacred and inviolate, to the mutual Advantage of both Nations. The Regent,

But is affronted by the Cardinal and his Faction, upon colourable pretences.

gent, as to the Affronts offered, excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he was ſorry for them, and that he would ſpeedily ſearch into the matter, that ſo the Puniſhment of ſuch petulant Offenders ſhould be a ſuffi-ent Teſtimony of the Love and Veneration he had for the *Engliſh* Nation. But as to Hoſtages, he anſwered, that he could not obtain them with the good Will of the States, neither was he able to compel them without publick conſent. For the Government which he bore, was ſuch, that he received as much Law as he gave, and therefore all his Meaſures were diſturb'd by the great Sedition, which, he ſaw, the Cardinal had raiſed; that he was, as it were, carried down in the Stream of popular Fury, and could ſcarce maintain his own Station and Dignity. The new Hoſtages being thus deny'd, there was another thing as weighty as That, which fell under Debate, and that was, concerning the Nobles lately taken Priſoners of War, who, upon their Releaſement, had given Hoſtages, and made ſolemn Aſſeverations, That, if there were not a Peace concluded, as *Henry* deſired, upon juſt and fair Terms, they would ſurrender themſelves Priſoners again. As for Them, the Cardinal's Faction, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, dealt with them, partly by Reaſons, and partly by Examples, not to prefer their Eſtates, Kindred, Children, or any other thing, which might be dear to them, before the Love of their Country. And moreover he threatned them with Auxiliaries from *France*, and that all *Europe* did conſpire for the Defence of their ancient Rites and Religion; and if they acted contrary, they would betray their Country, and thereby the Ruin of their ancient Families would be imminent and at hand. They alſo deſired them in ſo dangerous a time, not to forſake their Country, for if That were ſafe, they might hope for more Kindred and Children, but if That were overthrown, then all was gone. Moreover, they diſcourſed much concerning the inexpiable Hatred betwixt the Nations, and of the Cruelty of the King, into whoſe Hands they were to come, thus blending Truths and Falſhoods together. Moreover, they alleged the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, That all Pacts, Contracts, Promiſes and Oaths, made with Hereticks, ought to be reſcinded and made void. The greateſt part of thoſe, who were concerned in this matter, were willing to hearken to any colourable pretence for their Fault, only there was One of them, who, for no pecuniary Conſideration whatever, could be perſuaded, no nor by any Threats deterred from keeping his Word, and that was †*Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Caſſils*, he had left two of his Brothers, Hoſtages in *England*, and he openly profeſs'd, that neither for Fear nor Favour, he would redeem his own Life with the Loſs of his Brothers, but whatever came of it, he would ſurrender himſelf back a Priſoner; and ſo againſt the Will of many, he undertook his Journy ſtraight to *London*. *Henry* very much commended the reſolute Faithfulneſs of the Young-Man; and to the intent, that all might know he had an Eſteem for Vertue, he richly rewarded him, and ſent him back with his two Brothers into *Scotland*.

The Decree of the Council of *Conſtance* forbids Faith to be kept with Hereticks, as the Reformed are by them called.

† *Kennedy* Earl of *Caſſills*, his juſt Reſolution to return (like another *Regulus*) into *England*, to redeem his Hoſtages, highly praiſed and rewarded by *Henry* of *England*.

But *Henry*'s Mind was not more pacified towards *Gilbert*, than his Anger was implacable againſt the reſt of the *Scots*; and thereupon

upon he laid an Embargo upon the *Scots* Ships in all *English* Ports and Harbours, of which there were a great Number, as I ſaid before, and ſo preſently denounced War. His Threatnings were great, as againſt the Violators, not only of Leagues, but even of the Law of Nations. And yet, though *Scotland* ſtood in ſo dangerous a State, the Memory of Alliances, the common Love to their Country, and the reſpect of the publick Safety, were ſo far laid aſide, that the Brands of Sedition were kindled more fiercely than ever. For the Faction of the Cardinal, and of the Queen Dowager, who were all for the *French*, ſent over Ambaſſadors thither, to tell them, That unleſs they ſent in Aſſiſtance, the Matter was upon the very Point, That *England* and *Scotland* would make a Coalition into one Government; and how ſuch a Conjunction would concern *France*, the Experience of former Ages had ſhewn. But they made it their chief Requeſt to the *French*, that they would ſend back ‖ *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, into his own Country, who did not only emulate the Family of the *Hamiltons*, but was alſo their deadly Enemie, being they had ſlain his Father at *Linlithgoe*. This young Man was greatly beloved, not only for his extraordinary Beauty and ſtately Garb in the very Flower of his Youth, but chiefly upon the account of the memory of his Father, who was ſo popular a Man, and alſo becauſe he was a ſingle Man, and the Extinction of ſuch a noble Family, now reduced to a few, was in great Hazard; beſides he had many Clanſhips at home, and had alſo Affinity with many other great Families. Furthermore, the former King had deſign'd him to be his next Heir and Succeſſor, if he himſelf died without Iſſue Male; and he would have confirmed that his Intention by a Decree of the States, (who have the Sovereign Power to order ſuch publick Affairs) if his Life had been prolonged. Yea, there were ſome Flatterers, which did elevate his generous Mind, already rais'd up with the expectation of great things, but not ſo well fortified againſt fraudulent Adulation, to larger Hopes; for, beſides the Supreme Rule for about twenty Years, and the Domination over his old Enemies, they promiſed him, that he ſhould marry the Queen Dowager; and if the young Queen, who had the Name only of Supreme Governeſs, ſhould miſcarry, then, without doubt, he would be the next King; and not only ſo, but alſo the lawful Heir of *James Hamilton*, lately deceaſed, ſeeing the Regent was a Baſtard, and was ſo far from any juſt expectation of the Kingdom, that he could not lawfully claim the Inheritance of his own Family: Beſides, they urged the Promiſes of the *French* King, who gave hopes of great Aſſiſtance, in due time. When the plain-hearted and credulous young Man was thus perſuaded, he provided for his Voyage into *Scotland*. *Hamilton* was not ignorant of any of theſe things; and to the intent that he might gain an Acceſſion of Strength to his own Party, by the Advice of thoſe Friends whom he moſt truſted, he reſolved to take away the young Queen from *Linlithgo*, where ſhe yet was under the Power of her Mother; for if he once got Her, then not only the Shadow of the Royal Name, which is an attractive thing amongſt the Vulgar, would be of his Side, but alſo he ſhould have the Power to beſtow her in Marriage,

‖ *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, ſent for out of *France* into *Scotland*, to ballance the *Hamiltons*.

Marriage, and ſo make himſelf Arbiter of the Kingdom, to transfer it whitherſoever he pleaſed, which if he could obtain, then the King of *England* might be perſuaded, if need were, to join with him.

This Deſign was much approved; but, as is uſual in Civil Diſcords, there are Spies on both ſides, who being informed thereof, acquainted the Cardinal therewith: He, gathering together ſome of the Nobility, whom he had corrupted with Mony, came to *Linlithgo*, and, to the great Burden of the Inhabitants, ſtaid there ſome days, as a Guard to the Queen. In the mean time, *Lennox* arrived out of *France*, and was kindly received by the Regent, each of them diſſembling their Hate; then he went to *Linlithgo*; there he addreſſed the Cardinal, and then went to his own Houſe, where, in a Meeting of Friends, he diſcours'd at large, Why he came over, at Whoſe Command, by Whom ſent for, and upon What hopes; That he was promiſed, not only the chief Magiſtracy, but alſo that the Heads of the Faction, with the Queen Dowager's Conſent, had aſſured him, that he ſhould marry Her: And that, in order to the effecting thereof, the King of *France* had encouraged him to expect Aid and Aſſiſtance from thence: they all aſſented to his Speech, and adviſed him not to be wanting to the Occaſion, which ſo freely had offer'd it ſelf; and thus with above four thouſand Men, he came to the Queen. *Hamilton*, who had levied and muſtered his Men, and with his Kinſmen about him, was reſolved to iſſue out of *Edinburgh*, and break thorow to the Queen, now perceiving that his Forces were too weak, by the Advice of his Friends, and out of his own Diſpoſition alſo, which was inclinable to Peace, began to treat of an Accommodation: whereupon ſome prudent Perſons were choſen on both ſides, who met at the Town of * *Liſton*, almoſt in the middle way between *Edinburgh* and *Linlithgo*: And an Agreement was made betwixt them on theſe Terms; That the Queen ſhould be removed to *Sterlin*, and that Four of the prime Nobility, who had engaged themſelves in neither Faction, ſhould be choſen out to inſpect her Education: And thoſe were *William Graham*, *John Erskin*, *John Lindſy*, and *William Levingſton*, eminent Perſons, and all Heads of illuſtrious Families. They, by the Conſent of both Parties, took the Queen, and entred upon the Road leading to *Sterlin*, whilſt *Lennox* ſtood in Arms with his Men, till they had travell'd far enough to be out of any Danger from the contrary Faction; and not long after, having performed the accuſtomed Ceremonies, ſhe took on her the Enſigns of Majeſty, and began her Reign at *Sterlin*, *Auguſt* 21.

* *Kirk-Liſton*, lying on the North-ſide of the River *Annand*, that divides *Middle* and *Weſt-Lothian*.

An Agreement made between *Hamilton* and *Lennox*.

The Regent, perceiving, that the Favour of the Vulgar, by reaſon of his Inconſtancie, was alienated from him; and that his Forces were inferiour to thoſe of the contrary Faction, began to entertain private Conferences with them under-hand; and indeed the Cardinal, who was kin to him by the Mothers ſide, intended only to frighten him, that ſo he might bring him over to his party, rather than to ſubdue him by force of Arms: So that having weakned him before, by taking off part of the Nobility from him, by his Largeſſes; and thereby rendred him cheaper, and of leſs Reput.

pute amongſt the *Engliſh*; he now, by the Intervention of his familiar Friends, who had more regard to Mony than Love to Truth, compell'd him to an unjuſt Combination, and perſuading him to come to *Sterlin*, there cauſed him to recant, and change his Opinion, concerning all the controverted Points of Religion, not openly, that the Infamy of the Fact might be leſſened amongſt the Vulgar, but in a Convent of the *Franciſcans*, in the Preſence of the Queen Dowager and the chief Nobles of the Court; and for fear of a Suit, which the Cardinal threatned to commence againſt him, for his whole Eſtate, he was ſo obſequious, that he put himſelf wholly under his Influences, inſomuch that he only retained the ſhadowy Name of a Regent. And by this means, the Cardinal obtained without Envy, what he had coveted by his ſuborned Will, even to enjoy the advantage of the whole Government, and that by the mean-ſpiritedneſs of the Regent, and the Avarice of his Kindred. There ſeemed but one thing wanting to eſtabliſh his Power, and that was the Removal of *Lennox*, who was a great Block in the way of his Deſigns; At laſt, the Queen Dowager and Cardinal fixed upon this Project, That, till an Anſwer came from *France*, ſhe ſhould hold the young Man's Mind in Suſpence, giving him ſome hopes of marrying her. For they had written honourably of *Lennox* to the French King, as indeed they could do no other; for, next to God, they were indebted to him for reſtoring them to the Liberty they enjoyed; but withal they deſired him, that ſeeing Matters were now quieted in *Scotland*, by that King's Liberality and Aſſiſtance, that he would be pleaſed to maintain the Courteſy he had done them, and to confirm the Peace which he had afforded, by calling *Lennox* back again. For, without that, things would never long continue in Peace, but one or other of the Factions muſt be deſtroyed. Thus they undermined *Lennox* privately; but in publick he was entertained with various Divertiſements by the Queen and Cardinal, inſomuch that the Court looſed the Reins to Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs, and was wholly given up to Plays and Feaſtings. The Day was ſpent in Tiltings, and ſuch kind of Manlike Exerciſes; the Night in Balls and Dancing. *Lennox* was inclinable, by Nature, to theſe Recreations, and was, beſides, much accuſtomed to them in the *French* Court. But now *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwel*, ſtarted up as his Rival, and ſomewhat ſpurr'd up his Mind, almoſt ready to languiſh. This *James* was baniſhed by King *James* the Fifth, but preſently after his Death, he return'd home, and aſpired to the Marriage of the Queen, by the ſame Arts, as *Lennox* did; and indeed the Indowments of Nature and Fortune were very eminent in Both of them, inſomuch that they might be ſaid to be rather Like than Equal. *Bothwel* matched him in other things; but in theſe ludicrous Combats and Feats of Arms, being inferiour to him, he left the Court, and departed to his own Houſe. *Lennox*, when his Rival was removed, thought now, that all was ſecure on his part, and thereupon he earneſtly preſs'd, that the Promiſes made him by the Queen and Cardinal, might be performed: But perceiving at laſt, that he was fraudulently dealt with, and that *Hamilton*, his Enemy, was advanc'd by them to Honour, Authority,

The Regent recants his Opinions, as to the Reform'd Religion.

Lennox was promiſed to marry the Queen, but afterwards illuded by her and the Cardinal.

rity, and the Supreme Power over all Mens Lives and Fortunes, his youthful Mind, which was not accuſtomed to ill Arts, but judg'd all others like himſelf, was ſo inflamed with Anger, that he brake forth into bitter Expreſſions, and ſolemnly ſwore, that he would ſuffer Want, Baniſhment, Death, yea any thing whatſoever, than ſuch an Affront to go unrevenged. Hereupon he retired to *Dunbarton*, wholly bent on Revenge, but, as yet, uncertain what Courſe to take to accompliſh it; there he received 30000 French Crowns from the King of *France*, (who had not *yet* certainly heard, how Affairs ſtood in *Scotland*) to enable him to ſtrengthen his Party; That Mony did ſomewhat relieve his diſeaſed Mind, becauſe it gave him hope that he was not wholly forſaken by the French King. But, being commanded to diſtribute the Mony by the Advice of the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal, yet he diſtributed part of it to his own Friends, and part he ſent to the Queen. The Cardinal, who had already devoured all that Prey in his Hope, was grievouſly troubled not only at his Diſappointment and Loſs, but alſo at his (ſuppoſed) Diſgrace therein, and therefore he adviſed the Regent preſently to levy an Army, and to march to *Glaſgow*, not doubting, but that he might there ſurpriſe *Lennox* and the Mony together. Their Deſign was made known to *Lennox*, and thereupon he ſpeedily levied 10000 Men, and above, all of his Friends and Vaſſals. That which much facilitated the compleating that Number, was, the Indignation of ſome of the Nobles, who, at the beginning, out of Love to Religion, and Hatred of the Cardinal, had been the Inſtruments to advance the Regent to that high Honour; but now they had chang'd their former Good-will into Hatred, becauſe he had delivered up, and, as much as in him lay, betrayed his beſt-deſerving Friends, with himſelf, into the Servitude of their moſt cruel Enemy, without ſo much as giving them any notice thereof.

Upon which he retires, and riſes up in Arms, and from *Glaſcow* marches to *Leith*;

This Frame of Spirit made a new, and ſcarce credible, Change in the *Scotiſh* Affairs; ſo that the Strength of the Parties being intire, only they were headed by other Commanders. *Hamilton* and his Kin joined themſelves to the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal; but his former Friends ſided with *Lennox*: With thoſe Forces levied on a ſudden, *Lennox* came to *Leith*, and ſent ſome into *Edinburgh*, to tell the Cardinal, That he needed not to march to *Glaſgow* to fight him, for he would give him opportunity ſo to do, any Day when he pleas'd, in the Fields between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*; The Cardinal, who had drawn the Regent to his Party, imagined, that the Power of the adverſe Party was ſo weakned thereby, that he hoped none durſt look him in the Face; now, unexpectedly, ſeeing himſelf challenged by a greater Army than he had to defend him, in words did not refuſe the Combate, but only deferr'd the Day of Fight upon ſeveral Pretences and Interpoſals; well knowing, that *Lennox* could not long keep an Army together, conſiſting of Volunteers, without Pay or Proviſion made for any long time; in the mean time, he endeavoured by Intreaties and Promiſes, to work over the Minds of thoſe, who were moſt inclinable, to his Party. *Lennox*, ſeeing that the Deſign was to lengthen out the War, and

by no means to hazard a Fight; and being in no posture to begin a Siege, for want of Conveniencies necessary thereto; and also perceiving, that some of his Men had secret Conferences, by Night, with the Enemy: To deliver himself out of these Straits, (his Friends, who had made secret Provision for themselves, urging him also thereunto) was forced to capitulate with the Regent. And thereupon he went to *Edinburgh* to him, and they transacted Matters some Days together, as if they had forgot their old Hatred and Animosity.

But was forc'd to capitulate with the Regent, at present.

At length, when he came to *Linlithgo*, *Lennox* was advised by his Friends, that some hidden Mischief was brewing against him; so that, in the Night-time, he went privily to *Glasgow*, and having fortified the Bishop's Castle with a Garison, and Sufficiency of Provisions, he went to *Dunbarton*; there he received more certain Information, That the *Douglasses* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed. And because some Suspicions and Relicks of old Grudges were left betwixt the Factions; *George Douglas* and *Alexander Cuningham* were given as Hostages, the one for the Father, the other for the Brother, though this was done for a pretence and disguise of a firmer Concord, and a Promise made, that they should speedily be released, yet notwithstanding they were detain'd till the coming in of the *English* Army. For the *Hamiltons* never thought themselves secure, until those Nobles, who had any Interest or Courage, were removed; that so, by the Terror of their Punishment, others might be restrained from Risings. Besides, about the same time, *Lennox* was informed, that the King of *France* was alienated from him, by the malicious Practices of his Enemies.

In the mean time, *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, and *Robert Maxwel*, Chief of a noble Family, came to *Glasgow*, to accommodate Matters (if it were possible) between the *Regent* and *Lennox*; But the Regent's Council persuaded him, to apprehend the very Mediators for Peace; and thus, by a back-way, to avoid the Tumult of the People, they were carried out, and sent Prisoners to *Hamilton* Castle.

Henry of England makes War upon Scotland,

In this posture of Affairs in *Scotland*, when not only the *English*, but the Chief of the *Scots* also, were angry with the Regent; *Henry* of *England* thought it a fit opportunity for him, to punish the Violators, not only of the League, but of the Law of Nations too; yet, before he would attack the *Scots* by force, he sent Letters, full of just Complaints and Threats, to *Edinburgh*, blaming them for refusing his Alliance, which he had so freely and generously offer'd, so arrogantly as they did; yea, that they had not only rejected that Alliance, but, though he had been kind to them, they scattered the Seeds of War, and had enforc'd him to arm against his Will. These Letters did no good, whereupon he caused those Naval Forces, which he had ready, with the first opportunity, to waft over against the *Boulognois*, to set Sail for *Scotland*, and to infest *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, (both which Towns had most affronted his Ambassadors) and the Country round about them, with the Miseries of War. The Ships, arriving there, landed ten thousand Foot, *May* the 4*th*, a little above *Leith*, who, without any Resistance, enter the

the Town; for moſt of the Townſ-men were abſent, upon the account of Merchandizing. The King and Cardinal, being then at *Edinburgh*, and unprovided of all things, knew not what to do, but were ſo ſurprized, that they preſently ſet at Liberty thoſe four eminent Perſons, which they had in durance, (as aforeſaid) not for any regard to the publick Safety, but partly fearing, leſt otherwiſe their Kinſmen and Tenants ſhould refuſe to fight, if not join themſelves to the Enemy; and partly alſo, that they might redeem the Good-will of the People, who, they knew, were alienated from them, upon many accounts; but they, not daring to commit themſelves to the Hatred of the Citizens, and of their Enemies too, fled to *Linlithgo*. The *Engliſh* ſtaid three days at *Leith* to land their Ordnance and Baggage, and ſo prepar'd themſelves for the Encounter. Having ſetled other matters, they march to *Edinburgh*, pillag'd and burnt the City, and then diſperſt themſelves to ſpoil the neighbouring Parts, they ruin'd many Villages, with ſome Caſtles and Seats of Noblemen. From *Edinburgh* they return'd to *Leith*, and having a fair Wind, ſet fire to the Houſes, and hoiſt Sail, and away.

Burns *Edinburgh*, &c. and retreats.

About that Time, *Lennox* was certainly inform'd, That *Francis*, King of *France*, was wholly alienated from him. For the contrary Faction, by their frequent Letters and Meſſages, had perſuaded him, That 'twas *Lennox* alone, who, by reaſon of his old Enmity againſt his Fathers Enemies, did hinder the publick Concord of all *Scotland*; and that he was the Head of the Faction againſt the Regent, and a Favourer of the *Engliſh*, and one who did rather indulge his own private Animoſities, than promote the common Cauſe; and that if the King would recal him into *France*, Peace would eaſily be made up amongſt the reſt. When *Lennox* had received Intelligence, by his Friends, what his Enemies had inform'd againſt him, he alſo writ to *Francis*, informing him, in what caſe he found the Affairs of *Scotland*; and how he, and his Friends, had, with a great deal of pains, vindicated both Queens to their Liberty, and had put them into a poſture and capacity to rule, having broken the Power of the adverſe Party; and, out of a turbulent Tempeſt, had brought things to a great Tranquillity, and that nothing would be more acceptable to him, than to return into *France*, where he had lived well nigh longer than in *Scotland*, and ſo to enjoy the ſweet Society of his beloved Friends: But that he returned into his own Country, not of his own accord, but ſent by the King, and that he had done nothing there, whereof his Majeſty or himſelf need to be aſhamed; and, if he would not abridge him of his former Favour, he would ſhortly anſwer, yea, perhaps, exceed, the hope he had conceived of him; but, if he ſhould call him away, in the midſt of the carreer of his Deſigns, then he muſt not only leave the Things, he had ſo excellently began, unfiniſh'd, but alſo expoſe his Friends, Kindred, and Vaſſals, whom he had engaged in the publick Cauſe, and who had been almoſt worn out with toil and labour, to Servitude and Torment, under an impious and cruel Tyrant; who, as much as in him was, had ſold both Queen and Kingdom to the Enemy; and, who obſerved the Pacts and Promiſes,

Lennox labours to juſtify himſelf to the *French* King, againſt the Calumnies of the Queen and Cardinal.

miſes, he made to Men, no more religiouſly than he did the Duties of Piety towards God; for, within a few Years, he had changed his Religion Three times: neither was it to be wonder'd at in him, who looked upon Oaths and Promiſes, not as Bonds obliging to Faithfulneſs, but as lurking holes to hide Perfidiouſneſs. And therefore, he moved earneſtly, That the King, and thoſe of his Council, would conſider, whether, in ſo great an Affair, They would believe him, all whoſe Anceſtors had devoted themſelves, their Lives, Honours and Fortunes, for the increaſe of his Greatneſs; and who, indeed, had been honoured and rewarded by him with many Benefits, which yet were rather Teſtimonies of their good Acceptance, than juſt Rewards and Compenſations of their Labours; or elſe a Man, who would change his Friends and Foes, at the blaſt of every Wind, and who depended on the Arbitrement of Fortune alone.

Though many were not ignorant, that his Allegations were true, yet the *French* King was ſo influenc'd by the *Guiſe*'s, the Queen Dowager's Father and Unkle; and, who, in all things, endeavoured to promote her Concerns, that his Heart and Ear were both ſhut againſt *Lennox*'s Requeſt, inſomuch, that he would not permit *John Cambel*, a Man of approved Virtue, ſent by *Lennox*, to have Audience, or, ſo much as to come into his Preſence, but kept him in the nature of a Priſoner, and had Spies ſet upon him to watch him, that ſo he might not write back any thing of the Deſigns agitated in the *French* Court; yet notwithſtanding this their Caution, there were ſome who told him all. When *Lennox* heard this, by the Diſpatches which were ſent him, his troubled Mind was variouſly hurried betwixt Anger and Shame; he was aſhamed to leave his Enterprize which he had begun, unfiniſhed; and the rather, becauſe, he thought, that he was not able to ſatisfy the Love of his Friends and Kindred, whom he had drawn, with him, into the ſame Danger, but by the Sacrifice of his Life. As for the reſt, his Anger was highly inflamed, eſpecially againſt the Queen-Dowager and the Cardinal, by whoſe perfidious Contumely, he was caſt into theſe Straits; but, he was chiefly offended with the King of *France*, complaining, that he had brought him upon the Stage, and now in the midſt of his Acting, had forſaken him, and joined himſelf with his Enemies. Whilſt his Thoughts thus fluctuated, not knowing where to fix, News was brought him, That all the Inhabitants on this ſide Mount * *Grantzbain*, who were able to bear Arms, were commanded, by Proclamation, by ſuch a Day, to appear at *Sterlin*, and to bring ten Days Proviſion along with them, that they might be ready to march, whitherſoever the Regent ſhould command them, whither, accordingly they came at the Day appointed, and the Regent marched them to *Glaſgow*. There he beſieged the Caſtle ten Days, and battered it with his Braſs-Guns, but in vain; yet at laſt a Truce was granted for a Day, and the Guards tampered with, ſo that the Caſtle was ſurrendered, upon Quarter, and Indemnity to the Gariſon-Souldiers; yet, notwithſtanding, all of them but One or Two, were put to Death.

* Or, *Grampins.*

Glaſgow Caſtle taken from *Lennox*, by the Regent.

In the mean time, *Lennox*, being forſaken by the *French* King, and alſo cut off from any hope of other Aid, made trial, by his Friends,

Friends, how the King of *England* ſtood affected towards him; and finding it fair Weather there, he reſolv'd for *England*: but, before he went, he had a great Mind to perform ſome notable Exploit againſt the *Hamiltons*; and, communicating his Deſign to *William Cuningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, They two, at a Day appointed, with their Tenants and Adherents, reſolved to meet at *Glaſgow*, and from thence to make an inroad into the County of *Clydſdale*, which, almoſt all, belonged to the *Hamiltons*. When the Regent heard of this, he reſolved to be before-hand with them, and ſo to ſeize upon *Glaſgow*, and thereby prevent the place of meeting; but *Cuningham*, with a great Party of his Men, were entered the Town before, and there expected the coming of *Lennox*; but, hearing of *Hamilton*'s coming, and of his Deſign, he drew out his Men into the Fields adjoining, and according to the number of thoſe he had, ſet them in array, there were about 800 of them, part of his own Clanſhip, and part of the Citizens of *Glaſgow*, which favoured his Cauſe; and thus, with greater Courage than Force, he joined Battel and fought ſo valiantly, that he beat the firſt Rank of the Enemy back upon the ſecond; and took the Braſs-pieces they had brought with them. But whilſt the Fight was hot about the Regent's Quarter, and the Matter was in great Hazard there, on a ſudden, *Robert Boyd*, a valiant and brave Man, came in with a ſmall Party of Horſe, and thruſt himſelf into the midſt of the Fight, where the hotteſt Service was: He occaſioned a greater Fear and Trepidation, than ſo ſmall a number need to have done; for both Armies believed, that great Aſſiſtance was come into the *Hamiltons*. This Miſtake quite changed the fortune of the Day, whilſt one thought the aſſiſtance was come into his Party, the other to his Enemies. There were ſlain, in the Battel, about 300 on both ſides; the greateſt part was of the *Cunningham*'s, and amongſt them two Sons of the Earl's, gallant Men, both: Neither was the Victory unbloody to the *Hamiltons*, for they loſt conſiderable Perſons on their ſide too. But the greateſt Miſchief fell upon the Inhabitants of *Glaſgow*, for the Enemy, not contented with the Blood of the Townſ-men which they had killed, nor with the Miſeries of thoſe, who ſurvived; nor yet with the Plunder of their Houſes, they alſo took away the Valves and Shutters of their Gates and Windows, and their Iron-Bars; neither did they forbear any kind of Calamity, but only the firing of their Houſes, which were ſo torn and deformed before. The Event of this Battel wrought a great change in Mens Minds, ſo that *Lennox*'s Friends and Kinſmen refuſed to commit the Matter to the Hazard of a ſecond Encounter; not ſo much, becauſe their Enemies Force was increaſed, and theirs leſſened; nor that, becauſe, having loſt ſo many valiant Men, they could not ſpeedily gather together a new ſupply from places ſo remote; as, that they were unwilling to give any new Provocation to *Hamilton*, or, by too much Obſtinacy, to offend him, under whoſe Government, they knew, they muſt ſhortly come.

Lennox and *Cuningham* worſted by *Hamilton*.

Lennox, being thus deſerted by the *French*, and the greateſt part of the *Scots* too, made *George Sterlin* Governour of the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*; and he himſelf, with a few in his Company, ſailed for *England*,

Lennox flyes into *England*, where he marries *Margaret Douglas*.

England, againſt the advice of his beſt Friends, who were willing, he ſhould have ſtayed ſome Months, in that impregnable Caſtle, and ſo waited for a change of Affairs, which, they did not doubt, but ſhortly would come to paſs. But he was reſolved for *England*, where he was honourably received by the King, who, beſides his other Reſpects, gave him *Margaret Douglas* in Marriage; ſhe was Siſter to *James*, laſt King of *Scotland*, begot by the Earl of *Angus*, upon the Siſter of *Henry* King of *England*, a Lady in the Flower of her Age, of great Comelineſs and Beauty. In the mean time, the Queen-Dowager received into her Protection That *Scotiſh* Faction, which, by the Departure of *Lennox*, was left without an Head, and which did obſtinately refuſe to come under the Power of *Hamilton*, (whoſe Levity they knew before, and now feared his Cruelty) for ſhe was afraid, that they might be inrag'd in ſuch an hurry of Things, and ſo deſperately ingage in ſome new Commotion.

The *Hamiltons* were glad at the departure of ſo potent an Enemy, but yet not ſatisfied with the Puniſhments already inflicted, they uſed their Proſperity very intemperately: For, in the next Convention held at *Linlithgo*, they condemned him, and his Friends; confiſcated their Goods, and baniſhed them the Land. A great Sum of Money was raiſed out of the Fines of thoſe, who redeemed their Eſtates out of the Exchequer, but not without great Diſguſt, and the high Offence of all good Men. In the midſt of theſe Domeſtick Seditions, The *Engliſh* entred *Scotland*, and committed great Spoil and Deſolation on *Jedburgh*, *Kelſo*, and the Country thereabout; from thence they went to *Coldingham*, where they fortified the Church and the Tower, as well as they could for the time, by making Works and leaving a Gariſon, and ſo departed: And the Gariſon-Souldiers made great havock in all the adjacent parts; partly, out of a greedineſs for Plunder; and partly, that the Country thereabouts might not afford Proviſions to the Enemy, when they beſieged them. Hereupon, they, who ruled the Roaſt in *Scotland*, the Queen-Dowager, Cardinal, and Regent, by the advice of the Council, ſent forth a Proclamation, That the Nobles, and the moſt diſcreet and ableſt of the Commons, ſhould come in armed, with eight Days Proviſion, to march whither the Regent led them. In a ſhort time, about 8000 met together, and in a very ſharp Winter too, who, having battered the Tower of the Church of *Coldingham* with their great Guns, ſtood in their Arms all that Day and Night, to the great wearying of Horſe and Man. The Day after, the Regent, either out of Tenderneſs and Inability to indure Military Toil, or fearing the Invaſion of the Enemy, (for he was informed from *Berwick*, a Neighbour-Town, that the *Engliſh* were upon their March) unknown to his Nobles, and with but a few in Company, mounted on Horſe back, and with full ſpeed fled back to *Dunbar*. They, who endeavour to excuſe the baſeneſs of this Flight, ſay, that he was afraid, leſt his Army (out of Hate preconceived on many former Accounts) would have given him up to the *Engliſh*. His Departure made a great Diſturbance in the whole Army, and the rather, becauſe the Cauſe of his Flight was unknown, and there-

The *Engliſh* enter *Scotland* with an Army, and gariſon *Coldingham*.

The Regent raiſes an Army, but retreats ſhamefully.

therefore many thought, that 'twas the more conſiderable, and that they had greater Reaſon to fear. Hereupon ſome were obſtinately reſolved to run home, the neareſt way they could, and leave their Guns behind them; Others, who would ſeem a little more provident and ſtout, were for overcharging them, that ſo they might break in pieces at a Diſcharge, and become uſeleſs to the Enemy. But *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* withſtood them all, telling them, that they ſhould not add ſo foul an Offence to their baſe Flight; but not being able to retain them, either by his Authority or Entreaty, he burſt out into theſe Words, with a loud Voice, ſo that many might hear him: *As for me*, ſaid he, *I had rather chuſe a noble Death, than to enjoy my Life, tho opulent and ſecure, after the admiſſion of ſo foul a Fact: You, my Friends and Fellow-Soldiers, conſider what you will do; as for me, I will bring back theſe Guns, or elſe I will never return back hence alive, my Honour and my Life ſhall go together.* This Speech affected ſome Few, whoſe Honour was dearer to them than their Lives, but the reſt was ſo diſheartened by the ſhameful Flight of the Regent, that they broke their Ranks, and went every one ſcatteringly home. *Douglas* ſent the Guns before, and he, with his Party, followed in good Order in the Rear, and tho he was preſt upon by the *Engliſh* Horſe, (whom the Tumult had excited) yet he brought the Ordnance ſafe to *Dunbar*. This Expedition, raſhly undertaken, and as baſely performed, diſcouraged abundance of the *Scots*, and raiſed up the *Engliſh* to an intolerable height; as drawing the Cowardiſe of the Regent to Their Praiſe. And therefore *Ralph Evers* and *Brian Laiton*, two brave Engliſh Cavaleers, overran all *Merce*, *Teviot*, and *Lauderdale*, without any Reſiſtance, and made the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries ſubmit themſelves, and if any were refractory, they waſted their Lands, and made their Habitations deſolate; yea, the undiſturbed courſe of their Victories made them ſo reſolute and inſolent, that they propounded the Bay of *Forth* to be the Boundary of their Conqueſt. And with this hope they went to *London*, and crav'd a Reward from *Henry* for their good Service: Their Petition was referred to the Council; and in debate thereof, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, who had made many Expeditions againſt the *Scots*, and had done them much Miſchief, underſtanding, that, in that troubleſom Poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*, it was no hard Matter to overrun naked and unguarded Countries, and to compel the Commonalty, when they had no other Refnge, to take an Oath of Fealty to them; and withal knowing the conſtancy of the *Scots*, in maintaining their Country, and their Reſolution in recovering it, when loſt; upon theſe Conſiderations, 'tis reported, that he adviſed the King, to give them all the Land, which they could win by the Sword, and alſo to allow them a ſmall Force to defend it, till the *Scots* therein were inured to the *Engliſh* Government. This Gift they willingly receiv'd, and the King as willingly gave, upon which, their vain boaſting being as vainly requited, they return'd joyfully to the Borders, having obtain'd 3000 Souldiers in pay, beſides the Borderers, who are wont to ſerve without any Military Stipend. Their return mightily diſturb'd all the Borderers, becauſe they had no hopes of any help from the Regent, in regard he was influenc'd in all his

The vain boaſt of *Evers* and *Laiton*, two *Engliſh* Cavaleers.

his Counsels by a Priest, especially by the Cardinal. Hereupon, *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* being much affected with the Publick disgrace, and also concerned upon the Account of his own private Losses, (for he had large and fruitful Possessions in *Merch* and *Teviotdale*) sent to the Regent to prevent it. The Regent deplor'd his own solitude, and complain'd, how he was deserted by the Nobility. *Douglas* told him, it was his own, not the Nobilities fault, for they were willing to spend their Lives and Fortunes for the good of the Publick, but he had slighted their Advice, and was wholly govern'd by a few sorry Priests, who were Cowardly abroad and Seditious at home, for they, being exempted from danger themselves, did abusively spend the Fruits of other Mens Labours on their own Pleasures. This (said he) is the Fountain, from whence Suspicions arise betwixt you and the Nobles, which, in regard you cannot trust one another, is a great hindrance to the publick Service. But if you will communicate Counsels with them, who will not refuse to spend their Lives in executing what shall be resolved upon, I do not despair, but we may yet perform as noble Exploits as any of our Ancestors did, in Times equally, or, at least, not much less troublesome, than the Days we now live in. But if, by our own Slothfulness, we suffer the Enemy to conquer by piece-meal, he will quickly force us to a Surrender or a Banishment, and which of the Two is more miserable and flagitious can hardly be determined. As for us Two, I know, that I am accused by my Enemies of Treachery, and You of Cowardise. But if you would do that speedily, which you are not able to avoid, 'tis not a fine-spun Oration, but the Field and Dint of Sword, shall wipe off both these Criminations. The Regent told him, that he would be wholly guided by him and the Nobles, whereupon a Council was summoned about an Expedition, and by their advice a Proclamation was set forth to all the Neighbouring-Countries; That all the Nobility therein should, with all the speed they could, repair to the Regent whereseoever he should be; and they the Day after, with their present Force, which were not above 300 Horse, march'd for *England*. There came into them some of the *Lothianers* and *Merch-men*, but not very many, so that when they came to *Mulross*, upon *Tweed*, they resolv'd to stay there, till more Force came up to them; but the English, who were already come as far as *Jedburgh*, being inform'd by their Spies of the Paucity of the Enemy, march'd with about 5000 Men out of *Jedburgh*, directly towards *Mulross*, not doubting, but that they should surprize the Regent, and his Party unawares, being but few, and they also tyred with their March.

The Regent, by the advice of *Angus*, raises a party to oppose the *English*,

But the *Scots*, being informed by their Scouts of the coming of the *English*, withdrew themselves unto the next Hills, from thence, in Safety, to behold what Course the Enemy would take. The *English*, being thus disappointed of their hope, wander'd up and down in the Town and Monastery of Monks, which were pillag'd a little before, being intent upon what prey they could find, and there they staid, until break of day. Assoon as 'twas light, they were returning to *Jedburgh*, and the *Scots*, having receiv'd a supply of almost 300 of the Blades of *Fife*, under the Command of *Norman*

man Leſly, Son to the Earl of *Rothes*, (a young Man, for all Accompliſhments hardly to be match'd again in *Scotland*) grew thereby more incouraged, and ſo with a ſlow March, they retired to the Hills, which are about the Town of *Ancram*: There Walter *Scot*, (of whom mention is made before,) an active and prudent Perſon came in to them with but a few in his Company, excuſing the Straitneſs of time, and telling them, that his whole Party would be ſpeedily with them: His advice was, that they ſhould ſend their Horſe unto the next Hill, and ſo all of them run equal Hazard on foot, and wait for the Enemy on the low ground, for he did not doubt, but that their Servants, carrying up their Horſe to the higher ground, would make the *Engliſh* believe, that they were running away, and that would occaſion them to haſten their March. And accordingly, leſt the *Scots* ſhould get off without fighting, and be again to be ſought out with a great deal of Pains; before the Night came, the *Engliſh* march'd up to them in three Battalions; for they * hoped to end the Buſineſs with one light Skirmiſh, and becauſe their hopes were ſuch, each one exhorted his Fellow to make haſte, though they had continued their March Night and Day before, under their heavy Arms, that ſo by a ſhort Toil they might get long Reſt, Renown and Glory; Theſe Exhortations added to their Courage, as much as the Toil of the March abated their Strength, ſo that their two firſt Battalions fell in amongſt the *Scots*, who were prepared for the Onſet, as into an Ambuſh, yet truſting to their number, they ſtood to their Arms and fought ſtoutly. But two things (wiſely foreſeen) were a great help to the *Scots*, for both the Sun was almoſt at Weſt, and darted with his full Beams in the Faces of the Enemy; and alſo the Wind, which was ſomewhat high, carried back the Smoke of the Gunpowder upon the Battalions behind, inſomuch that they could not ſee their way; and beſides, whilſt they were panting, by reaſon of their March, it mightily troubled them with its noiſom Smell: The firſt Battalion of the *Engliſh* fell back upon the ſecond, the ſecond on the third, where, by their Intermixtures one with another, and the preſſing of the *Scots* upon them, they all brake their Ranks and were driven back, ſo that all were ſo full of Fear and Terror, that none knew his own Colours, or his Captain; thus whilſt every one provided for his own Safety, no Man remembred the publick Danger and Diſgrace. The *Scots* followed thick after them, ſo that now there was no more fighting, but ſlaying. At Night the *Scots* were called back to their Colours, and taking a View of the ſlain, they loſt only two of their own; of the *Engliſh*, beſides Commanders, there dyed about 200 Souldiers, and amongſt them ſome of Note, there were about a thouſand Priſoners taken, and of them above 80 Gentlemen. This Victory, happening beyond all Men's Expectation, was ſo much the more acceptable; the Fruit of all redounded to the Regent, but almoſt all the Honour to the *Douglaſſes*.

In *Teviotdale*.

The *Engliſh*, being overconfident, are worſted, principally by the Valour of *Norman Leſly*, and *Walter Scot*.

About this time, by the Fraud, as 'tis thought of *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntly*, a Contention aroſe, in which almoſt all the Family * of the *Fraſers* were extinguiſh'd. There was betwixt Them,

The Family of the *Fraſers* almoſt like to be quite extinguiſh'd.

and *Mac Rainald* an old Grudg, which had been often manifested to the loss of both Parties; and *Huntly* was inwardly fill'd with Indignation, that they alone, of all the Neighbouring Families, refused to come under his Clanship. For when the Neighbour Islanders gather'd together what strength they could, against the Earl of *Argile*, there was hardly any Man in all that Tract of the Country, but bore Arms on one side or other. But the matter being composed without Blows, as they were returning, sever'd from him another way, the *Mac-Rainalds* having notice of it, got their Clanships together, and set upon them most furiously, and the *Frasers* being fewer in number were overcome, and all slain to a Man. And thus that numerous Family, which had oft so well deserved of their Country, had been wholly extinguish'd, unless, by God's good Providence, (as we have reason to believe) 80 of the chief of the Family, had left their Wives at home great with Child, all of which in due time brought forth Male-Children, and they all lived to Man's Estate.

At the same time, the King of *England* heard, that his Army was beaten and wasted in *Scotland*, and that an Embassador was sent by the Regent to the King of *France*, to acquaint him with the Victory, and to desire Aid of him, against the Demands and Threats of the King of *England*, and likewise to inform against *Lennox*, in Defamation of his Departure into *England*; as for Aid, he could scarce obtain any, because the † *French* knew for certain, that *Henry* was about passing over with great Forces into *France*, only they sent 500 Horse, and 3000 Foot, not so much to defend the *Scots* from the Incursions of the *English*, as to hold them in play, that they might not fall with their whole Strength upon *France*. *Henry*, that Summer, did not think it fit, to send greater Forces to the Borders of *Scotland*, because he was of opinion, that the Garisons there were sufficient to inhibit the Excursions of the *Scots*; and besides, he knew well enough, that the *Scots*, in such a perplexed State of their affairs, could not raise a great Army that Year, to attack any well-fortified places.

† The *French* assists the *Scots* with some small Force.

The *Scotish* Embassador in *France* objected some sorry matters against *Lennox*, in his Absence, scarce worth the answering, as, that he had concealed the Mony sent to him; that by reason of his Dissensions with the Cardinal, the cause of the Publick was betray'd; and as for his Departure into *England*, That he exaggerated, most invidiously. The King of *France*, who, by means of false Rumors, had conceiv'd such an Anger against *Lennox*, that he would by no means admit of any Compurgation or Apology against those Calumnies, and who also had imprisoned *Lennox*'s Brother, unheard, Captain of his Guards, when the Truth began a little to appear, as 'twere in excuse for his temerarious Fault, sought for some colour to hide it, and commanded an Examination to be made of the Crimes objected against *Lennox*. And the Enquiry was committed to *James Montgomery* of *Lorge*, Commander of the *French* Auxiliaries, a Man active and good enough, but a bitter Enemy to *Lennox*; 'twas put into his Hands by the Procurement of the *Guises*, because they were not able to separate the cause of their

Sister

Sister from the Perfidiousness of the Cardinal. *Montgomery* arriv'd with his *French* Auxiliaries (lately mention'd) in *Scotland*, on *July* the 3d, in the Year 1545. where by shewing the Letters, and declaring the good Intentions of the King of *France* towards them, in the Council, he obtained, that an Army should be levied, but only of the better sort, who were able to bear the charges of the War, and they were to meet together upon a short day. And accordingly at the time appointed, there met 15000 *Scots* * at *Hadington*, and marching to the Borders, they formed their Camp over against *Wark*, a Castle in *England*. From thence, almost every other day they marched with their Colours into *England*, and did obtain great Booty; the Enemy endeavour'd to resist their Incursions, but in vain, they made indeed some light Skirmishes, but unprosperously, so that the *Scots* wasted all the Country for six Miles round. This they continued during ten Days, never going further into the Enemies Country in the Day-time, than they could return back to their Camp at Night. In the Interim, *Montgomery* and *George Hume* dealt earnestly with the Regent, that he would remove his Camp to the other side of the *Tweed*, that so they might make freer Inrodes upon the parts adjacent, and spred the terrour of their Army to a greater Distance, but their Solicitations were in vain. For the Regent, and those of the Council about him, were against it, because they were destitute of all Necessaries for storming of Castles; so that they disbanded the Army, and returned home. The other took up their Winter-Quarters, as every one thought fit, but *Montgomery* went to *Sterlin* to the Court, where knowing of the Calumnies raised against *Lennox* by his Enemies, though he himself did highly disgust him too, yet he grievously rebuked the Cardinal, that, without any considerable Provocation on *Lennox*'s part, he had loden so noble and innocent a Person with such calumnious Imputations, and had compell'd him, even against his Will, to join himself with the Enemy.

* *Hadington* a Town in East-*Lothian*, twelve Miles South of *Edinburgh*.

The *Scots* march'd into *England* with an Army,

But again retreat.

About the same time, Inroads were made on both sides, on all parts of the Borders with various Events. *Robert Maxwel* the Son of *Robert*, a young Man of singular Valor, was taken Prisoner by the *English*; there was nothing memorable done besides. At the beginning of the following Winter, *Montgomery* return'd to *France*, and the Cardinal carried about the Regent with him through the Neighbouring Provinces, upon pretence to reconcile and heal the Seditions and Distempers of all Parties. First they came to *Perth*, where four Men were punish'd for eating Flesh on a day prohibited; and also a Woman and her Infant were both put to Death, because she refused to call upon the Virgin *Mary* for Aid, in her Travel; then they applied themselves to the Overthrow of all the Reformed, universally; they went to *Dundee*, and, as themselves gave out, 'twas to punish such as read the *new Testament*, for, in those days that was counted a most grievous Sin, and such was the Blindness of those Times, that some of the Priests, being offended at the Novelty of the Title, did contend, that That Book was lately written by *Martin Luther*, and therefore they desired only the

Lutherans cruelly punish'd.

The ignorant Priests thought the Book of the *New Testament* was written by *Martin Luther*.

Old. There 'twas told them, that *Patrick Grey* chief of a noble Family in thoſe parts, was coming with a great Train, and the Earl of *Rothes* with him: The Tumult being appeaſed, the Regent commanded both of them to come to him the day after, but the Cardinal, thinking it not ſafe to admit two ſuch potent and factious Perſons with ſo great a Train, into that Town, which was the only *one* highly addicted to the Reformed Religion, perſuaded the Regent to return to *Perth.* The Noble-Men, when they were ready for their Journy, heard News, that the Regent was gone for *Perth*; whereupon they followed him thither, and when they came in ſight of the Town, the Cardinal was ſo afraid, that, to gratify him, the Regent commanded them to enter the City ſeverally, and apart; and the next day after, they were both committed to Priſon; yet *Rothes* was ſoon releaſed, but *Grey* was delivered with more difficulty afterwards, becauſe he was more hated and feared by them. Before they went from thence, the Cardinal thought good to abate the Power of * *Ruven*, Mayor of the City; ſo that the Regent took away the Mayoralty from him, and gave it to the Laird ‖ *Kinfans*, a Neighbour-Laird, *Gray*'s Kinſman. *Ruven* was envied by the Cardinal, becauſe he favoured the Reform'd Religion; and as for *Grey*, he was not wholly averſe from the Reformed neither, nor yet any great Friend of the Cardinals: For by this means, the Cardinal did not doubt, but, if they Two fell out, many of the Neighbouring parts would join themſelves to each of them, in regard of the Illuſtriouſneſs of their Families; and ſo the more of them fell on either ſide, the fewer Enemies he ſhould have left alive: Thus the Mayoralty of *Perth*, which for many Years had continued as Hereditary in the Family of the *Ruvens*, was tranſlated to *Charters*, Laird of *Kinfans*, with the great Indignation of the Citizens; who took it much amiſs, that their ancient Freedom of voting in their Aſſemblies, was taken away; but the new Mayor was ſent to compel them to Obedience by force, if they reſiſted. His Deſign was, to aſſault the City in two places, *Grey*, who had taken the whole matter on himſelf, attack'd it from the Bridg over the River *Tay*: The other Party were to carry their Guns up the Stream, and ſo to ſtorm the open ſide of the Town; but becauſe the Tide hindred them, they came not up in time: *Grey* makes his Attempt from the Bridg (from which *Ruven* had purpoſely withdrawn his Guards into the next Houſes, that ſo it might ſeem to the Enemy, as if it were undefended,) and when he ſaw none in Arms to oppoſe him, he boldly march'd up into the Body of the Town; whereupon *Ruven* iſſued out of the adjoining Houſes on a ſudden, and gave him a brisk charge, which routed him and his whole party; but, in their Flight through narrow Paſſages, the one hindred another; for the laſt, ſtriving to gain the Mouth of the Paſſage, gave a ſtop to the firſt: and in this confuſion many were trod under-foot, and ſixty fell by the Sword. The Cardinal, when he knew that *Ruven* had got the Victory, was ſomewhat ſorry for it; yet, glad withal, that ſo many of his Enemies were deſtroyed; for, ſeeing he deſpaired ever to make them his Friends, he counted it a Gain to him, to ſee them mutually to deſtroy

* Or *Ruthven.*

‖ *Kinfans* is two Miles Eaſt of *Perth*, on the North of *Tay.*

deſtroy one another. The Cardinal, having thus paſt over as much of *Angus*, as he thought convenient at that time, brought the Regent, after the Winter-Solſtice to St. *Andrews*, to indear his Mind more unto him, if 'twere poſſible; for, though he had his Son, the Earl of *Arran*, as a Pledg, yet as often as he bent his Thoughts to the Conſideration of the Fierceneſs of the *Scotiſh* Nobility, to the Strength of the oppoſite Faction, and to the Inconſtancy of the Regent, he was afraid, that he might be perſuaded by his Enemies, and ſo wrought over to them with the ſame Levity, as he had firſt joined himſelf with him: There he entertained him, with a ſmall Retinue, with Sports and Paſtimes twenty days at *Chriſtmas*; he gave him many Gifts at preſent, and promiſed him more for the future; and after much Diſcourſe together, concerning the State of the Kingdom, he came a little more ſecure to *Edinburgh*.

The Hiſtory of *George Wiſheart*'s Perſecution by Cardinal *Beton*, and his Eccleſiaſticks.

There a Convocation of Eccleſiaſticks was held *January* the 12*th*. In that Aſſembly many things were canvaſs'd up and down concerning the retaining of the old Liberty of the Church, and the Puniſhment of the enormous Crimes of ſome Prieſts; but in the midſt of their Debates, before they could conclude of any thing, News was brought to them, that *George Wiſeheart*, a Preacher of the Goſpel, one very acceptable to the People, was entertained at the Houſe of a noble Perſon called *John Cockburn* about ſeven Miles from the City. Thither preſently they ſent a party of Horſe, to demand the Offendor: but *Cockburn* alleged ſeveral things in excuſe, on purpoſe to create ſome Delayes, that ſo he might have an opportunity to convey him away ſecretly; of which the Cardinal being inform'd, made haſte thither with the Regent, even in the dead time of the Night, and beſet all the Avenues of the Houſe; and yet their Promiſes, Flatteries and Threats prevailed not at all, till they ſent for the Earl of *Bothwel* out of the next Diſtrict, he, being the chief of all the *Lothianers*, did eaſily obtain, that *George* ſhould be deliver'd up to Him; but firſt, he paſt his Word, that no Harm or Damage ſhould come to him. The Prieſts having now gotten this Prey into their Hands, carried him from *Edinburgh* to St. *Andrews*; and there about a Month after, they aſſembled a great Company of Eccleſiaſticks, of all ſorts, to determine concerning his Doctrine; this was done to blind Men's Eyes with the pretence of a Judicatory, and a legal Proceeding; for all Men knew, what they would determine concerning him before-hand. By the conſent of them all, || the Cardinal by his Letters deſired the Regent to give out his Mandate for a civil Judg to ſit upon the Offendor, (for he himſelf, by the Pope's Canon Law, could not ſit upon the Life or Death of any Man) that ſo, he that was already judg'd an Heretick by the Prieſts, might be alſo ſentenc'd to Death by the Secular Power. The Regent was not likely to have made any Scruple in granting his Requeſt, unleſs *David Hamilton* of *Preſton*, his Kinſman, had interpoſed and kept him back, who did both adviſe, entreat, threaten, and ſometimes chid him, in order to ſtop the Proceſs againſt *George*: The Sum of his Diſcourſe is reported to be this, 'That he did very much wonder, upon what 'account the Regent ſhould give ſuch a large Power to any Man,

|| The Cardinal deſires a criminal Judg againſt *George Wiſeheart*.

But *David Hamilton* of *Preſton* (a Village in *Eaſt-Lothian*) perſuades the Regent not to grant one.

'againſt

'againſt the Servants of God, and, who had no other Crime objected 'againſt them, beſides the preaching the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; 'and eſpecially to ſuch, whoſe flagitious Lives, and brutiſh Cruel- 'ty, cared not what Torments they put an innocent Man to; 'whoſe Integrity of Life, his very Enemies were forc'd to confeſs, 'even againſt their Will, and, for his Learning, he himſelf knew 'it to be great; that further, he himſelf had been formerly a 'great Favourer of him, and it: 'Twas by his Commendation, 'that he was advanc'd to the Supream Magiſtracy; and alſo, that 'he had given forth Edicts to declare his aſſent to his Doctrine pub- 'lickly, and had undertook to defend it; yea, he had exhorted 'all in general, and each Man in particular, to read, underſtand, 'practice and exemplify it in their Hearts and Lives: Conſider 'therefore with your ſelf, ſaid he, what will Men think, what 'will Men ſay of you, conſider the Mercies God Almighty hath 'beſtowed upon you: The King, an active Man, and your Enemy 'was taken away, who walk'd in the very ſame ſteps you now 'tread. They, who brought him to ruin by their advice, do now 'alſo indeavour to deſtroy you: they have oppoſed you from the 'beginning with the Weight of all their Power; and now they 'ſeek, by Fraudulent Counſel, to enſnare and undo you. Call to 'mind (Sir) the Victory given you over your Subjects without 'Blood, and over your Enemies too, though having much greater 'Force than your ſelf, to your great renown, and their deſerv'd Ig- 'nominy. Remember, for whoſe ſake you thus deſert God, and 'oppoſe your and his Friends: Awake, I beſeech you, and diſpel 'that Miſt, which nefarious Perſons have caſt before your Eyes; 'remember *Saul* King of *Iſrael*, how he was raiſed up from a *low* 'to a *Sovereign* Eſtate, and how many Bleſſings he received from 'God, as long as he was obedient to his Law; but when he ſlighted 'and turned aſide from his Commandments, how miſerably was he 'puniſhed? Compare the Succeſs of your Affairs, from the begin- 'ning to this very day, with his Proſperities; and unleſs you alter the 'courſe of your Deſigns, expect no happy Iſſue, (nay, rather a 'worſe end, than he.) For he did deſign the ſame Projects which you 'now act, and that to gratify ſome baſe Varlets, who can neither 'hide their open Wickedneſſes, nor do not ſo much as indeavour to 'diſſemble them.

† The Regent not ſatisfied to proceed againſt *George*;

The † Regent was affected at the advice of his Friend, and writ back an Anſwer to the Cardinal, that he ſhould not precipitate the Proceſs, but let the whole matter alone, till he came himſelf; for he was not willing to conſent to the Condemnation of the Man, till he had more diligently enquired into his Cauſe; and if the Cardinal did otherwiſe, the Man's Blood ſhould light on his Head, for he teſtify'd by theſe Letters, that he himſelf was free therefrom.

The Cardinal was unexpectedly ſurprized with this Anſwer; he knew well enough, that, if Delays were made in the Caſe, the Priſoner would be deliver'd, as being a popular Man; and beſides, he would not ſuffer the thing to be brought under a Debate, partly becauſe the Man having been already condemned by the Eccleſia-

ſticks,

sticks, he would have no Recognition made; so that he was ragingly angry, and persisted in the Resolution he had taken; and his Reply was, That he did not write to the Regent, as if he had not sufficient Authority independently without him, but for a specious pretence to the Vulgar, that his Name might be to the Condemnation. Hereupon *George* was brought out of Prison, and *John Windram*, a learned Man, and an hearty, though secret, Favourer of the Cause of Religion, was commanded to mount a kind of Pulpit there erected, and to preach; he took his Text out of *Mat.* 13. which says, That *the Good Seed is the Word of God, but the Evil Seed is Heresy:* In his Discourse, defining Heresy, he said, It was a false Opinion, evidently repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, and maintained with Obstinacy; and that 'twas occasioned, and also supported and fostered, by the Ignorance of the Pastors of the Church, who did not know, how, either to convince Hereticks, or to reduce those who were gone astray, by the Spiritual Sword, which is the Word of God. Afterwards he explained the Duty of a Bishop, out of the Epistle to *Timothy*, and shewed, that there was only *one* way to find out Heresy, which was to bring it to the *Test* of the Word of God. At length, when he made an end, though what he spoke made against the Priests, who were there assembled not to refute Heresies, but to punish those who opposed their licentious Arrogance; yet, as if all things went well on their side, they hale forth *George* to a Pulpit or Scaffold, built in the Church; that so they might observe their accustomed Form in Judgment; over against him there was another Pulpit, which *John Lauder*, a Popish Priest, mounted, and the rest stood all about him, as 'twere, to judg; but there was not the least appearance of a Judgment, or of a free Disputation in the Case. For the Accuser thundred out many odious and abominable Slanders, such as are wont to be commonly forg'd against the Preachers of the purest Doctrine, with great Acerbity of Words; and thus having spent some hours, *George* was brought back again to the Castle, and lodg'd in the Governour's Chamber, spending great part of his Time that Night in Prayer: The next Morning, the Bishops sent two *Franciscans* to him, to acquaint him, that his Death was at hand, and to know, whether they should confess him, as is usual in such Cases? he told them, he had nothing to do with *Friars*, nor had any mind to discourse them; but if they had a mind to gratify him in the thing, then he desired to confer with that learned Man which preach'd yesterday. Whereupon the Bishops gave him leave to go to the Castle, and *George* had a long Discourse with *Windram*, who, after he had ceas'd weeping, (which for a while he could not refrain) very friendly demanded of him, whether he would receive the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper?* With all my heart, said *George*, if I may receive it under both kinds of Bread and Wine, according to Christ's Institution: *Windram* return'd to the Bishops, and told them, that *George* did solemnly profess, that he was innocent of the Crime of which he was accused; which he spake, not to deprecate his Death now at hand, but only to testify his Innocency before Men, as 'twas before sufficiently known to God. The Cardinal was much inraged,

Whereupon the Cardinal proceeds against him, by his own Authority.

George Wisheart's pious and Christian Deportment before his Death.

Ay,

Ay, ſays he, we know well enough what you are. Being further demanded, whether he would admit him to receive the Sacrament? he talk'd a little with the Biſhops, and, with their Conſent, made Anſwer, That 'twas not fit that a ſtubborn Heretick, condemn'd by the Church, ſhould enjoy any Benefits of the Church. That Anſwer was return'd to him; and about nine of the Clock, the Friends and Officers of the Governor of the Caſtle ſat down to Breakfaſt, they asked *George*, whether he would eat with them? Very willingly, ſaid he, and much more ſo than in former times, becauſe, I perceive, that you are good Men, and Fellow-members with me of the ſame Body of Chriſt, and becauſe, I know, that this is the laſt Meal I ſhall eat on Earth. And for you, (ſpeaking to the Governor of the Caſtle) I deſire you in the Name of God, and for that Love which you bear to our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, that you'l ſit down a while with us, and vouchſafe me the Hearing, whilſt I give you a ſhort Exhortation, and ſo pray over this Bread, which, as Brethren in Chriſt, we are about to eat, and then I will bid you Farewel. In the Interim, the Cloth was laid (according to Cuſtom) and Bread ſet on, when *George* made a brief and clear Diſcourſe for about half an hour concerning Chriſt's laſt Supper, his Sufferings and Death. But, above all, he exhorted them to lay aſide Anger, Envy and Malice, and to have mutual Love impreſs'd on their Minds, that ſo they might become perfect Members of Chriſt, who daily intercedes for us with his Father, that our Sacrifice might be accepted by him to Eternal Life. When he had thus ſpoken, he gave Thanks, and then brake the Bread, and gave to every one a piece; and then the Wine, after he himſelf had drank in the ſame manner, intreating them to remember the Death of Chriſt now in the laſt Sacrament with him; as for himſelf, a bitterer Portion was prepared for him for no other reaſon, but his preaching the Goſpel; and then having again given Thanks, he returned to his Chamber, and concluded with Prayer. A while after, two Executioners were ſent to him by the Cardinal, one of them put a black Linen Shirt upon him, and the other bound many little Bags of Gunpowder to all the Parts of his Body: In this Dreſs they brought him forth, and commanded him to ſtay in the Chamber, without the Governour's. And at the ſame time, they erected a Wooden Scaffold in the Court before the Caſtle, and made up a Pile of Wood. The Windows and Forts of the Caſtle over againſt it, were all hung with Tapeſtry and ſilk Hangings, with Cuſhions for the Cardinal, with his Train, to behold, and take pleaſure in the joyful Sight, even the Torture of an innocent Man; thus endeavouring to curry Favour with the Vulgar, as the Author of ſo notable a Prank. There was alſo a great Guard of Souldiers, not ſo much to ſecure the Execution, as for a vain Oſtentation of his Power; and beſides, Braſs Guns were plac'd up and down in all convenient Places of the Caſtle. Thus, whilſt the Trumpets ſounded, *George* was brought forth, mounted the Scaffold, and was faſtened with a Cord to the Stake, and, having ſcarce obtain'd Liberty to pray for the Church of God, the Executioners fired the Wood, which took hold of the Powder tied about him immediately, and

blew

blew it up into Flame and Smoke. The Governor of the Caſtle, who ſtood ſo near that he was ſing'd with the Flame, exhorted him, in a few words, to be of good chear, and to ask Pardon of God for his Offences: To whom he replied, 'This Flame occaſions trouble 'to my Body indeed, but it hath in no wiſe broken my Spirit: But 'He, who now ſo proudly looks down upon me from yonder loſty 'Place, (pointing to the Cardinal) ſhall 'ere long be as ignomini- 'ouſly thrown down, as now he proudly lies at his Eaſe. Having thus ſpoken, they ſtraitned the Rope, which was tied about his Neck, and ſo ſtrangled him; his Body in a few hours was conſum'd to Aſhes in the Flame, and the Biſhop, being yet mad with Hate and Rage, forbad every body, upon great Penalties, to pray for the Deceaſed.

George Wiſbeart's Prophecy, at his death, concerning the Cardinal's Fall.

The Martyrdom of *George Wiſbeart.*

After this Fact, the Cardinal was highly commended by his Faction, and extolled to the very Skies, that he alone, when others declined it, had ſlighted the Authority of the Regent, and performed ſo noble an Exploit, whereby he had curb'd popular Inſolency, and had couragiouſly undertook, and as happily manag'd the Defence of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Order. If the Church had formerly had (ſaid they) ſuch valiant Aſſertors of its Liberties, it would never have been brought to that Paſs, as it is at this Day, (*i. e.*) to truckle under, but it would have given Law to all, and received it from none. This luxuriant and ſuperlative Joy of the Prieſts for their obtained Victory, did rather irritate than diſcourage the Minds, not only of the promiſcuous Vulgar, but even of ſome great and noble Perſons alſo: They fretted, that things were come to that paſs by their own Cowheartedneſs, ſo that now ſome bold thing or other was to be attempted and hazarded, or elſe they were Slaves for ever. Hereupon more Company came in to them, whoſe Grief enforc'd them to brake out in Complaints againſt the Cardinal, ſo that they encouraged one another to rid the Cardinal out of the way, and either to recover their Liberty, or loſe their Lives; For what hope of thriving, ſaid they, could there be under ſo arrogant a Prieſt, and ſo cruel a Tyrant, who made War againſt God as well as Men, and thoſe, not his Enemies only, as were all ſuch as had Eſtates, or were any way pious; but if he bore but a grudg againſt a Man, he would hale him, as a Hog out of the Sty, to be ſacrific'd to his Luſts. And beſides, he was a publick Encourager and Maintainer of War, both at Home and Abroad; and in his private capacity, he mixed the Love of Harlots, with lawful Marriages. Legitimate Wedlock he diſſolv'd at pleaſure; at Home he wallowed in Luſt among his Minions, and Abroad he ravag'd to deſtroy the Innocent. The Cardinal himſelf, though he did not diſtruſt his own Power, yet knowing how People ſtood affected towards him, and what Reports were ſpread up and down concerning him, thought it his beſt way to ſtrengthen his Power by ſome new Acceſſion or other. Hereupon he went to *Angus*, and married his eldeſt Daughter to the Son of the Earl of *Crawford*; the Marriage was ſolemnized in great State, and (almoſt) with a Royal Magnificence. Whilſt theſe things were acting, he received Intelligence by his Spies, That the King of *England* was making great Naval Preparations to infeſt

The foul Character of Cardinal *Beton.*

the *Scotiſh* Coaſts, but eſpecially the Inhabitants of *Fife*, whom he threatned moſt: Whereupon he returned to St. *Andrews*, and there appointed a Day for the Nobility, eſpecially thoſe, whoſe Eſtates lay near to the Sea, to meet, and to conſult in common, what Remedy to apply to the preſent Malady. And to do it more effectually, he determined to take a View of all the Sea-Coaſts, together with the Owners of the *Lands*, and ſo in a manner to circuit about all *Fife*, and to fortify all convenient Places, and to put Gariſons into them. Amongſt the reſt of the Noble Mens Sons, who came in to the Cardinal, *Norman Leſly*, Son to the Earl of *Rothes*, was one, of whom I have made mention ſeveral times before: He had done great and eminent Service for the Cardinal, but, on a time, there fell out a Diſpute betweeen them concerning a private buſineſs, which eſtrang'd them a while, one from another; but *Norman*, upon great Promiſes made to him, quitted his Right in the Matter conteſted for: After a few Months, coming to demand of the Cardinal the performance of what was promiſed him, they fell from plain Diſcourſe to chiding, and afterwards to downright railing, uttering ſuch reproachful words one to another, as were ſeemly for neither of them; and thus they parted in a great Rage one from another; the Cardinal fretting, that he was not treated with that Deference which was due to his Dignity; and *Norman*, full of Wrath and Rage, as being circumvented by Fraud, ſo that he returned home, with thoughts full of Revenge, and inveighed openly amongſt his Friends, againſt the intolerable Pride of the Cardinal, inſomuch that they all agreed to take away his Life: And, that the matter might paſs with the leaſt Suſpicion, *Norman*, with five only in his Company, came to St. *Andrews*, and took up his uſual Inn, that ſo the deſign of cutting him off might be concealed, by reaſon of the paucity of his Attendants. There were Ten more in the Town, privy to the Conſpiracy; who all, in ſeveral Places, expected the Watch-word: With this ſmall Company, did he undertake ſo great an Enterpriſe, and that in a Town which was full of the Cardinal's Train, Kindred and Attendants. The Days were then very long, as they uſe to be in thoſe Countries, towards the end of the Spring, *viz.* about *May* 7. And the Cardinal was fortifying his Caſtle for Defence, in ſo great haſte, that the Work-men continued at it almoſt Night and Day; ſo that, when the Porter, early in the Morning, opened the Gates to let in the Workmen, *Norman* had plac'd two of his Men in Ambuſh, in an Houſe hard by, who were to ſeize the Porter; and when they had made themſelves Maſters of the Gate, they were to give a Sign, agreed on, to the reſt: By this means they all entred the Caſtle without any Noiſe, and ſent four of their number to watch the Cardinal's Chamber-door, that no Tidings might be carried in to him; others were appointed to go to the Chambers of the reſt of the Houſhold, to call them up, (for they well knew both the Men and the Place); them they rouz'd up, being half aſleep; and calling them all by their Names, they threatned immediately to kill them, if they made but the leaſt Outcry; ſo that they led them all, in great ſilence, out of the Caſtle, without doing them any hurt at all: When all the reſt were put out,

Norman Leſly, with a few Partiſans, ſurpriſes the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*, and kills Cardinal *Beton*, accord- to *George Wiſheart*'s Prophecy before-mentioned.

out, then they alone were Masters of the Castle; whereupon, those, who watched at the Cardinal's Door, knocked at it. They within asked them their Names: they told them, and then they were let in; having, as some write, past their words, that they would hurt no body; and when they were entred, they dispatch'd the Cardinal with many Wounds. In the mean time, a Noise was spread about the whole Town, that the Castle was taken, insomuch that the Cardinal's Friends, half drunk, and half sleeping, started out of their Beds, and cried out *Arm*; thus to the Castle they posted, and called out, with minacious and opprobrious words, for Ladders; other things they also brought, necessary for a Storm. They, who saw them out of the Castle, that they might blunt the present Impetuousness of their Minds, and call back their mad Spirits to consider themselves, crying out to them, demanded, why they made such a bustle? for the Man was dead whom they sought to rescue, and with that word they threw the dead Body out in the sight of them all, even out of that very place, where before he had rejoicingly beheld the Execution of *George Wiseheart*.

Whereupon, many did revolve, within themselves, the Inconstancy of human Affairs, and that unexpected Event; many also were affected with the Prediction of *George Wiseheart*, concerning his Death, which then came into their Minds; and many other things also, which that holy Man had foretold, not without the special Inspiration of God's Spirit, (as we have cause to believe, and as the Event soon after made appear.) The Cardinal's Friends and Kinsmen, being astonish'd at this unexpected sight, soon sculk'd away. When the matter was divulg'd all over the Kingdom, Mens Minds were variously affected, as they either hated or loved the Cardinal; some thought it a brave, others a nefarious, Fact. There were many also, who, being in a different way of Worship from him, were afraid of their Lives, and others were offended at his intolerable Arrogance; these did not only approve the Fact, but came to gratulate the Committers of it, as the Restorers of their ancient Liberties, and some of them ventured their Lives and Fortunes in their Quarrel. The Court was grievously affrighted at the News, as having lost part of their Council; but, by the advice of those which were present, they sent forth a Proclamation, that the Murderers should come in within six Days, to give Sureties to answer matters at a Day, which was to be nominated for that purpose: But they had a strong Castle over their Heads, and, in it, all the Cardinal's Mony and Housholdstuff; and, besides they had the Regent's eldest Son with them, who was given in Hostage to the Cardinal, as is related before; so that they gave no credit to the Promises of their Enemies, whose Levity and Perfidiousness they had sufficient Experience of before, and therefore they refused to hearken to any Conditions of Peace; whereupon they were Outlawed. Thus the matter was protracted, partly by the Threats and vain Promises of the one party, and the Diffidence of the other, from the Month of *May* till the * *Nones* of *December*; and then the Regent, by the Importunity of the Queen-Mother, and the malicious Clamors of the Priests, took Arms, and lay three

Those that slew the Cardinal, & thos summoned, yet refuse to appear.

* *November* 5.

whole Months before the Caſtle, battering it with his Braſs Guns; but, in the fourth Month, almoſt at the End of Winter, he diſmiſs'd his Army, without carrying the Place, and went to *Edinburgh*, to be preſent at the Convention of Eſtates, which he had before indicted to be held in *February*.

The Murderers of the Cardinal not reclaimed by the preaching of *John Knox*.

They, who held the Caſtle, being thus freed from fear of their Enemy, did not only make frequent Excurſions into the neighbouring Parts, and commit Depredations with Fire and Sword therein; but, as if the Liberty gotten by their Arms, were to be ſpent in Whoredoms, Adulteries, and ſuch Vices, they ran into all the Wickedneſs, which idle Perſons are ſubject to; for they meaſured Right and Wrong by no other Rule but their own Luſt; neither could they be reclaimed by *John Knox*, who then came to them, and often warn'd them, that God would not be mocked, but would take ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe, who were Violators of his Laws, even by thoſe whom they leaſt dream'd of; yet his Exhortations could not ſtop the Courſe of their Flagitiouſneſs.

The *Engliſh* invade *Scotland*.

Beſides this domeſtick Miſchief raging even in the very Bowels of the Kingdom, there was an Acceſſion made by a War with *England*: For the *Engliſh* had paſs'd over the *Solway* with their Forces, and made People terribly afraid; they were not contented with the Pillage and Prey, but they fired ſome Places, took ſome Strongholds, and put Gariſons in them. Neither were Matters quieter in the other parts of the Borders; *Robert Maxwel*, upon whom the greateſt part of the Storm fell, came to *Edinburgh* to crave Aid, when almoſt all was loſt; he alleged, that the Country was deſolated, that their Gariſons were taken and kept by their Enemies, that the Husbandman was driven away from his Habitation, and forc'd to live, in much want, on the Charity of his Friends, and that they ſuffered all this, becauſe they would not change nor forfeit their Fidelity to their King; but if no Courſe were taken for their Relief, in ſome ſhort time, their Miſeries would compel them to give themſelves up to the *Engliſh*; and ſo would their Neighbours too, for fear they ſhould undergo the like. Hereupon, Aid was promiſed him to recover his Own; and the Regent marching his Army thither, formed his Camp by the River † *Megget*. There the Cardinal's Friends earneſtly deſired of him to call *George Leſly*, *Norman*'s Father, who was then in the Camp, to his Anſwer, and not to carry ſo potent a Man with him, as his Companion in the War, whoſe Faith was ſuſpected, or rather who was an open Enemy: The Earl, though the Time and Place did not favour it, yet was willing immediately to put himſelf on the Trial; hereupon the Names of the Judges, or Jury, were (according to Cuſtom, which I have elſewhere mentioned,) impannell'd, and none of them were excepted againſt by the adverſe Party, yet, by all their Votes he was acquitted. From thence they marched to the Caſtle of || *Langham*, from thence they drove out the *Engliſh*; and, as they reſolved to attempt other Forts, they were call'd back by a ſudden Meſſage. For News were brought them, that a *French* Fleet was ſeen not far from the Promontory of * St. *Ebb*, wherein were one and twenty Ships. The Regent imagining what the matter was, that they were come

† A ſmall River in *Eweſdale*.

The Regent marches againſt the *Engliſh*.

|| Or *Lang-hope*, lying near the Confluence of the Rivers *Eſk* and *Ewes* in *Eweſdale*.

* St. *Ebbs* Head on the Mouth of the *Forth* in *Merſs*.

to

to beſiege the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, (as had been agreed between them) march'd joyfully home, there he diſcourſed *Leon Strozy*, Admiral of the *French* Fleet, and they both agreed to lay cloſe Siege to the Caſtle, which they did, with ſo much Celerity, that many of the Gariſon-Souldiers, which were abroad could not come in, and many Country-men, which had no hand in the Conſpiracy, but occaſionally came into the Caſtle, about their private Affairs, could not get out. They planted their Braſs Guns upon the Towers of two Churches, which ſtood near on both ſides the Caſtle, which did ſo annoy the whole Court within the Caſtle-Walls, that the Defenders could hardly ſtir in or out. And afterwards they brought bigger pieces of Ordnance, and play'd upon part of the Wall, which ſtood between two *Towers*, which was ſoon batter'd down, becauſe the later Buildings were not at all compacted with the former, and ſo it fell down with a mighty Noiſe. Hereupon they within, who before truſted to their Fortifications, and were ready to expoſe themſelves to ſtop any Breach, now began to be afraid, and calling together a Council of War, becauſe they fear'd the Cruelty of the Regent in revenging the Death of his Kinſman, (ſuch Sentiments making deep Impreſſions on infirm Minds) they ſurrendred the Caſtle and themſelves to *Leon Strozy*, only upon Quarter for Life. *Leon* hereupon ſent in his Men to pillage the Caſtle, wherein was found, beſides a great Quantity of Proviſions of all ſorts, all the Cardinal's Mony and Houſhold-ſtuff, and all the Wealth of the Gariſon-Souldiers, and of many others alſo, who had laid up their Goods there, as in a place of Refuge; there alſo they found the Regent's Son, who was before given in Hoſtage by his Father to the Cardinal, and, when he was ſlain, was detain'd there. The Caſtle was demoliſh'd by Advice and Order of the Council; and a few days after, *Leon* ſet Sail, with his Priſoners, for *France*. Theſe things fell out in *Auguſt*, 1547.

St. *Andrews* Caſtle taken by the Regent, with the Aſſiſtance of the *French*.

About the ſame time, News was brought, that the *Engliſh* had prepared great Forces both by Land and Sea to invade *Scotland*, and to demand the Performance of the Treaty, which was made four Years before with the Regent, concerning the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* to the King of *England*'s Son. This ſudden Report mightily affected the Regent, who was faint-hearted enough of himſelf, for he had then no foreign Aid, neither did he much confide in his own forces: For the Papal Faction were offended at his Levity, and the Friends of exil'd *Lennox* having been cruelly intreated by him, retained the Seeds of their old Hatred againſt him; yet, upon his Proclamation, there came in great numbers to *Edinburgh*, from thence they march'd to the Mouth of the River *Eſk*, which runs through *Lothian*, and there waited for the coming of the *Engliſh*. In the mean time, the *Scotiſh* Horſe rode up towards the Enemy in their March, and challenged them to fight, by this means creating ſome trouble to them in their Paſſage: But the *Engliſh* General, who knew that the *Scots* were better than his own Men at ſuch tumultuary Skirmiſhes, had given Command, that none of his Troops ſhould march out to encounter them. At laſt upon the Importunity of *Grey*, Commander of the Horſe, he

The *Engliſh* enter *Scotland*, and repulſe the Regent's Forces.

was

was perſuaded to ſend out ſome Troops of Horſe well-armed, and of Curiaſiers, which ſhould ſuddenly ruſh in upon them, unprepared for Reſiſtance; The *Scots* being grown fearleſs of the Enemy, but now aſtoniſh'd at the ſudden Onſet, brake their Ranks, and fled for their Lives, and about 800 of them were either ſlain or taken; of the *Engliſh* alſo, who preſt too eagerly on the purſuit, ſeveral were taken Priſoners, amongſt which were ſome eminent Horſe-Commanders. From that day forward, there was no memorable Action performed by the *Scotiſh* Horſe. The *Engliſh* had their Camp at the Town of † *Preſton*, a little more than a Mile from Them. From thence they might behold the number of the *Scotiſh* Army from the high Ground, and perceiving them to be more than they thought, they adviſed what courſe to take, and reſolved to ſend Letters to the *Scots*, that ſo, if juſt and equal Conditions might be agreed on, the matter might be compos'd rather by Treaty than by Force. The Contents of the Letters, were; 'They 'earneſtly deſired the *Scots* to remember, that both Armies profeſs'd 'the Chriſtian Religion, to whom (unleſs they did renounce 'their Profeſſion) nothing ought to be more dear than Peace and 'Tranquillity, and nothing more to be abhorr'd than unjuſt Arms 'and War; that the cauſe of the preſent War, was not Covetouſneſs, Hatred, or Envy, but a Deſire of perpetual Peace, which 'could no ways ſo firmly coaleſce as by a Marriage, which had 'been already promiſed by the publick Decree and Conſent of all 'the Eſtates, and ratified by a League, and that on ſuch Conditions, 'as were more advantageous to the *Scots* than the *Engliſh*, not to reduce them into an Eſtate of Servitude, but to a joint Society of 'Life, and Participation, and Communion, of all their Fortunes; 'which Marriage would be ſo much the more beneficial to the '*Scots* than *Engliſh*, becauſe the Weaker might expect Advantage 'from the Stronger, as being poſſeſs'd with a greater Fear, leſt he 'might be wrong'd by him: And, at the preſent, in caſting up accounts of things, you are firſt to conſider the Caſe, that it is very 'neceſſary your Queen ſhould marry, that neceſſity was inevitable, 'and that it was a difficult thing to moderate it, and that the ſole 'Power of chuſing her an Husband was left to the Eſtates; If 'they would chuſe a Family upon the account of Dignity and publick Advantage, whom could they pitch upon better, than a 'Neighbour King, born in the ſame Iſland, ally'd in Blood, inſtituted in the ſame Laws, educated in the ſame Manners and 'Language, and ſuperior not in Power alone, but in all external 'Ornaments and Acceſſions of Dignity? And beſides, this Marriage 'would bring with it a perpetual Concord, and an Oblivion of all 'old Grudges. But if they had Thoughts to bring in a Stranger amonſt them, to undertake the Kingdom, that differ'd from them in 'Language, Laws and Cuſtoms, they ſhould conſider, how many 'Inconveniences lodg'd in the Belly of that Deſign, which they 'might eaſily foreſee by the Examples of other Nations, and 'twere better ſo to do, than to learn it by Trial and feeling the 'Smart thereof. As for themſelves, if they found the Spirits of 'the *Scots* not wholly averſe from an Agreement, they were ready 'to

† Two Miles Eaſt of *Muſſelborough* in *Eaſt-Lothian*.

The *Engliſh* ſend Letters to the *Scots*, perſuaſory to Peace,

'to remit ſomething of the Rigour of Law, and Right; and that 'they would be content the young Queen ſhould be educated under 'Scotiſh Superviſors, till ſhe came to be marriagable, and fit, by 'the Advice of the Nobles, to chuſe an Husband for her ſelf; and 'till that time came, both ſides ſhould abſtain from War and Ra-'pine; and that the Queen ſhould not be tranſported beyond Sea, 'nor that any Treaty ſhould be intertain'd by the *Scots* concerning 'her Marriage with the *French*, or any other foreign Prince: If 'the *Scots* would faithfully promiſe this, they would preſently de-'part and withdraw their Forces, and as for what Damage they 'had done, ſince they entred *Scotland*, they would make Reſtitu-'tion, as indifferent Men ſhould award.

Theſe Letters were brought to the Regent, who communicated them to his Brother *John*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, whom he had aſſum'd into the Place and Authority of the Cardinal, and to ſome few others: They, in hopes of a ſure Victory, gave him advice to ſuppreſs them; for they were afraid, that if the Equity of the Propoſals were made known, the *Scots* would be taken off, and hearken to terms of Peace, and therefore they gave out through the whole Army, that the *Engliſh* were come on purpoſe to take away their Queen by force, and to reduce the Land to their own Subjection. And the Regent, being naturally unactive, had choſen four, no more verſed in Military Affairs than himſelf, who did turn and wind all things at their Pleaſure; thoſe were his three Kinſmen and Allies, *John* his Brother, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and Abbat of *Dumfermlin*; *George Dury*; *Alexander Beton*; and the 4*th* was *Hugh Riggs* a Lawyer, noted more for his big Body, Corpulency, and bulky Strength, than for any Military Skill. Theſe Men did ſo puff up the Regent with a vain hope of Victory, that, being of himſelf inconſtant and variable in his Deſigns at every blaſt of Wind, he ſhut his Ears againſt the advice of all others. Hereupon, when the Regent's Privadoes had caus'd the Report, which they themſelves had raiſed, to be ſpred all over the Army, they all ran haſtily to their Arms. *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, led the Van; *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, brought up the Rear, each of them had 10000 fighting Men, and the Regent had about the ſame number in the main Battel. In this Poſture, a Report was ſuddenly rais'd, that the *Engliſh* were fled away, and it was not altogether without ground; for they, wanting Proviſion, and not being able to fetch it from far, nor to forage for it in the Neighbour-hood, which was ſo unfurniſh'd afore, thought it the beſt way to preſerve themſelves, if they left their Baggage behind them, and march'd long Marches backward, but having ſo many arm'd Men ready to ingage, ſeeing they durſt not come down into the Campagn, nor could deceive the Enemy by going about, they waited his coming on the higher ground. On the other ſide, the Regent was impatient of Delay, and ſent one to *Douglas* to march on with ſpeed; but he knowing, that the *Engliſh* could not long keep that ground for want of Proviſion, and ſo waited to fall on the Rear, made no great haſte, till he was ſtirr'd up by another Meſſenger from the Regent, then, and not before, he paſt over the River. The main Battel

Which being rejected by the Regent,

tel, and the Rear, following at a great Distance after. The *English* who were about to depart, perceiving *Douglas* to draw towards them upon the Speed, sent out *Grey*, Commander of the Horse with his whole Body to meet him, and stop his Carreer, till the Foot had possess'd themselves of a Neighbour-hill; or, if he saw cause, he was to disturb them in their ranks; for, seeing the major part of them were arm'd after the *French* mode, they thought the *Scots* would never be able to bear the brunt of their charge: But a Brigade of the *Scots* marching in close order together, holding forth their Stand of long Pikes before them, as a Fence, received the Assault; there the Van of the *English* running in upon, and intangling themselves amongst, the Pikes, the rest thought themselves ambuscado'd, and so returned to their Body, telling them that the *Scots* Ranks could no more be broken, than if they charg'd against a Wall: Hereupon, the *English* Horse were about to leave the Foot and fly, but by the Persuasion of their Commanders, and their mutual encouraging one another, and withall all hoping for a more advantagious Ground to fight in, they were retain'd, and renew'd their Ranks. The *Scots* were held from marching forward to the opposite Hill, chiefly upon this account, because they perceived *Jambo* a Spaniard, with some Troops of his Country-men, Harquebuisiers, to come down obliquely from the Hill, as if he would fall on their Flank; and therefore, that no sudden Emergency might cause them to divide their Brigade, and also that they might not be attack'd on their Flanks, they wheeled about leisurely from the right ascent of the Hill. The main Battel, when they saw the Van to leave their Station, thought, that they were running away, so that they also broke their Ranks, and betook themselves to their Heels. The *English*, seeing this from the high Grounds, sent out their Horse, and trod many of them under foot in the pursuit. During all this March from *Esk* to the *English* Camp, the *English* Navy plaid upon the Flank of the *Scots* out of their Ships, and did them much Mischief. All the Ways were strow'd with Arms, by reason of the great Slaughter which was made, and many also were drown'd in the River. The *English* were most severe against the Priests and the Monks, (for those of that Tribe, who were lusty and able to bear Arms, came into the Field) and there were many who imputed the loss of the Day to them, who had arrogantly refused honest Conditions of Peace, and who, if they had the Victory, would have used it as cruelly towards their own Country-men, as their Enemies. In the first Charge, the *English* lost about 200 Horse, but of the *Scots* there fell the prime of all the noblest Families, with their Relations and Tenants, who counted it a flagitious thing to desert them; many were taken in the Pursuit. The High-landers gathered themselves together in a round Body, kept their Ranks, and returned safe home; for, at first, they march'd through craggy places, and inconvenient for Horse, and if they were sometimes necessitated to descend into the Plains, yet the *English* Horse, who followed the Pursuit scatter'dly, durst not attack them. This Battel, amongst a few others, was very calamitous to the *Scots*, it was fought the 10*th* of *September*, in the Year 1547.

He gives them Battel;

But receives a great Overthrow.

The

The *Engliſh* having got the Victory, which was ſo much the more joyful, becauſe it was unexpected, march'd five Miles further with all their Forces, and there they ſtaid eight days, ſending out parties every day ſix Miles round, who burnt and deſtroy'd all within that Compaſs. They attempted nothing conſiderable beſides, ſaving the fortifying the deſolate Iſlands of *Inch-Keith* and *Inch-Colm* in the Bay of *Forth*; and in the Bay of *Tay*, they took the Caſtle † *Brockty*; and, in their return by Land, they took by Surrender the Caſtles of *Faſcaſtle* and *Hume*, which the Gariſons out of Fear gave up; and they raiſed Forts, one at *Lauder*, and another in the Ruins of *Roxborough* Caſtle.

† *Brockty*, ſtanding on a Rock, on the *Angus*-ſide of *Tay*, 2 Miles below *Dundee*.

Their ſudden Departure gave ſome Relief to the *Scots*, and a breathing-time for them to meet together to conſult about the main chance. The Regent, preſently after the Fight, came with that part of the Nobles which were with him to the two Queens at *Sterlin*, and to the Nobility attending there; the Regent and his Brother were very ſad and dejected for the Calamity which happen'd by their Default, and the Queen *Dowager* gave forth many outward Signs of Grief in her Speech and Countenance, but they which knew her Heart did judg, that ſhe was not much troubled to ſee the Arrogance of the *Hamiltons* ſo curbed; but to be joyous in a publick Calamity, they who uſe to cover the Faults of Princes under honeſt Diſguiſes, are wont to call Greatneſs of Mind. Beſides, the *Dowager*, ever ſince the Death of the Cardinal, had uſed all ways and means to throw the Regent out of his Office, and to inveſt the ſupream Authority in her ſelf, but ſhe knew ſhe could never effect it, as long as They were uppermoſt, and had all fortified places in their Hands: In all her Diſcourſe, ſhe heighten'd the Fear ſhe had from the *Engliſh*, and complained of the Weakneſs of their own domeſtick Forces, and propounded the Dangers imminent from the civil Diſſenſions amongſt them: She communicated her Deſign to thoſe, who ſhe knew, were ill affected towards the *Hamiltons*. When the Nobles were in Conſultation about the grand Affairs of the Kingdom, a Decree was made, that the Queen ſhould retire to *Dunbarton*, whilſt the Nobility did debate concerning the Eſtate of the Kingdom: *John Erskin* was made Governour of it, an unqueſtionable Favourer of the Queen's Faction, and *William Levingſton*, a Friend to the *Hamiltons*, was join'd in Commiſſion with him. Embaſſadors were alſo ſent into *France* to demand Aid of their King *Henry* againſt their common Enemy, according to the League made with him: Hopes was alſo given them, that the Queen would come over into *France*, and marry the *Dolphin*; but the *French* were intent upon their own Affairs, and therefore their Auxiliaries were ſlower than the preſent Danger required.

The *Engliſh* retreat out of *Scotland*.

In the mean time, the *Engliſh* entred *Scotland* on both ſides of the Borders: The Earl of *Lennox*, as if he had been ſent for by his Friends, came to *Dumfries*; for his Father-in-Law *Angus*, and his old Friend *Glencarne*, had promiſed him two thouſand Horſe and Foot of the neighbouring Parts to aſſiſt him, if he would leave the *Engliſh*, and come over to them; but when he came at the Place

The *Engliſh* again enter *Scotland*.

appointed, there were hardly Three hundred come together, and thoſe too of ſuch, who uſed to live on Robberies. Theſe and ſome other things of the like Nature, being very ſuſpicious, and ſpecially the wavering Mind of *John Maxwel*, who had already given Hoſtages to the *Engliſh*, made *Lennox* believe that he was betrayed, and therefore he reſolved to circumvent his Enemies with the like Fraud; he retained with him *Glencarn*, *John Maxwel*, and other chief Men of the *Scots*, who had treated with him concerning his Tranſition and Return into his own Country, and in the middle of the Night march'd toward *Drumlanerick*, with ſix hundred Horſe, part of the *Engliſh* and part of the *Scots*, who had yielded to them; when they came to the appointed Place, he ſent out five hundred, to commit what Spoil they could in the neighbouring Parts, that ſo he might draw out *James Douglas*, Owner of the Caſtle, into his Ambuſh; he, imagining ſuch a thing, kept within his Hold till 'twas Day; and then, being out of fear of Treachery, he marched out with his Men, and paſs'd over the River *Nith*, and preſs'd ſtraglingly upon the Plunderers, charging their Rear, as they were retreating. They having got a convenient Time and Place to rally, turn'd back upon him with great violence, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror into them in the Straits of a Ford, that they diſordered their Ranks, killed ſome, and took many conſiderable Priſoners. This light Expedition ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the greateſt part of *Galway*, that they ſtrove which of them ſhould yield firſt to the *Engliſh*, partly to gratify *Lennox*, and partly fearing, leſt, being forſaken by their Neighbours, they ſhould lie open to all Affronts. The *Scotiſh* Regent fearing, leſt in ſuch a general Hurly-burly, if he did attempt nothing, he ſhould altogether diſpirit his Men, who were diſcourag'd enough before, beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Brockty*, and having laid before it almoſt three Months, without performing any thing conſiderable, he drew off his Men, leaving only an hundred Horſe under the Command of *James Halyburton*, an active young Man, to infeſt the neighbouring Places, and to hinder any Proviſions from being carried in by Land to *Brockty*, or to the Gariſon which the *Engliſh* had plac'd on an Hill adjoining. Theſe Matters paſs'd at the End of that Year. In the beginning of the next, which was 1548, the *Engliſh* fortified *Hadington*, a Town in *Lothian* upon the *Tine*, and burned the Villages, and plundered the Country about, which was the richeſt part of *Scotland*, and they form'd another Gariſon at *Lauder*. *Lennox*, about the end of *February* having paſs'd over the Weſt-Border, hardly eſcap'd an Ambuſh laid for him by Part of thoſe, who had yielded themſelves; but, returning to *Carliſle*, he revenged himſelf by puniſhing ſome of the Hoſtages, eſpecially *John Maxwel*, the chief Author of the Revolt, according to the Contents of ſome Letters he had receiv'd from the King of *England*. During theſe Tranſactions, *Henry* of *France*, who ſucceeded his Father *Francis*, ſent Forces to the Sea to be tranſported into *Scotland*, about ſix thouſand Men, of which three thouſand were *German* Foot, commanded by the *Rhine-grave*; about two thouſand *French*; and one thouſand of divers Nations, all Horſe; they were all commanded to obey *Monſieur Deſſy* a *French*

And overthrow a Party of *Scots* commanded by *James Douglas*.

Henry of *France* ſends Aid to the *Scots*.

Man

Man, who had been a Commander in *France* ſome years, and had done good Service there. They landed at *Leith*, and were ordered to quarter at *Edinburgh*, till they had recovered their Sea-ſickneſs. The Regent, and the Forces with him, marched to *Hadington*, where they beſet all Paſſages, and laid a cloſe Siege to the Place. He ſent out a Proclamation into all Parts, in purſuance whereof, in a ſhort time, there came into him about eight thouſand *Scots*. There the Nobility aſſembled, and the Conſultation was renewed concerning the Queen's going into *France*, and marrying the *Daulphin*; a Council was called in a Monaſtery of Monks, without *Hadington*, in the very Camp. In that Convention there were various Diſputes; ſome ſaid, that if they ſent away the Queen, they muſt expect perpetual War from *England*, and Bondage from the *French*; others were of opinion, that by reaſon of Agreement in Religion, and the Condition of the preſent Times, it was beſt to embrace the Terms offered by the *Engliſh*, which were a Ten Years Peace, with no bad Covenants or Obligations on the *Scots*. For the whole of the League was, That, if the King of *England*, or Queen of *Scotland*, died within ten years, all things ſhould be, on both ſides, as they were before; and though no fortuitous Event ſhould happen between, yet the Kingdom might be hereby freed from its preſent Preſſures, which had almoſt broke its Strength; and the Souldiery, which were almoſt all loſt in the late Battel, might have time to grow up and increaſe in a long continued Peace; and, that inteſtine Diſcord being laid aſleep, they might more maturely conſider of the Grand Affairs, than they could do amongſt Drums and Trumpets: And in ſuch Conſultations, Delays were oftentimes of great Advantage, and raſh Feſtination was attended with ſpeedy Repentance: Thus They. But all the Papiſts favoured the *French*, and ſome others too, whom *French* Bounty had either foreſtalled, or elſe had rais'd up to great hopes of Advantage; amongſt whom, was the Regent; he had an yearly Revenue of 1200 *French* Piſtols promiſed him, and the Command of an 100 Curiaſſiers; ſo that the moſt Voices carried it, for the Queen's going into *France*: The Fleet, which was to convey her, rode at *Leith*; and, making as if they would go away, they ſailed about all *Scotland*, and came to *Dunbarton*, where the Queen went on Ship-board, (having ſtaid ſome Months for its Arrival) in the Company of *James* her Brother, *John Erskin*, and *William Levingſton*: She was toſſed with much foul Weather, and contrary Winds, but at laſt landed in *Bretaign*, a Peninſule in *France*, and, by eaſy Journies, went to Court.

The Queen of *Scotland* ſails into *France*.

In *Scotland*, whilſt the War ſtopp'd at *Hadington*, yet the Common People in ſeveral Places were not wanting to the preſent Occaſion. For the Gariſons of *Hume* and *Faſcaſtle* doing great hurt to the Neighbourhood, the *Scots* obſerving, that *Hume* was negligently guarded by Night, got up to the Top of a Rock, where the Confidence of the Unacceſſibleneſs of the Place, made thoſe within leſs watchful, and ſo they killed the Sentinels, and took the Caſtle. And not long after, when the Governor of *Faſcaſtle* had commanded the Country thereabouts to bring in a great quantity of Proviſions into the Caſtle, at a certain Day. The Country, upon this occaſion,

Hume and *Faſcaſtle*, gariſon'd by the *Engliſh*, are ſurprized by the *Scots*.

came numerously in, and unlading their Horses, they took up the Provision on their backs, to carry them over a Bridg, made betwixt two Rocks, into the Castle; assoon as ever they were entred, they threw down their Burden, and upon a Sign given, slew the Guards, and, before the rest of the *English* could come in, they seized on their Arms, and placed themselves in the Avenues; and thus, setting the Gates open for their whole Party to enter, they made themselves Masters of the Castle. In the mean time, the Naval Force of the *English* was not idle; for the whole stress of the Land-War lying upon *Hadington*, their Commanders thought that the neighbouring Parts were weakned and spoiled of all Defence, so that they resolved to land in *Fife*. And accordingly they pass'd by some Sea-Towns, which were well inhabited, and came to || St. *Minnans Kirk*, a Place peopled well enough, that from thence they might march by Land, to greater Towns, but less fortified, where the Pillage might be more worth their Labour. *James Stuart*, the Queen's Brother, receiving the Alarum, which the People of Saint *Andrews*, and a few of the Country-men which were left at home, made towards them, and in his way many of the Neighbourhood struck in with him. The *English* were already landed; and about 1200 of them stood ready in their Arms for the Encounter. The great Guns which they had landed, struck such a fear into the Country-men, that they quickly fled; but *James*, after he had a little stopp'd their Fear, charged the Enemy so briskly, that though he had but a raw and tumultuous Band along with him, he soon routed them, and drove them toward the Sea, killing many upon the Place, and many in the pursuit; not a few of them were drowned in hastning to their Ships; one Boat, with all its Passengers, was sunk, whilst they endeavoured some in Throngs to get on board. 'Tis reported, that there were 600 slain in the Fight, and 100 taken Prisoners. Whereupon the Fleet presently sailed to *Mern*, a Country less inhabited; their Design was to surprise *Monross*, a Town not far from the Mouth of the River *Dee*. They resolved to land in the Night; and therefore they staid at Anchor, out of sight of Land, as long as there was any Light in the Sky. But as they were making to Shoar in the dark, they discovered themselves by their own Imprudency, by hanging out Lights in every Boat; *John Erskin* of *Downe*, Governour of the Town, commanded his Men to arm, without making any Noise, and he divided them into three Bodies; he placed some behind an earthen Bank, which was rais'd on the Shoar, to hinder their landing; he, with some Archers lightly arm'd, made directly towards the Enemy; and a third Band of Servants and promiscuous Vulgar, he plac'd behind a Neighbour Hill, adding a few Souldiers to them, to govern the Rabble; Matters being thus order'd, he with his Archers fell upon the Enemy in their Descent, and maintain'd a sharp Dispute with them, till in a tumultuary kind of Fight, he had drawn them on to the Banks, there he join'd his other Party, who stood ready at their Arms, and they all fell on the Enemy; yet they had not given Ground, unless the last Body had shewn themselves with Colours flying from the next Hill; then they made such haste to their Ships, that of about 800,

|| Standing on the *Firth* of *Forth* in *Fife*.

The *English* Seamen landing in *Scotland* in two places, are twice repulsed.

800, which came on Shoar, hardly the third part escaped to their Ships.

In the mean time, great Salleys were made about *Hadington*, not without loss on either side, but most, of the *English*; whereupon they being in some want of Provisions, and fearing a greater, and perceiving also, that the Relief prepared came slowly on, and that they were so weakned, as to be hardly able to admit of the Delay: In the Interim, two brave Souldiers, *Robert Bovy* and *Thomas Palmer*, were commanded to march thither from *Berwick*, with 1000 Foot and 300 Horse, and to make all the Speed they could. These all fell into an Ambush laid for them, and scarce a Man of them escaped alive. The *English* resolved to send more Aid, but the *French*, discovering their Design, beset the narrow Passages, by which they were to march; but *Dessius*, being deceived by one of the Enemies Scouts which he had taken, who told him, that the *English* were far off, and were marching another way to relieve the Besieged, left the Straits he had possess'd, and went to another Place; in the Interim, the *English* marched thorow to their intended Post, without any hindrance. They brought with them 300 fresh Men, Powder and Bullet, and such other Provision as the Garison stood in most need of.

Hadington besieged by the *Scots*, but relieved by the *English*.

Whilst these things were acted at *Hadington*, which did not at all make to the Main of the War, News was brought, that the *English* had levied a compleat Army to raise the Siege: Whereupon *Dessius*, knowing, that he was not able to encounter the Forces which were a coming, removed his Leaguer farther off from the Town, and sent back his Great Guns, all but six small Field-Pieces, to *Edinburgh*. Upon the Coming of the *English* Army, the Siege was raised, because the *Scots* Commanders would not hazard the State of the Kingdom upon a single Battel; so that the *Scots* marched every one the next way home; the *French* also, though much press'd upon by the *English*, yet got well off. The *French* Souldiers, in their Return, slew the Governour of *Edinburgh*, and his Son, together with some of the Citizens who joined with them, because they refused to admit them into the Town with all their Forces, in regard, they knew, they could scarce keep them from plundring. *Dessius* in the Interim, lest the Sedition should increase, drew off; and withal supposing, that the Enemy would be more secure at *Hadington*, because of their good Success, resolved to make an Attempt to surprize it on a sudden. Thither he marched all that Night, and by break of Day slew the Sentinels, and came up to the Walls; they took the Fort before the Gate, kill'd the Watch, some endeavoured to break open the Gate; they also seized upon the Granaries of the *English*. In this hurry, the Noise of those who were breaking open the Gates, and the Huzza's of the *French*, crying out, *Victory*, *Victory*, rous'd up the *English* from their Sleep, which they had newly fallen into. In this great hurly-burly, a Souldier set fire to a Brass Gun, placed casually against the Gate, that he might, in a present Danger, make Trial of a doubtful Remedy. The Bullet broke through the Gate, and made a Lane in the thick Ranks of the *French*, so that, what between the Exclamations of the Souldiers

A Mutiny between the *French* and *Scots* at *Edinburgh*.

The design of the *French* to surprize *Hadington*, disappointed.

diers crying out *Victory*, and the Noise of the Gates which were broken, such a confused Clamor was carried to the Rear, that they were surprized with Fear, not knowing the Cause, and so fled, which occasioned the rest to follow after. The *French* being thus repuls'd with Loss, march'd into *Teviotdale*, which the *English* had done great Damage to; there, under the Conduct of *Dessius*, they drove the Enemy from *Jedburgh*, and made many Inrodes into *English* Ground, not without considerable Advantage. At length, when they had wasted all the Country, besides their daily Duty, they were also in great Want, and the Commonalty pitied them the less, because of their Prank at *Edinburgh*, for they looked upon that seditious Attempt as a Step to Tyranny. And from that time forward, the *French* did nothing worth speaking of. The King of *France* was made acquainted by Letter from the Regent, and Queen Dowager, how *Dessius* spent much time on light Expeditions, and unprofitable ones, and that he was more injurious to his Friends than Enemies, and that the *French* Souldiers were grown so insolent, since the Tumult at *Edinburgh*, that, by reason of the intestine Discord, all was like to be ruined: Whereupon *Dessius* was called back, and *Monsieur Paul Terms*, a good Souldier and prudent Commander, was sent with new Supplies for *Scotland*. *Dessius* thought it would be for his Honour to recover the Island *Keith*, which was taken a few Days before, and was begun to be fortified; so that he got together a Fleet at *Leith*, and went aboard with a select Company of *Scots* and *French*. The Queen was a Spectator of the Action, and egging them on, sometimes particularly, sometimes all in general, after he had landed in the Island, he drove the *English* into the highest Angle thereof, kill'd almost all their Commanders, and compell'd them to a Surrender, but not without Blood. This was his last noble piece of Service in *Britain*, and then he surrendred up his Army to *Termes*. *Termes* drew forth the Army out of their Winter-Quarters, and commanded them to march towards the Northern Shires, he himself, *Dessius* being dismiss'd, followed soon after, and laid Siege to the Fort of *Brockty*, and in a short time took it, and also the Castle adjoining, from the *English*, putting almost all of both Garisons to the Sword. When he was returned into *Lothian*, his great Care was, to hinder Provisions from being carried to *Hadington*; when, lo, upon a sudden, a great Army of *English* and *Germans* shewed themselves ready for the Encounter; whereupon he drew his Men backward, till he came to a Place of greater Safety. In the Interim, the *Scots* Cavalry, which skirted upon the Enemy on every side, perceiving the *German* Baggage to be unguarded, plunder'd them in a moment. In the mean time, Provisions were carried into *Hadington*, without any opposition. During these Matters, *Julian Romerus*, with a Troop of *Spaniards*, was taken securely in his Quarters, as if all had been at Peace, and almost all his whole Party was destroyed. *Termes*, when the *English* Forces were march'd home, resolv'd to return to the taking in of *Hadington*. They were stout Men that defended the Town, but in regard the Country was wasted all thereabouts, and Provisions could not be brought from far, but with great Hazard, and some-

The *French* disgusted by the *Scots*, for their Cruelty and Oppressions.

Dessius Commander of the *French* recalled from *Scotland*, and *Termes* sent to succeed him.

Dessius takes the Island *Keith* from the *English*, before his Departure.

ſometimes certain Loſs; and beſides, the *Engliſh* were troubled with great Seditions at home, and were further preſs'd upon by a War with *France*; hereupon the Gariſon of *Hadington*, having no hope of Relief, burnt the Town, and on the 1*ſt* of *October* 1549, march'd away for *England*.

Hadington deſerted by the *Engliſh*.

And moreover, the Gariſon at *Lauder* was almoſt ready to ſurrender, as being in great Diſtreſs, for want of Neceſſaries, when lo, News was brought on a ſudden of an Agreement made between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, which was publiſhed in *Scotland*, *April* the firſt, 1550. And the *May* following, all the *French* Souldiers were tranſported back into *France*. That Peace, as to a Foreign War, laſted about three Years, but it was as troubleſom and pernicious as the hotteſt War. For they who ſat at helm, the Regent, and his Brother, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, were both extreamly cruel and avaritious, and the Archbiſhop very licentious in his Converſation alſo; for, as if the Reins lay wholly looſe on his Neck, his own Will was his Law. The firſt Preſage of the enſuing Tyranny, was, the ſuffering the Murder of *William Creighton*, an eminent Perſon, to go unrevenged; he was ſlain by *Robert Semple*, in the Regent's own Palace, and almoſt in his ſight, and yet the Murderer was exempted from Puniſhment, by the Interceſſion of the Archbiſhop's Concubine, who was Daughter to *Semple*. This Archbiſhop, as long as the King liv'd, was one of his Confidents, and pretended a great Zeal for the Reformed Religion; but when the King was dead, he ran headlong into all flagitious Courſes, and, amongſt the reſt of his Miſtreſſes, he took away this young Madam *Semple* from her Husband, who was his Country-man and Ally, and kept her almoſt in the Place of a lawful Wife, though ſhe were not handſom, nor of good Report neither, but only noted for Wantonneſs. After this, followed the Death of *John Melvil*, a a Noble-Man of *Fife*, who was a great Intimate of the laſt King's; Some Letters of his were intercepted, written to a certain *Engliſh*-man, in the behalf of his Friend, a Priſoner there; and though there could be no ſuſpicion of Treaſon in the Caſe, yet the Author of them had his Head cut off. And that which made the Matter more foul, was, That his Eſtate was given to *David*, the Regent's youngeſt Son; the Loſs, ariſing by theſe wicked Practices, reach'd but a few, but the Envy of them extended to many, and the bad Example almoſt to all. This Unskilfulneſs of the Regent's managing the Government, together with the Sluggiſhneſs of all his former Life, did mightily offend the Commons; ſo that he every day grew more cheap than other, eſpecially after the Suffering of *George Wiſeheart*; for Moſt did impute the following Calamities to the Death of that Religious Man, eſpecially they, who knew the Purity of Doctrine which *George* held forth, and admired the Unblamableneſs of his Life; and moreover, who look'd upon him as Divinely inſpired, becauſe of the many and true Predictions which he had made. Hereupon, the Authority of the Regent grew every day leſs than other; and ſoon after theſe, followed another, and that a more ſpreading, Miſchief, which drew a general Complaint, not at all to be hid, againſt him. There were Juridical Conventi-

An Agreement between the *French* and *Engliſh*.

The Regent's Government diſreliſhed, eſpecially after the Martyrdom of *George Wiſeheart*.

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ons appointed to be held throughout the whole Kingdom, the Pretence was, to ſuppreſs Robberies, but the Event ſhewed, that 'twas nothing elſe, but to cover Oppreſſion, under a plauſible Name. For Mony was extorted from all, Good and Bad, as much from honeſt Men as Thieves, and both were puniſh'd, not according to greatneſs of Crime, but of Eſtate. Neither could he keep off his Cruelty and Avarice from the Reformed, though he himſelf had formerly profeſs'd to be one of the Party, and now he had not the Cardinal as a Blind for his Crimes; yea, the Mony, thus baſely got in the Name of the Regent, was as profuſely, and unadviſedly ſpent, by the Luſt of his Brother.

The Sixteenth BOOK.

The Queen Dowager ſails for *France*.

MAtters being thus compoſed at home, the Queen *Dowager* took up a Reſolution to ſail over into *France*, partly to viſit her own Country, her Daughter and Kindred; partly to ſecure her hopes in attaining the ſupream Power, which ſeemed to be freely caſt upon her, and accordingly ſhe choſe thoſe to attend her on her Journy, who were Favourers of her Deſign. For the crafty and ambitious Woman was full of hopes, that the Regent would, by his own Vices, ruin himſelf, that ſo ſhe might be advanced in his room; ſhe ſtaid with the *French* King above a Year, in which time, ſhe informed him in the ſtate of Affairs of *Scotland*, who heard her graciouſly, and, by means of her Brothers, ſhe eaſily obtain'd of him, what ſhe deſired. The King of *France*, the better to bring about his Deſigns without any Tumult in *Scotland*, advanc'd to Honours all thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Nobility, each Man according to his Degree, who had adhered to the Queen *Dowager*: They alſo which were of kin to the Regent, were highly advanced; his Son *James* was made Captain over all the *Scotiſh* Auxiliaries in *France*, and a yearly Penſion of 12000 *French* Piſtols promiſed him. *Huntly* (whoſe Son had married his Daughter) was made Earl of *Murray*. Of the Sons of *Rothes*, by different Mothers, who quarrelled about their Patrimony, the youngeſt, who was Kin to the *Hamiltons*, was made Earl. The King of *France*, by the Advice of the Queen Dowager, ſends for *Robert Carnagy*, one of the Regent's Privado's, who was lately ſent over by him into *France*, to give that King Thanks for his often Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*, and alſo *James Painter*, Embaſſador for ſome Years in *France*, in behalf of the *Scots*, beſides *Gawin* Abbat of * *Kilwinning*, all firm to *Hamilton*'s Faction. He declares to them, what he had before treated with the *Guiſes*. The Sum whereof was, That the Regent would do the King an acceptable piece of Service, if he would give leave to the Queen Dowager to govern, that little time of Magiſtracy which was left him, which, as

* A Monaſtery 4 Miles North of *Irwin*, near the *Iriſh* Sea in *Cuningham*.

as 'twas but a juſt and equal Requeſt agreeable to their Laws; ſo, if he complied with him therein, he would take care, that it ſhould not be prejudicial to his Intereſts; yea, he ſhould find, that by this means he had procur'd to himſelf a faſt and munificent Friend in him: He wiſhes them to inform him, how he had at preſent freely, and of his own accord, rewarded ſome of his Friends, by which he might eaſily judg, what Courteſies to expect from him for the future. Thus *Carnagy*, laden with great Promiſes, was diſmiſs'd home; and a while after *Painter*, the *Scotiſh* Embaſſador, Biſhop of *Roſs*, was bid to follow him. He, as being a Man of great Eloquence and Authority, dealt with the Regent and his Friends, to give up the Adminiſtration of Affairs into the Hands of the Queen-Dowager; and, with much ado, he obtained it: So that for his Diligence and Faithfulneſs in that Service, the King of *France* gave him an Abby in *Poictou*. The Queen, being now ſo ſecure of the Succeſs of things in *Scotland*, and having made ſufficient Proviſion, as ſhe thought, how to deprive the *Scots* of their ancient Liberty, and to bring them *Alamode-a-France*, was accompanied by *Monſieur D'Oſel*, as Embaſſador, to carry things on, a ſhrewd Man, whoſe Counſel ſhe was to uſe in all things; and ſo ſhe returned home by Land through *England*. The next Year after her Return, ſhe followed the Regent, who kept Aſſizes in almoſt all Parts of the Kingdom, and ſo by degrees made the Nobility her own. In this Progreſs, ſome few Offendors were puniſhed, the reſt were fined. The Queen could not approve ſuch Proceedings, and yet ſhe was willing enough to hear them. For ſhe judged, that what Favour the Regent loſt, it all returned upon Her. In the mean time, having won over the Nobility to her, ſhe uſed ſome Friends to deal with the Regent, that he would freely reſign up the Government; his Kindred, upon the view of his Strength, perceived, that his Treaſure was low, and his Friends few, and that he would have much ado to level and clear up his Accounts; for King *James* the Fifth, at his Deceaſe, had left a great deal of Mony, Arms, Ships, Horſes, Braſs-Guns, and abundance of Houſhold-ſtuff (all which he had laviſh'd out amongſt his Friends in a few Years.) And that his Account would be ſpeedily called for, the Queen being now almoſt of Age. And if he would extricate himſelf out of all theſe Troubles, by quitting the Government, it would be no great Loſs; for thereby he would but give up the Rule wholly to the *French*, which was intirely manag'd by their Counſels before: And he would have this Advantage alſo, that by laying down the invidious Title of *Viceroy*, or *Regent*, which however he could not long keep, he would procure Safety and Security to *Himſelf* and *His*. This Proſpect pleaſed, ſo that an Agreement was made on theſe Conditions, That for what Goods of the late King's *Hamilton* had made uſe of, the *French* King would ſee, that he ſhould be indemnified, and alſo that he ſhould be free from any Account, on the pretence of Overſeerſhip; only he was to take an Oath to reſtore what did appear not imbezill'd, yet in this he did not perform his Promiſe. For about twelve years after, when his Caſtle of *Hamilton* was taken, after the Fight at * *Langſide*, many things were there found, which ſhewed his

The Regent, by Directions from *France*, perſuaded to reſign his Government;

Which he doth afterwards, upon Terms.

* In *Renfrew-ſhire.*

Perjury. Besides, there were large Gifts bestowed upon him, and he was honoured with the Title of Duke of † *Castelrot*, (which is a Town in *Poicton*, situate near the River ‖ *Vien*,) and had a yearly Stipend of twelve thousand *French* Pistols, half of which Sum was paid for some Years. Another Condition was also added by the Suffrage of all the Estates; that, if the Queen died without Children, *Hamilton* should be the next Heir. These were the Conditions of the Surrender, which were sent into *France*, that they might there be confirmed by the Queen, and some to be *Guarrantees*. The Queen, by the Advice of her Mother, makes *Henry* the 2*d* King of *France*, *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, and Cardinal *Charles* his Brother, the Guarrantees; and the Regent, tho, by persuasion of *Painter*, he had promis'd to relinquish the Government, and the time to do it was at hand, yet when it came to the point, according to his wonted Inconstancy, he was at a great stand; for he began to consider, how grievous a thing it would be for him, to fall down from the Supreme Magistracy to a private Life, for then he should be obnoxious to those, whom in his Government he had wronged: Hereupon, he began to elude his Promise, and to frame Excuses, in regard the Queen was not yet full twelve Years old: Thus, tho those Allegations might have been answer'd, yet the Queen Dowager chose rather to retire to *Sterlin*, and there to expect the Expiration of the Set-time, for the giving up his Charge, than to make any Quarrel about a small matter, tho never so true.

† Or *Chastlehérault.*

‖ *Vien* in *Daulphiny* in *France*, having a Bridg over the *Rhosne.*

In this her Retirement, the greatest part of the Nobility came in to her, (Fortune favouring her side,) whom she sought by all means to ingage in her Faction, and those she had ingag'd, she fix'd and confirmed, filling them all with abundance of hopes, and making many Promises in general and in particular, how obliging she would be to them all when she was advanc'd to the Government, which they all knew should shortly follow; she prevailed so much by these Artifices, that only two of the Nobility remained with the Regent, *John* his base Brother, and *Levingston* his near Kinsman. All the rest past over to the Queen. This Solitude of the Regent's Court, and the Fulness of the Queen's, was a Signification to him, how all the Estates were alienated from him, hereupon he repented himself, and was glad to accept of those Terms, which he rejected before, only with this addition, That the Queen *Dowager* would procure them to be ratifi'd by the Three Estates in the next Parliament, and also by the Guarrantees in *France*.

About the same time, Matters were very troublesome in *England*, by reason of the Death of King *Edward* the *6th*, a young Prince of high Expectation, by reason of his rare Ingenuity, and Propension to all kind of Virtue, which was both connate with him, and also cultivated by Learning and Study.

K. *Edward* the *6th* of *England* highly commended.

At the beginning of the next Spring, the Nobility assembled at *Sterlin*, where, in a full Assembly, the Transactions with the Regent were confirm'd, which the Queen and Guarrantees had subscribed; this Addition was also made, That the Regent should keep a Garison at *Dunbarton*: and, to compleat all, a Parliament was Indicted at *Edinburgh*, to be held the 10*th* day of *April*, then next

next following, where all the Pacts and Agreements approved by the Guarrantees (as hath been ſaid) were produced; and when they were read, the Regent aroſe, and openly abdicated himſelf from the Magiſtracy, and gave up the Enſigns of his Government to *D'Oſel*, who received them in the behalf of the Queen, who was abſent; and, by command, delivered them up to her, who received them by a general Conſent; and thus being advanced into the Regent's place, ſhe was carried with great Ceremony through the City to the Palace in the Suburbs. And the Regent, who at his Entrance into the Parliament, was attended with a great number of the Nobility, and had the Sword, Crown and Scepter, carried before him according to Cuſtom, now, being degraded, mixt himſelf amongſt the Croud, in the Year 1559. The Queen Dowager made Regent.

This was a new Sight in *Scotland*, and never heard of before that day, that a Woman ſhould be, by the Decree of the States, advanced to the Helm of Government. Though matters thus inclined to the *French* Intereſt, yet the *Scots* would never yield, that the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* ſhould be gariſon'd by them; if ſo, they feared if the Queen died without Iſſue, the *French* would then make it the Seat of their Tyranny; ſo that 'twas put into the Hands of *John Erskin*, as an indifferent Perſon, who was to ſurrender it to None, but by the Command of the Eſtates.

After this, when the State of the Publick ſeemed to be ſomewhat ſettled, the Queen-Regent (as then ſhe was called) ſent out *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, to apprehend *John Murderach*, chief of the Family of the *Mac-Reynalds*, a notorious Robber, who had plaid many foul and monſtrous Pranks: 'Tis thought, that *Gordon* did not play fair in this Expedition, ſo that when he return'd, without doing the Buſineſs he was ſent about, he was kept Priſoner till the time appointed for his Anſwer; In the Interim, his Kindred excuſed him, and laid the Blame of the Miſcarriage upon the Clanſhip of *Catan:* thus they ſpread falſe Reports amongſt the Vulgar, for they gave forth, tho untruly, that the *Macintoſhes* had ſpoiled the Deſign, by reaſon of their Animoſity againſt the *Gordons*. This Hatred between theſe two Clans aroſe upon this occaſion; When the Queen prepared for her Expedition into *France*, *Gordon* kept *William* chief of the ‖*Catan*-Family, as his Priſoner, a young Man well educated by the care of *James* Earl of *Murray*. There was no Crime prov'd againſt him, but only becauſe he would not put himſelf under his Clanſhip or Clientele; and beſides, it turn'd to his Prejudice, that he was of Kin to *Murray*, as being his Siſter's Son. *Gordon*, having thus provok'd the Young-man, did not think it ſafe to vouchſafe him his Liberty, and ſo leave him behind him, neither could he find ſufficient cauſe to put him to Death. And therefore he, by means of his Friends, perſuades the Young-Man, who was not verſant in ſuch ill Arts, to commit his cauſe wholly to him. For by this means, *Gordon*'s Honour, and his own Safety might be ſecured. *Gordon*, being thus made Maſter of the Life and Death of his Enemy, diſſembled his Anger, and deals with his Wife, to put the Young-man to Death in his abſence; for, by this means, he thought to caſt off the Odium of the Fact upon her: but it fell out *Huntly* impriſoned,

‖ Or *Macintoſhes.*

quite otherwiſe; for all Men knew the paultry Diſpoſition of *Gordon*; and they were as well ſatisfi'd in the Integrity of his Wife, who was a choice Woman, and had carried her ſelf like a Regular and Noble Matron in all the reſt of her Life, ſo that every Body was ſatisfied that *Gordon* was the Author of that Counſel to his Wife. *Gordon* being thus in Priſon, the Queen Regent's Council were of different Opinions as to his Puniſhment; ſome were for his Baniſhment during ſome Years into *France*; others for putting him to Death. But both thoſe Opinions were rejected by *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils*, the chief of his Enemies. For he, foreſeeing by the preſent State of things, that the Peace betwixt the *Scots* and *French* would not be long-liv'd, was not for his Baniſhment into *France*, for he knew a Man of ſo paultry a Spirit, and ſo revengeful of thoſe who did ſcandalize or emulate him, would in the War, which the Inſolency of the *French* was like ſpeedily to occaſion, be as a Firebrand and a Commander for the Enemy. And he was more againſt his putting him to Death, becauſe he thought no private offence worthy of ſo great Puniſhment, as to inure the *French* to ſpill the Blood of the Nobility of *Scotland*. And therefore he went a middle way, that he ſhould be fin'd and kept in Priſon, till he yielded up the Right, which he pretended to have over *Murray*. And that he ſhould ſuffer all the Royal Revenues, ariſing out of the *Orcades*, *Schetland* Iſles, and *Mar*, to be quietly gathered by ſuch Collectours, as the Queen-Regent did appoint, and he himſelf ſhould not meddle with any of the Publick or Regal Patrimony; and likewiſe ſurrender up his Preſidency over ſome Juridical Courts, which did bring him in great Profit. Upon theſe Conditions, he was diſmiſs'd, and having thus addulc'd the Mind of the Regent, and thoſe that could do moſt with her, at laſt he was admitted into the Privy Council.

But releaſed, upon Conditions.

In the mean time, all Court-Offices, which had any thing of Gain to move Competitorſhip, were, by *Gordon*'s Advice, given to Strangers, on purpoſe that he might breed a Diſguſt betwixt the Queen Regent, and the Nobility of *Scotland*, and ſo take Delight, though not an honeſt or creditable one, in their mutual Conteſt, and deſtroying one another; and the Earl of *Caſſils*, who foreſaw this Tempeſt before it came, began now to be accounted as a Prophet.

After this, Matters were quiet till *July*, in the Year 1555. and the Queen-Regent having gotten this reſpite from War, apply'd her ſelf to rectify the Diſorders of the State: She went to *Inverneſs*, and held publick Conventions in the Nature of Aſſizes, in all accuſtom'd places, wherein many Diſturbers of the publick Peace were ſeverely puniſh'd; ſhe ſent *John Stuart*, Earl of *Athol*, againſt *John Murderach*, to effect that which *Gordon*, in his Expedition, had failed in. He, beſides that Fortitude and Conſtancy, (Virtues proper to him) was alſo ſo prudent and ſucceſsful, that he took him, his Children and whole Family, and brought them to the Queen. But *Murderach* being impatient of ſitting ſtill, or elſe excited by the ſting of an evil Conſcience, deceiv'd his Keepers, ſcap'd out of Priſon, and fill'd all places again with Blood and Rapine. The

Regent

Regent hearing of this, was forced to undertake a Voyage, ſooner than ſhe determined, to bring him and other Malefactors to Juſtice; which having done, ſhe returned; and, in a publick Aſſembly, reſtored ſome of thoſe who ſlew *Cardinal Beton*, that were popular Men, (whom the late Regent had baniſh'd) from their Exile; by which Fact of hers, ſhe procur'd not ſo much applauſe, as ſhe did Ill-will from the many new Taxes ſhe deviſed. It was thought, that *D' Oſel*, *Ruby*, and thoſe few *French* about the Regent, put Her upon thoſe new Projects to raiſe Mony, *i. e.* that Mens Eſtates ſhould be ſurvey'd and regiſtred in Books made for that purpoſe, and that every one ſhould pay yearly a certain Sum tax'd upon him out of it, into a Treaſury to be ſet apart for that end, as a Fund for War; for, with that Mony, thus kept in a peculiar Treaſury, Mercenary Souldiers were to be raiſed to guard the Borders, and ſo the Nobility might remain quiet at home, except ſome great Invaſion were made by the Enemy, which an ordinary Force could not reſiſt. The poorer ſort were much aggrieved at this new pecuniary Impoſition, and inveigh'd openly againſt it with bitter Words; but the greateſt part of the Nobles kept their Diſguſt within their own Breaſts, every one fearing, that if he ſhould firſt oppoſe the Will of the Queen Regent, the whole Envy of the Refuſal would fall upon him, alone. But the next Rank of People were as angry with the Nobles, for betraying the publick Liberty by their Silence, as they were with the Queen; and thereupon about 300 of them met together at *Edinburgh*, and choſe *John Sandeland* of **Calder*, and *John Weems*, out of their whole Body, and ſent them to the Queen-Regent, to repreſent to her the Ignominy in paying this Tax, and therefore they deſired it might not be ſeſſed nor levied upon them, becauſe of their Poverty, both publick and private; and alſo to inform her, how their Anceſtors had not only defended themſelves and their Subſtance againſt the *Engliſh*, when much more powerful than now they are, but alſo had made often Inrodes into *England*; and that themſelves had not ſo far degenerated from their Anceſtors, but that they were willing to lay down their Lives and Fortunes for the Good of their Country, if need required. And as for the levying of Mercenary Auxiliaries, that 'twas a matter full of Danger, to commit the State of *Scotland* to Men, without either Lands or Hopes, but who would do any thing for Mony; and, if occaſion were offered, their profound Avarice would invite them to attempt Innovations, ſo that their Faithfulneſs hung only on the Wheel of Fortune: but ſuppoſe, they were well qualified, and had a greater Love to the Country, than Reſpect to their own Condition, yet was it likely, nay, was it not incredible, that Mercenaries ſhould fight more valiantly, to defend the Eſtates of others, than the Maſters of them would do, each Man for his own? Or, that a regard to a ſmall Stipend or Pay, which was likely to ceaſe in time of Peace, would raiſe up greater Courage in the Minds of the Ignoble, than in the Nobility, who fought every Man for his Fortune, Wife, Children, Religion and Liberty? Beſides, this Project (ſaid they) concerns the very Vitals of the *Scotiſh* Empire, and 'twas a thing of greater Conſequence, than

The Queen Regent, by the Advice of the *French*, raiſes new Taxes,

* In *Mid-Lothian.*

But the Commons withſtand it, ſhewing their Reaſons.

than to be debated at this time, and in this Age of our young Queen; for, if 'twere granted, it could be effected without any Sedition, yet this new way of managing a War, is both uſeleſs, and alſo much feared and ſuſpected by the moſt, eſpecially ſince, out of the Tribute of the *Scots*, Men none of the richeſt, Mony enough could hardly ariſe to maintain a Guard of Mercenaries, for the Defence of the Borders; and therefore 'twas to be feared, that the Event of this Counſel would be, to open the Door of the Borders to the Enemy, not to ſhut it. For if the *Engliſh*, living in a richer Kingdom, ſhould erect a fuller Treaſury for that uſe, there was no doubt, but they might maintain Forces, double to ours with leſs Grievance to their own People; and then they would break in, not only upon the Borders, but even into the very Body of the Kingdom. The other part of their Oration, I know not, whether it be not better to ſuppreſs in Silence, than to declare it amongſt the Vulgar: ſome Mutterings there were; Who will collect this Mony? What great part of it muſt neceſſarily be expended upon Diſtrainers and Treaſurers, as a Reward for their pains? Who will undertake that it ſhall be ſpent for publick Uſes, and not on private Luxury? 'Tis true, the Probity and Temperance of our noble Princeſs, who now rules, gives us great Hope, yea Confidence, that no ſuch thing will be; yet, if we conſider, what hath been done by others abroad, and by our ſelves at home, we cannot contain or ſo govern, our ſelves, but muſt needs fear, that what hath *once* been done, may poſſibly be done *again*. But to let theſe things paſs, which perhaps we have no cauſe to fear; let us come to that, wherein our Anceſtors plac'd their greateſt hope of Defence, to maintain their Liberty againſt the Arms of an overpowring Enemy. There was no King of *Scotland* ever judg'd wiſer than *Robert* the firſt of that Name, and all confeſs, he was the moſt valiant. He, at his Death, as he had often done in his Life, out of a Proſpect to the good of his Subjects, gave this advice, That the *Scots* ſhould never make a perpetual Peace, no nor One for any long time, with the *Engliſh*. For he, out of the Wiſdom of his own Nature, and alſo by his long Experience, and Exerciſe under both Conditions, proſperous and adverſe, knew well enough, that, by Idleneſs and Sloth, the Minds of Men would be broken with Delights and Blandiſhments of Pleaſures, and their Bodies alſo grow languid; for when ſevere Diſcipline and Parſimony is extinct, Luxury and Avarice do grow up as in a Soil untill'd, accompany'd alſo with an Impatience of Labour, and a Slothfulneſs, occaſioned by continu'd Eaſe, averſe from and hating a military Life; by which Miſchiefs, the Strength of Body and Mind, being enervated and weakned, doth abandon Virtue, which is exerciſed by Sufferings, and that a ſhort and unaccuſtomed Eaſe and Pleaſure is overballanced by ſome notable Calamity to enſue.

Upon which, ſhe deſiſts.

Upon this Oration, the Queen-Regent, fearing an Inſurrection, if ſhe had perſiſted in her opinion, remitted the Tribute, and acknowledg'd her Error; 'tis reported, ſhe was often heard to ſay, that it was not Her ſelf, but no obſcure Men of the *Scots* themſelves, who were the Authors and Architects of that Deſign: By thoſe

Words,

Words, ſome thought ſhe meant *Huntly*, a Man fierce of his own Diſpoſition, and newly releaſed from Priſon, and, as it ſeems, more mindful of the Injury of his Impriſonment, than of the reſpect ſhewed in his Deliverance. And therefore when he ſaw, that the Regent was intent upon this one thing, to accuſtom the *Scots* to pay Tribute, fearing that thereby her Power would increaſe, and the Authority of the Nobility would be weakned and infring'd; in regard ſhe, being a Foraigner, ſought to bring all things into the Power of her own Country-men, it was thought he gave this Counſel to her which ſuited well with her Mind, as to the raiſing of Mony, which ſhe was then about; for otherwiſe, the advice was plainly Deſtructive, Hoſtile and Pernicious; for he knew well enough, that the *Scots* would not pay ſuch great Taxes, neither would they be as obedient Subjects, as they had been before; ſome thought, that *David Painter*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, found out this way of Tax, for he was a Man of a great Wit, and learned beſides; he had receiv'd many Courteſies from the *Hamiltons*, and was a Friend to their Family and Deſigns.

The next year, which was 1557, whilſt the Embaſſadors of *Scotland* were treating about Peace at *Carliſle*, the King of *France* ſent Letters to *Scotland*, to deſire the Regent to declare War againſt *England*, according to the League. The Cauſe was pretended to be, becauſe the Queen of *England* had aſſiſted *Philip* of *Spain* her Husband, who was ingag'd in a fierce War againſt *France*, by ſending him Aid into *Belgium*. The *Engliſh* Embaſſadors return'd, without confirming any ſettled Peace or War either; whereupon the Regent call'd together the Nobility at the Monaſtry of * *Newbottle*, where She declar'd to them the many Incurſions the *Engliſh* had made upon *Scotiſh* Ground, what Preys they had taken, and when Reſtitution was demanded, none was made, ſo that She deſir'd the *Scots* to denounce War upon *England*, both to revenge their own Wrongs, and alſo, by the ſame labour, to aſſiſt the King of *France*; yet ſhe could not prevail with the Nobility to begin firſt; and therefore by the advice, as 'tis thought, of *D'Oſel*, ſhe brought about the matter another way; She commanded a Fort to be built at the Mouth of the River † *Aye*, againſt the ſudden Incurſions of the *Engliſh*, wherein alſo ſhe might ſafely lay up great Guns and other Neceſſaries for War, as in a ſafe Magazine; from whence ſhe might fetch them upon occaſion, and ſo ſave labour of carrying them from the remoter parts of the Kingdom, whereby much time would be ſpent; and, beſides the troubleſomeneſs of the Carriages, opportunity of Action would be loſt. Theſe Conveniencies were viſible enough, but ſhe had another Reach in it, ſhe knew, that the *Engliſh* would do their utmoſt to hinder the Work, and not ſuffer a Gariſon to be erected under their Noſes, ſo near *Berwick*: Thus the Seeds of War (which ſhe deſired) would be ſown, and the fault of taking up Arms caſt upon the Enemy: And the Event anſwered her Expectation. For the *Scots*, being provoked by the wrongs of the *Engliſh*, whilſt they were compell'd to defend their own Borders, eaſily aſſented to the Regent's deſire, to make War upon *England*; whereupon the Embaſſadors ſent into *England*, to

Embaſſadors from *France*, deſiring the *Scots* to make War againſt *England*,

* On the North ſide of *South-Eſk*, near *Dalkeith*, in *Eaſt-Lothian*.

† The Town of *Eye-Mouth* in the *Merſs*.

to make a Peace, were call'd back, a Proclamation was made, and a Day appointed for a general Rendezvouz at *Edinburgh*; when the Camp was form'd at * *Maxwel Heugh*, and the Council had not yet decreed any thing concerning the manner of carrying on the War, they, who were forward to gratify the Regent, and to oblige the *French*, ran up and down plundering about *Werk Caſtle*, ſcituate in the Borders of *England*: *D'Oſel* had brought ſome *French* Troops thither, and ſome Ordnance, as many as he thought were ſufficient to take in the Caſtle, and he carried them over the *Tweed*, without ſtaying for the Order of the Council, which did highly incenſe the *Scots* Nobles againſt him; for, by his ſo doing, he ſeem'd to aim at the Vindicating the whole Honour of ſuch an Expedition to Himſelf rather than to his Maſter, and alſo to make the *Scots* to be obnoxious to, and under, his Command, who were wont to have the chief Command themſelves. Thus the *Scots* were mightily offended, that they were ſo ſlighted by a private Man, and a Stranger too, ſo as to be led by the Noſe by him, without ſo much as asking their Opinions, as was formerly wont to be done; ſo that by doing things of his own Head, without conſulting the Nobles, he had arrogated more to himſelf, than ever any of their own Kings had done.

* In *Teviotdale*, on the South ſide of *Tweed*, below *Kelſo*.

Difference between *D'Oſel*, the *French* Embaſſador, and the *Scots* Nobility.

Hereupon, the matter was deliberated in Council, where it was unanimouſly agreed, that they would not venture the ſtrength of the Kingdom againſt an Enemy, at the humour of every private Perſon; eſpecially, ſeeing they were never wont to obey their own lawful Princes in that Caſe, but after Matters had been open'd and ſeriouſly debated in Council, before they were reſolv'd upon; and therefore *Oſel's* Imperiouſneſs in the Caſe was nothing elſe but an Eſſay, to try, how capable they were to bear the yoke of Slavery; Whereupon, they commanded *Oſel* to draw back the Ordnance, and if he refus'd, he ſhould be puniſh'd as a Traitor. The Queen-Regent, and *Oſel* himſelf, did highly reſent this Affront; The Regent thought, that her Majeſty was impair'd thereby; and the other, that his Maſter's Honour (whoſe Embaſſador he was) was concern'd: but they being the weaker, were forc'd to yield for the preſent; and there ſeemed no remedy to occur, but that the Queen of *Scots*, who was now marriageable, ſhould marry the *Dauphin* as ſoon as conveniently it could be effected; for then the Wife, being in the Power of her Husband, the Authority of the Council would be much leſſened.

D'Oſel vails Bonnet to them.

During that Winter, there were various Excurſions made, and with different Succeſs, but One was moſt memorable at the foot of the *Cheviot-hills*, where a fight was maintain'd a long while, between the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Andrew Carr*, the Victory was a long time doubtful, but at laſt inclin'd to the *Engliſh*, and *Carr* was taken Priſoner, many brave Men being wounded on both ſides. Hereupon, an Aſſembly was Indicted at *Edinburgh*, to be held in *October*, to hear the Letters ſent from the *French* King. In them, after a prolix Enumeration of the ancient Leagues betwixt them, and their mutual Obligations one to another, he deſir'd the *Scots* Parliament, that a choice might be made of fit Perſons, out of all

The *Scots* under *Andrew Carr*, overthrown by the Duke of *Norfolk*.

* the

the Three Orders, with ample Commiſſion, who, in regard his Son, the *Dolphin*, about the end of *December*, was entring upon the Year fit for Marriage, according to the Law, might be ſent Embaſſadors to conclude the Marriage, which was almoſt already made, (for the Queen of *Scots* had been tranſported over into *France*, upon that hope) and ſo the Two Nations, which were anciently Confederate, would now coaleſce into one Body; and the old Friendſhip, betwixt both People, would be connected by an indiſſoluble Bond. This if they would do, he made them Magnificent Promiſes, that whatever fruits of Benevolence they did hope for from Allies, the ſame they might expect from him.

Tho all the *Scots* knew, to what end this haſte of the *French* King was directed, and that there were ſhortly like to be Diſputes between them concerning their Liberties, yet they all came, in great Obedience, to the Indicted Parliament, where, without any much adoe, eight Embaſſadors were choſen, to go over into *France*, to finiſh the Marriage: Three of the Nobility, *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Caſſils*, *George Leſly* Earl of *Rothes*; to whom was added, *James Fleming* Earl of * *Commerland*, chief of his Family. Three of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, *James Beton* Arch-biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *Robert Read*, Biſhop of the *Orcades*, and *James Stuart*, Prior of the Monaſt'ry of St. *Andrews* and the Queen's Brother, and Two of the Commons, *George Seaton*, becauſe he was Governour of *Edinburgh*, and *John Areskin* Laird of *Down* or *Din*, Governor of * *Montroſs*, of a Knights Family, but comparable for Dignity, to any Noble Man. After they had ſet Sail, and were yet on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, they were toſs'd with a very high Wind; and being farther at Sea, they met with ſuch a grievous Tempeſt, that Two of the Ships were Sunk, not far from *Boloign* in *France*, a Town of the *Morini*. The Earl of *Rothes* and the Biſhop of the *Orcades* were carry'd to Land in a Fiſher-boat, and were the only Two that eſcap'd of all the Paſſengers therein. The reſt of the Fleet, having long combated with the Waves, at length arriv'd in other leſſer Ports of *France*, where, when all the Embaſſadors were again met, they haſten'd to Court. There they began the Treaty about the Marriage; all yielded to it, but the *Guiſes* were mighty forward to have it haſten'd, both becauſe they judg'd that Affinity would be a great acceſſion of Authority to their Family, as alſo becauſe opportunity ſeem'd to favour their Deſign, in regard *Annas* Duke of *Momorancy*, who was eſteem'd the wiſeſt of all the *French* Nobility, and who was moſt likely to oppoſe the Match, was a Priſoner of War. He indeed was not willing the matter ſhould be ſo precipitated, as for many other Cauſes, in the Judgment of many, very juſt and conſiderable; ſo, becauſe the Power of the *Guiſes* (which was ſuſpected by the Wiſe, and began to be intolerable to all) might not grow to that height, as to be unſafe for Kings themſelves. For of the five Brothers of the *Guiſes*, the eldeſt was Captain General of all the Forces, which ſerv'd in *France*. The next was ſent into † *Liguria* to Succeed *Charles* ‖ *Coſſeus*; The third was tranſported over into *Scotland*, with ſome Supplies, to command the Army there; The fourth had the Command of the *Gal-*

* In *Lennox-ſhire*.

Embaſſadors ſent to *France*, about the Marriage of the *Dolphin* with the Queen of *Scots*.

* A Royal Borough of *Angus*.

† *Piemont* and *Millain*.

‖ D'*Coſs*, Earl of *Briſac*.

lies at *Marseilles*. And all Mony-matters pass'd under the Hands of Cardinal *Charles*; so that neither *Souldier* nor *Souz* could wag in all the Territorys of the *French* King, without their Approbation and Good liking; some Men did commiserate the Fortune of the best of Kings, and it brought into remembrance the Condition of those Times, when, by reason of Court-Factions, the Kings of *France* have been shut up in Monast'ries, as in places of a milder Banishment.

The Court, for some time, being transported with these nuptial Revels, when they came to themselves, call'd the *Scots* Embassadors into the Council, where the Chancellor of *France* dealt with them to produce the Crown, and the other Ensigns of the Kings, and that the Queen's Husband should be created King of *Scotland*, according to Custom. To whom the Embassadors answer'd, in short, That they had receiv'd no Commands concerning those Matters. The Chancellor reply'd, That no more was desir'd of them at present, than what was in their Power, *viz.* That when these Matters came to be debated in the Parliament of *Scotland*, that they would give their Suffrages in the Affirmative, and give it under their Hands, that they would so do. That demand seem'd to be fuller of Peremptoriness than the former, and therefore they thought it best to reject it with great vehemency and disgust. Insomuch that their Answer was, That their Embassy was limited by certain Instructions and Bounds, which they neither could, nor would, transgress, but if they had been left free from any restriction at all, yet it was not the part of faithful Friends, to require That of them, which they could not grant without certain Infamy and Treachery, tho there were no danger of Life in the Case; That they were willing to gratify the *French*, their old Allies, as far as the just Laws of Amity requir'd, and therefore they desir'd them to keep within the same Bounds of Modesty, in making their Demands.

Some of the *Scots* Embassadors die in *France*, and the rest return home.

Thus the Embassadors were dismiss'd the Court; and tho they hasten'd home, assoon as they could; yet, before they went a Shipboard, four of the chief of them, *Gilbert Kennedy*, *George Lesly*, *Robert Reed*, and *James Fleming*, all very virtuous and true Patriots, departed this Life, as also did very many of their Retinue, not without suspicion of Poison. It was thought, that *James*, the Queen's Brother, had also taken the same Dose, for, altho by reason of the Strength of his Constitution and his youthful Age, he escap'd Death at that time, yet he lay under a dangerous and constant weakness of Stomach, as long as he liv'd.

That Summer, Matters were at that dubious pass in *Britain*, that there seem'd rather to be no Peace, than a War: For there were Skirmishes on both sides, Preys driven, and Villages burnt; Incursions were mutually made, and not without Blood: Two of the Nobility of *Scotland* were carry'd away Prisoners by the *English*, *William Keith*, Son to the Earl of *Merch*; and *Patrick Grey*, chief of a Family (so call'd) amongst the *Scots*; the rest of the Military damages fell upon mean Persons.

About

About the same time, the *English* sent a Fleet under the Command of Sir *John Clare* to infest the Coasts of *Scotland*, they came to the *Orcades*, intending there to Land, and to burn *Kirkwall*, a Bishops See, the only Town in that Circuit: When they had made a descent with a good part of their Force, a fierce Tempest suddenly arose, which carry'd their Ships from the Coast into the Main, where, after a long contest with the Winds and Waves, they at length made Sail for *England* back again: They which were put a Shore, were every one Slain by the Islanders.

The *English* Fleet attempts the *Orcades*, but are driven off by Tempest.

This year, and the year before, the Cause of Religion seem'd to lie Dormant, for it being somewhat crush'd by the Death of *George Wiseheart*, one Party accounted themselves well satisfy'd, if they could worship God in their own Tongue, in private Assemblies, and dispute soberly concerning Matters of Divinity; and the other Party, after the Cardinal was slain, shew'd themselves rather destitute of an Head, than undesirous of Revenge; For he who succeeded in his Place, did rather covet the *Mony* than the *Blood* of his Enemies, and was seldom Cruel, but when it was to maintain his Licentiousness, and to expend on his Pleasures.

In *April*, *Walter Mills*, a Priest, none of the most learned, was yet suspected by the Bishops, because he left off to say Mass; whereupon he was haled to their Court. Though he was weak by Constitution of Body, and Age, extream Poor, and also brought out from a nasty Prison, and lay under such high Discouragements; yet he answer'd so stoutly and prudently too, that his very Enemies could not but acknowledg, That such greatness and confidence of Spirit in such an enfeebled Carkase, must needs have a support from on High. The Citizens of St. *Andrews* were so much affected at the wrong done him, that there was none found who would sit as Judg upon him, and all the Tradesmen shut up their Shops, that they might sell no Materials toward his Execution, which was the Cause of his Reprieve, for one day more than was intended. At last one *Alexander Somerval*, a Friend of the Archbishop's, was found out, a naughty Fellow, who undertook to sit as Judg, upon him, for that Day. This is certain, the Commonalty took his Death so hainously, that they heap'd up a great Pile of Stones in the Place, where he was Burnt, that so the Memory of his Death might not end with his Life. The Priests took Order, to have it thrown down for some Days, but still as they dissipated it one Day, it was rais'd up the next, till at last the Papists convey'd the Stones away to build Houses with, about the Town. *July* the 20*th*, was the day appointed by the Bishops for *Paul* || *Meffen*, an eminent Preacher of God's Word in those days, to come to his Answer. There was a great Assembly of the Nobles at the time, so that the Matter seem'd to tend towards a Tumult; whereupon the Process was deferr'd to another time, several were condemn'd, but it was of those which were Absent; who, that they might not be terrify'd with the severity of the Punishment, were commanded to come in by the 1*st* of *September*, and pardon was promis'd them, if they recanted.

Walter Mills martyred, to the great regret of the Citizens of St. *Andrews*.

|| Or, *Methven*. *Paul Meffen* troubled, upon the account of Religion.

The ſame 1*ſt* of *September* was St. *Giles* day, whom the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* do venerate as their Tutelar God, carouſing to him in great Goblets, and making high Entertainments for their Neighbours and Gueſts. The Regent, fearing, leſt in ſuch a confus'd Rable, ſome Tumult ſhould ariſe, was willing to be preſent her ſelf at the Wake. The Papiſts were very glad of her Coming, and eaſily perſuaded her to ſee the Show and Pageant, wherein St. *Giles* was to be carried about the City; but St. *Giles*, alas! did not appear, for he was ſtol'n out of his Shrine by ſome body or other. However, that St. *Giles* might not want a Pageant, nor the Citizens a Show upon ſuch a Feſtival Day, there was another young *Gilesling* (forſooth) ſet up in his room. After the Regent had accompanied him thro the greateſt part of the Town, and ſaw no danger of any Inſurrection, ſhe retired, weary as ſhe was, into an Inn to repoſe her ſelf. But preſently, the City-Youths pluck'd down the Picture of *Giles* from the Shoulders of thoſe who carried him, threw him into the dirt, and ſpoiled the Glory of the whole Pageantry. The Prieſts and Friars, running ſeveral ways for fear, created a belief of a greater Tumult; but when they had underſtood, that there was more Fear than Danger in the thing, and that the whole Matter was tranſacted without Blood, they crept again out of their holes, and gathered themſelves together to conſult about the main Chance; where, though they were quite out of hopes to recover their ancient Repute, yet they diſſembled Confidence, as if their former Power had remained: And to try how to retrieve their Affairs in ſo deſperate a Caſe, they ſought to ſtrike Fears into their Enemies, and appointed a Convocation to be held at *Edinburgh*, *November* 8. When the Day of their Convening came, the Prieſts met in the Church of the *Dominicans*, and there cited *Paul Meffen* by Name, whom in a former Aſſembly they had commanded to appear; he, not appearing, was baniſh'd, and a grievous Puniſhment denounc'd on thoſe, who ſhould receive him into their Houſes, or ſupply him with any Neceſſaries, to ſupport his Life. But that Commination did not terrify the Inhabitants of *Dundee* from doing their Duty, for they ſupplied him with Proviſion, and harbor'd him from one Houſe to another; yea, and they dealt with the Regent, by ſome Men who were gracious at Court, that his Baniſhment might be remitted; but all the Prieſts mightily withſtood it, and beſides, they offered a great Sum of Mony to hinder it, ſo that nothing could be done.

St. *Giles*'s Show, the Tutelar of *Edinburgh*, foully ſpoiled.

Paul Meffen baniſhed by the *Papiſts*, but yet harbor'd by the Inhabitants of *Dundee*.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, ſome eminent Perſons, eſpecially of *Fife* and *Angus*, and ſome chief Burgers of ſeveral Towns, travell'd over all the Shires of *Scotland*, exhorting all the People to love the ſincere preaching of the Word, and not to ſuffer themſelves, and their Friends of the ſame Opinion in Religion with themſelves, to be oppreſs'd and deſtroy'd by a ſmall and weak Faction, alledging, if their Enemies would tranſact the Matter by Law, they ſhould eaſily caſt them; but if they choſe Force rather, they were not inferior to them. And they had Schedules, or writing Tables, ready, for thoſe who were pleaſed therewith to ſubſcribe their Names: Theſe firſt aſſumed the Name of a *Congregation*, which was made more

The firſt Congregation of the *Reformed*, in *Scotland*.

more famous afterwards by Thoſe, who joined themſelves thereto.

Theſe Aſſertors of the purer and Reform'd Religion, foreſeeing that Matters would ſoon come to ſome Extremity, by joint Conſent determin'd to ſend ſome Demands to the Queen, which unleſs they were granted, there was likely to be no Face of a Church; neither could the Multitude be reſtrained from *Inſurrection*. They choſe Sir *James Sandeland* of * *Calder*, a worthy Knight, venerable both for his Age, and for his well-ſpent Life, to carry their Deſires to the Regent, who open'd to her the neceſſity of ſending ſuch a Meſſage, and requeſted, in the Name of all who ſtood for the Reformation of Religion, That all publick Prayers and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments ſhould be celebrated by Miniſters in their Mother-Tongue, that all People might underſtand them; That the Election of Miniſters, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Church, ſhould be made by the People; and That they who preſided over that Election, ſhould enquire diligently into the Lives and Doctrines of all that were to be admitted; and, if by the negligence of former Times, unlearned and flagitious Perſons had crept into Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, That they might be removed out of the Miniſtry, and fit Perſons ſubſtituted in their places. The Prieſts were even mad, and ſtorm'd mightily, that any Man durſt to appear and own ſo impudent a Fact, as they call'd it; but when their Heat was a little allay'd, they anſwer'd, that they would refer the Matter to a publick Diſputation; and indeed, what danger could there be in That, when they themſelves were to be Judges in their own Caſe? On the other ſide, the Sticklers for the Reformation alleged, That the Matter ought not to be determined by the Wills of Men, but by the plain Words of Holy Scripture. The Prieſts propounded alſo other Terms of Agreement, but ſuch ridiculous ones, that they are not worthy of an Anſwer, as, If the Reformers would keep up the Maſs in its ancient Honour, if they would acknowledg Purgatory after this Life, if they would yield to pray to Saints, and for the Dead, that then they would alſo yield, that they ſhould pray in their Mother-Tongue, and celebrate the Sacraments, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, in the ſame. The Reformers preſſed the Regent, (as before) that, in ſo juſt a Cauſe, ſhe would pleaſe to gratify them with an Anſwer, agreeable to Equity and Reaſon. The Regent favoured the Cauſe of the Prieſts, and ſecretly promiſed them her Aſſiſtance, as ſoon as opportunity was offered. And ſhe commanded the adverſe Faction to uſe Prayer, celebrate the Sacraments, and perform other Religious Exerciſes in their Mother-Tongue, but without Tumult, only their Teachers were not to make any publick Sermons to the People at *Edinburgh* or *Leith*. Though this Condition was carefully obſerv'd by them, yet many Teſtimonies, that her Affection was alienated from them, did daily appear; and the Papiſts at *Edinburgh* us'd almoſt the ſame Anſwers to the Demands which were brought in by the Nobility, only this they added farther, That as to the Point of electing Miniſters, in ſuch kind of Queſtions, they were to ſtand to the Canon-Law, or to the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*. Neither did they, in that Aſſembly, determine any thing in their own Matters, only

* Or *Cadir*, in *Mid-Lothian*.

The juſt Propoſals of the *Reformers* to the Queen-Regent.

only they commanded the Biſhops to ſend ſecret Informers into all Pariſhes of their Dioceſſes, who were to take the Names of all the Violators of the Papiſtical Laws, and bring them in to them; and though they plainly perceived, that their Threats were little eſteemed, yet, truſting to the publick Authority which was on their ſide, and having Confidence in the Arms of *France*, they inſulted over their Inferiours as imperiouſly, as ever they did before. To mitigate their Minds in ſome ſort, and to deprecate their ſevere and bitter Sentence againſt the Preachers of the Goſpel, *John Erskin*, Lord of *Down*, a Man learned, good and courteous, was ſent to them; he intreated them, out of that Piety, which we all owe to God, and Charity towards Men, that they would not think it much, at leaſt, to tolerate People to pray to God in their Mother-Tongue, when they were met together for that Service, for That was according to Scripture-Command. They were ſo far from granting his Requeſt, that they us'd him with more bitter and arrogant Words than formerly, adding alſo more cruel Threatnings and Reproaches; and, leſt they might ſeem to have acted nothing in that Aſſembly, they cauſed ſome thread-bare Popiſh Laws to be printed, and faſtned upon the Doors of Churches, which, becauſe they were commonly ſold for a Groat, the Common People called them the *Quadrantary*, and ſometimes the *Triobolar*, Faith.

Which the Prieſts, by the Encouragement of the Queen-Regent, oppoſe.

The *Quadrantary*, or *Triobolar*, Faith, what?

Moreover, they, who the Year before, had perform'd the Embaſſy in *France*, came into the Aſſembly, and eaſily obtained, That their Tranſactions ſhould be ratified: And after that, the *French* Embaſſador was introduc'd, who, after he had made a long Oration concerning the ancient and long-continued good Will of the *French* Kings toward all the *Scotiſh* Nation, did earneſtly deſire of them all, both ſingly and jointly, that they would ſet the Crown (which he, by a new and monſtrous Name, call'd *Matrimonial*) upon the Head of the Queen's Husband, alleging, that he would gain but an empty Name, without any acceſſion of Power or Profit; he alſo us'd many other flattering Words, not neceſſary here to be repeated, which, the more accurate they were in a trifling buſineſs, by ſo much the more they were ſuſpected, as Coverts of concealed Fraud; yet the Embaſſador, partly by immoderate Promiſes, and partly by earneſt Intreaties, and partly by the Favour of ſome, who collogued with the future Power, gain'd the Point, that the Crown was ordered for the *Daulphin*; and *Gileſpy Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*, and *James* the Queen's Brother, were choſen to carry it to him. Theſe Perſons, perceiving, that they were ſent abroad to their own Ruin, in regard the *French* Ambition hung as a Storm ready to fall upon all their Heads, made no great haſte to fit up their Equipage, but deferred their Preparation from day to day, until they had ponder'd all things, and taken ſurer meaſures of what was likely to enſue, eſpecially ſince now a nearer and eminenter degree of Honour offered it ſelf. For *Mary*, Queen of *England*, being dead, the Queen of *Scots* carried her ſelf as her Heir, and bore the Arms and Enſigns of *England*, engraving the ſame on all her Houſhold-ſtuff, and domeſtick Furniture; and though *France* was at that time miſerably diſtreſſed in aſſerting their Power and Domi-

The *Scotiſh* Crown order'd to be ſent to the *Daulphin* of *France*, who had married the Queen.

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nion over *Milain*, *Naples* and *Flanders*, yet, ſhe added to the reſt of her Miſeries this Mock-Title of *England*. The wiſer ſort of the *French* ſaw this well enough, but they were forc'd to comply with the *Guiſes*, who then could do all at Court, for by this vain kind of Splendor, they thought to add much to the *French* Name.

The Queen of *Scots*, upon the Death of *Mary* of *England*, aſſumes the Royal Arms of *England*.

Beſides, the Regent having receiv'd the Decree concerning a Matrimonial Crown, ſeem'd to have put on a new Diſpoſition, for ſhe turn'd her ancient Affability, which was acceptable to all, into an Imperious Arrogance; and inſtead of gentle Anſwers, wherewith before ſhe did addulce both Factions, as, That it was not long of her, but of the Times, that ſhe could not promiſe ſo largely as ſhe deſir'd, before that Decree was paſt; now ſhe thought her ſelf cock-ſure, and therefore us'd another kind of Language and Deportment. A Parliament was ſummoned to be held at *Sterlin*, *May* 9. and whereas ſhe had often ſaid, that now ſhe was free from other Cares, ſhe would not ſuffer the Majeſty of the Government to be debaſed, but that ſhe would indeavour to reſtore it to its ancient Veneration, by ſome eminent Example. Theſe Words portended a Storm inſuing, and therefore many applied to her for her Favour, and, amongſt the reſt, to make their Requeſt more exorable, upon the account of the Dignity of the Meſſengers, *Alexander Cuningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, and *Hugh Cambel* Sheriff of *Air*, a worthy Knight, were ſent to her. When they came, ſhe could not contain her ſelf, but muſt needs utter this Speech, as a Witneſs of her Impiety, *Do you, and your Miniſters, what you will or can, yea, though they preach never ſo ſincerely, yet they ſhall be baniſh'd the Land.* They replied, in great Humility, *That ſhe would call to mind what ſhe often promiſed them:* She anſwer'd, *That the Promiſes of Princes were no further to be urged upon them for performance, than it ſtood with their Conveniency:* Whereupon they rejoin'd, *That then they renounced all Allegiance and Subjection to her*, and adviſed her to conſider, what Inconvenience was likely to enſue hereupon; ſhe was unexpectedly ſtruck with this Anſwer, and ſaid, *She would think upon it.* And when the fierceneſs of her Anger ſeemed ſomewhat to abate, it was again kindled much more fiercely, as by a new Firebrand, when ſhe heard, that the Inhabitants of St. *Johnſtons* had publickly embraced the *Reformed Religion*; whereupon, ſhe turned to *Patrick Ruthen*, Mayor of the Town, commanding him to ſuppreſs all thoſe Tumults for innovating of Religion; his Anſwer was, *That he had Power over their Bodies and Eſtates, and thoſe he would take care ſhould do no hurt, but that he had no Dominion over their Conſciences:* At which Anſwer, ſhe was ſo inrag'd, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped none would think it ſtrange, if he were ſhortly made to repent his ſtubborn Audacity; ſhe alſo commanded *James Haliburton* Sheriff of *Dundee*, to ſend *Paul Meffen* Priſoner to her, but he was adviſed thereof by the Sheriff, and ſo gave way to the Time, and ſlipp'd out of the Town; ſhe wrote alſo to the Neighbour-Aſſemblies to keep the *Eaſter* following after the *Popiſh* Manner; but when none obeyed her therein, ſhe was ſo inrag'd, that ſhe cited all the Miniſters of the Churches of the whole Kingdom to *Sterlin*, to appear there on the 10*th* of *May* enſuing.

The imperious Anſwers of the Queen-Regent to the Agents of the *Reformed*, with their tart Reply.

Magiſtrates have power over Mens Bodies and Eſtates, not their Conſciences.

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When that Matter came to be noiſed abroad, the *Evangelicks* exhorted one another, that they and their Miniſters would alſo appear at the Meeting, ſo that there was a great Multitude of thoſe that were likely to be at that Aſſembly, which though they came unarmed, yet the Regent feared, that things would not go well on her ſide; whereupon ſhe ſent for *John Erskin* of *Down*, who happened to be in Town at that time, and dealt with him to cauſe the unneceſſary concourſe of the People to withdraw, which would not be very difficult for him to do, becauſe of the great Authority he had amongſt them, and, in the mean time, ſhe promiſed, ſhe would act nothing againſt the Men of that Perſuaſion. Many there were, who being made acquainted with this Promiſe of the Regent, changed their purpoſe of going thither, and returned home, yet nevertheleſs, ſhe, on the day appointed for the Aſſembly, call'd over the Names of Theſe, who were ſummon'd, and ſuch as did not anſwer to their Names, ſhe outlawed: *Erskin*, ſeeing what little Credit was to be given to her Promiſes, and fearing to be ſeized on by Force, had withdrawn himſelf, and found the Nobles of *Strathearn*, *Angus* and *Merns*, yet in a Body, though doubting of the Faith of the Queen: They, finding by his Diſcourſe, (what they ſuſpected before) that the Queen's Rage was unappeaſeable, and that the Matter could no longer be diſſembled, prepared themſelves againſt open Force.

John Knox preaches at *Perth*, upon which, the Commonalty deſtroy the Idols and Shrines for Popiſh Worſhip.

Matters ſtanding in this tickliſh Poſture, *Knox* aſſembled the Multitude at *Perth*, and made ſuch an excellent Sermon to them, that he ſet their Minds, already moved, all in a Flame. After Sermon, the greateſt part of the Audience went home to Dinner, but a few of the meaner ſort, ſuch as were alſo inraged with Anger and Indignation, ſtaid behind in the Church. Amongſt them a poor Prieſt, thinking to try, how they ſtood affected, prepared himſelf to ſay Maſs, and drew out a large Frame, or rather Idol-caſe, in which was contained the Hiſtory of many *Saints*, curiouſly ingraven. A Young-Man ſtanding by, cried out, That what he did, was intolerable, upon which the Prieſt gave him a Box on the Ear, the Youth took up a Stone, and thinking to hit the Prieſt, the Blow lighted on the Frame, and brake one of the Pictures; the reſt of the Multitude, being in a Rage, ſome fell upon the Prieſt and his Frame, others upon the reſt of the Shrines and Altars, and thus, as 'twere in a Moment of time, they demoliſh'd all the Monuments of ſuperſtitious, or profane, Worſhip.

Theſe things were done by the meaner ſort, while the richer were at Dinner; with the ſame furious Violence, they ran ſeveral ways to the Monaſtery of the Friars, the reſt of the common People ſtill flocking in to them: And though the Friars had provided ſome Aid againſt ſuch Aſſaults, yet no force was able to reſiſt the raſh Violence of the Multitude. The firſt aſſault was made upon the Idols and the Furniture for their Worſhip, and then the poorer ſort ran into the Prey. The *Franciſcans* were furniſh'd with Houſholdſtuff, not only plentiful but ſtately, more than would ſerve ten times as many, as they were. The *Dominicans*, though not ſo opulent as they, yet had enough to evince their Profeſſion of Begging

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to be a very vain one, ſo that one wittily called them not * Friars *Mendicants*, but Friars *Manducants*. The poor ſeized on all the Wealth, for they, who had Eſtates, did ſo ſtave off and prevent all Suſpicion of Covetouſneſs from themſelves, that they ſuffered ſome of the Monks, and eſpecially the *Prior* of the *Carthuſians*, to depart away laden with Gold and Silver; yea, the Abſtinence of the military Men from Plunder was as incredible, as their Celerity in demoliſhing the Buildings was admirable. For thoſe large Houſes of the *Carthuſians* were ſo haſtily overthrown, yea, and the Stones carried away, that, within two days time, there was hardly the Sign of any Foundation left. When the Tidings of theſe Matters were brought to the Queen, with ſome Exaggerations, they ſo inflamed her lofty Spirit, that ſhe ſolemnly ſwore, That ſhe would expiate this nefarious Wickedneſs with the Blood of the Citizens, and with the burning of the City. The Inhabitants of *Cowper* in *Fife*, hearing of the Procedure of Affairs at *Perth*, they alſo, by general conſent, either broke the Images, or threw them out of the Church, and thus cleanſed their Temple: At which the Parſon of the Pariſh was ſo grieved, that, the Night following, he laid violent Hands on himſelf. The Regent was amazed to hear this News, and ſent for *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol*, with their Allies and Clanſhips, to come to her; and though ſhe deſired, by her haſty Proceeding, to prevent the Preparations of her Enemies, yet the Carriage of the Braſs-Ordnance was ſo tedious, that it was about the 18*th* Day of *May*, before they came to the parts adjoining to that City. When the Nobles that were at *Perth*, heard of the Preparations that the Regent had made againſt them, they alſo ſent Meſſengers to their Friends, and to the Reformed all about, not to deſert them in this laſt Extremity of Life and Fortune. Whereupon, all the Commonalty thereabout came zealouſly and ſpeedily in, and ſome alſo out of *Lothian*, that they might not be wanting to the common Danger. But *Alexander Cuningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, exceeded them all in his Force and Feſtination, for he, hearing, how things ſtood, gathered together 2500 Men, part Foot, part Horſe, and led them on Night and Day, through rough and uncouth places, till he came to *Perth*. *James Stuart*, natural Son of the laſt King, and *Gileſpy Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*, were as yet in the Army of the Regent. For, though they were the chief Authors of Reforming Religion, yet becauſe all hopes of Concord were not quite loſt, they ſtaid there: That ſo, if Peace might be made on juſt Terms, they might do ſome Service to their Friends; but, if the Minds of the Papiſts were wholly averſe from Peace, then they reſolved to run the ſame hazard with the reſt, at *Perth*.

* Friars *Mendicants*, call'd Friars *Manducants*.

The Regent diſguſts the Carriages of the Reformed, and prepares Force againſt them.

Cuningham, Earl of *Glencarn*, ſtands up ſtoutly for the Reformation.

The Regent, being before inform'd by her Spies, that the Enemy were above 7000 ſtrong, all very hearty, and reſolved to fight, though ſhe had with her almoſt an equal number of *Scots*, beſides the *French* Auxiliaries, yet was loath to venture all upon a Battel. And therefore ſhe ſent *James Stuart*, and *Gileſpy Cambel*, (whom I named before) to treat with the Enemy; They, on their part, choſe out *Alexander Cuningham*, and *John Erskin* of *Down*, to treat with them. The Queen was now ſomewhat more placable, be-

cauſe ſhe heard, that *Glencarn* had alſo join'd his Forces with the reſt of the Oppugners of Idolatry. Whereupon the four Commiſſioners made an Agreement, That all military Men of the *Scots* ſhould be disbanded on both ſides, and the Regent ſhould have Liberty to enter the Town, and ſtay there with her Retinue for a few days, till ſhe had refreſhed her ſelf from the Toil of her Journy; yet ſo, that they were not to injure any of the Townſ-men in the leaſt; as for the *French*, none of them were to enter, or to come within three Miles of the Town; all the other Differences were referred to the Deciſion of the next Parliament. Thus the preſent Inſurrection being quieted without Blood, the Aſſertors of the Reformation departed joyfully, for they deſired not to make a War, but only to defend themſelves; and thereupon they gave God Thanks, who had given an unbloody end to the War. The Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Stuart*, left the Regent at *Perth*, and went to St. *Andrews*, there to refreſh themſelves after their former Toiles. But ſhe, the Volunteers being disbanded on both ſides, having entred the place with a ſmall Retinue, was honorably received, according to the Ability of the Citizens. The *French* Mercenaries paſſing by the Houſe of *Patrick Murray*, an honeſt and worthy Townſ-man, ſix of them, all levied their Pieces againſt a Balcony, out of which his whole Family looked to behold the Sight; upon the Diſcharge, they killed only *Patrick*'s Son, a Youth of thirteen Years of Age: The Body was brought to the Queen, and when ſhe heard of what Family he was, ſhe ſaid, that the chance was to be lamented, and ſo much the rather, becauſe it lighted on the *Son*, not on the *Father*; but that ſhe could not prevent, nor help, ſuch caſual Acccidents. This her Speech gave all to underſtand, that ſhe would no longer ſtand to her Agreements, but till ſhe had Force great enough to her Mind, and her Deeds confirmed the Truth of the Suſpicion: For, within three days after, ſhe began to turn all things topſy-turvy; ſome of the Citizens ſhe fined, others ſhe baniſh'd, and chang'd their Magiſtrates, without any judicial Proceedings; and, going to *Sterlin*, ſhe left ſome mercenary *Scots*, under *French* Pay, in the Town to gariſon it; whereby ſhe pretended, ſhe had not broken her Word, which was, that the City ſhould be left free, and no *French* Man enter into it. When 'twas objected to her, that, by the Agreement, all thoſe were to be accounted *French*, who had ſworn Fealty to the *French* King, then ſhe had recourſe to that common Refuge of the Papiſts, That *Promiſes were not to be kept with Hereticks*, but her excuſe would have been as honeſt, if ſhe told them, that ſhe had no Obligation lay on her Conſcience, but that ſhe might lawfully take away both Life and Goods, from ſuch a ſort of People as they were; and moreover, *That Princes were not to be ſo eagerly preſſed for the Performance of their Promiſes.*

A Temporary Agreement made between the Regent, and the Reformed,

Which the Regent eludes, what ſhe can, by undue Pretences.

Theſe things ſufficiently declar'd, that the Concord was not like to be laſting; and beſides, the things which followed gave further occaſion to conceive a ſiniſter Opinion of her: For ſhe proſecuted *James Stuart*, and *Gileſpy Cambel*, with threatning Letters, and Commands, denouncing the extremity of the Law againſt them,

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unleſs they came in to Her: As for the Army of the adverſe Faction, ſhe diſregarded That, becauſe ſhe knew, it was made up of Volunteers, and ſuch as fought without Pay, and when they were diſmiſs'd, they would not eaſily be brought together again. After ſhe had reſtor'd the Maſs, and ſetled other things, as well as ſhe could, ſhe left a Gariſon in the Town, as I ſaid before, and went towards *Sterlin*: ſhe was very deſirous to have the Poſſeſſion of that * Place, in regard 'twas ſcituate almoſt in the Middle of the whole Kingdom, and was the only walled Town therein; and beſides, the neighbouring Nobility was averſe from the Papiſts, and therefore ſhe deſir'd to put this Curb upon them. Moreover, it had many conveniencies, and eſpecially for conveyance of Land or Sea-Forces, for the Tide comes up thither by the River *Tay*, which waſheth the Walls thereof, and ſo it affords paſſage for Commerce with foreign Nations, and 'tis almoſt the only Town, to which acceſs may be had by Land, even from the utmoſt bound of the Kingdom: As for other Towns, the paſſages to them are impeded and intercepted by long Bayes, running in from the Sea, and the paſſage is ſlower through them, by reaſon they have not that Number of Ships as to carry a great multitude at once; ſo that oft-times Paſſengers are ſtopt many days by contrary Winds, or by the violence of Tempeſts.

* *Perth.*

For theſe Reaſons, *Perth* is accounted the moſt convenient Place, for holding Aſſemblies, and alſo for gathering Forces from all Parts of the Kingdom. But at that time, the Regent got not ſo much advantage by the commodious Scituation of the Place, as ſhe reap'd Envy, by violating her Faith, in breaking her Capitulations; for that was the *Laſt* day of her Felicity, and the *Firſt*, wherein ſhe was publickly contemn'd. For when the matter came to be divulg'd, it gave occaſion of many Inſurrections in all parts of the Kingdom. For the Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Stuart*, perceiving, that their Credit was crack'd by the Violation of that Truce, which they were the Authors of, convocated the Neighbour-Nobility at St. *Andrews*, and join'd themſelves to the Reform'd, and wrote to their Confederates of the ſame Sect, that the Regent was at *Falcoland* with *French* Forces, and that ſhe was intent on the taking of *Cowper* and St. *Andrews*, and unleſs help were preſently ſent, all the Churches in *Fife* would be in great danger. Whereupon, a great multitude came preſently in to them from the neighbouring Parts, mightily inrag'd againſt the Queen and her Forces. They thought themſelves to wage a War againſt a faithleſs and barbarous People, that had no reſpect to Equity, Right, Faith, Promiſes, or the Religion of an Oath, but eſteem'd ſo lightly of them, that they would ſay and unſay, do and undo, at every waving blaſt of hope, and uncertain gale of ſmiling Fortune; and therefore, for the future, no Conditions or Articles of Peace were to be hearkned to, unleſs one Party were extinguiſh'd, or, at leaſt, Strangers were driven out of the Kingdom, ſo that they prepared themſelves to overcome, or die.

Argyle, and *James Stuart*, join themſelves with the Reform'd, againſt the Regent, becauſe of her breach of Promiſe.

By theſe and ſuch like Speeches, the Minds of all preſent were ſo inflam'd, that firſt of all they made an aſſault on *Carail*, a Town

The Reſolution of the Reformers,

ſcituate in the furtheſt Angle of *Fife*, where they overthrew the Altars, broke down the Images, and ſpoil'd all the *Apparatus* of the Maſs-Trade, and that which was almoſt incredible in the Caſe, Anger prevail'd more in the Minds of the Vulgar, than Avarice. From thence they went to St. *Andrews*, where they ſpoil'd the Temples of the other Saints, and levell'd the Monaſt'ries of the *Franciſcan* and *Dominican* Friars to the Ground. And though all this was done, almoſt under the Noſe of the Arch-biſhop, who had a ſufficient Number of Horſe, which were able, as his hopes were, to defend the Town; yet, ſeeing the eagerneſs of the People, and ſuch a numerous concourſe of Volunteers, he withdrew himſelf and his Followers from the Fury of the Multitude, and went to *Falk-land* to his Kindred and Clans. The Regent was ſo inrag'd at the hearing hereof, that, without any further Deliberation, ſhe commanded a March the next day, and ſent Quarter-Maſters before, to aſſign Quarters for the *French* at *Cowper*; ſhe alſo ſent abroad her Commands to all Places, that all who were able to bear Arms ſhould follow her to *Cowper*; beſides, ſhe gave a Watch-word to the preſent Force of the *French*, and the *Hamiltons*, that they ſhould be all ready to be in Arms, on ſound of Trumpet. This Deſign of hers was made known to the Reformers, by their Spies and Scouts; whereupon, their Friends and Acquaintance were ſummon'd to repair to thoſe, who were already Aſſembled; and to prevent the Deſign of the Regent, they march'd preſently towards *Cowper*; and at the ſame Inſtant, the Inhabitants of *Dundee*, and the Nobles of the adjacent Country, to the Number of about 1000 Men, upon the ſame Alarum, join'd themſelves with them. That night they abode there, but the next Morning early, they drew their Forces out of the Town, and ſtood in Array in the adjoining Fields, expecting the Army of the Papiſts, and gathering up their own Forces, as they came gradually and ſtragglingly in. In the Camp of the Regent, there were 2000 *French*, under the Command of *D'Oſel*, and a 1000 *Scots*, led by *James Hamilton*, Duke of * *Chaſtel-herault*, as he was then call'd. Theſe ſent their Guns before them in the 2*d* Watch, and marching early in the Morning, came all ſo near, as to ſee the Enemy, and to be ſeen by them. There was a ſmall River between them, where, at convenient Poſts; their great Guns were Planted; 500 Horſe were ſent before, to make light Skirmiſhes with the Enemy, and alſo to hinder their paſſage over the River, if they ſhould attempt it. The alacrity of theſe Men gave ſome ſtop to the *French*, which was further increas'd by the coming in of *Patrick Lermont*, Mayor of St. *Andrews*, with 500 Citizens in Arms, who, for the conveniency of their March, being ſtretch'd out in length, made a Show of a far greater Number, than they were: This kept them from diſcovering the Number and Order of their Enemies, which they much deſir'd to know; neither could they diſcover, the Commanders were at hand, that ſo they might give Notice to their Fellows, as they were commanded. And therefore, ſome of the *French* went to the top of an high hill adjoining, that ſo they might have as full a view of the Enemy, as they could, from ſuch a diſtance; from thence they diſcover'd

* In *Poictou* in *France*.

The Queen marches againſt them, and they prepare to defend themſelves,

discover'd many Bodies of Horse and Foot, with small distances betwixt them, and behind them a great number of Baggagers and Waggon-men, which made a long Show, at the edg of a certain Valley; so that they thought, That that whole numerous Party was laid in Ambush for them; and this News they carry'd to their Fellows, aggravating all things beyond what they were, indeed. Whereupon, the Commanders of the Army, by the advice of the Council, sent to the Regent, who staid behind at *Falkland*, to acquaint Her, how Matters stood, that the *Scots* seem'd more numerous than they expected, and more ready to fight; and, on the contrary, their own Men did grumble; and some of them did publickly give forth, That they scorn'd, for the sake of a few Strangers, to be led to an Engagement against their own Country-Men, Friends and Kindred; Whereupon, by the assent of the Queen, Three Embassadors of the Nobles were sent from *Hamilton*, such as had some Friends, or Sons, in the Enemies Army. These Embassadors could not clap up a Peace, because the Reformers, having been so often deluded by vain Promises, gave no credit to their Concessions; and the Regent, at that time, had not any other Voucher to make good her Stipulation; and if she had, she thought it to be below her Dignity to produce it. Besides, there was another difficulty in the Case, which was the expulsion of Foreigners out of the Kingdom, (a thing principally insisted upon) and that she could not do, without acquainting the *French* King; so that only dilatory Truces were made, not to incline their Minds to Peace, as they had often experienc'd before, but to procure foreign Aid; only this was accorded betwixt them, That the *French* Forces should be transported into *Lothian*, and a Truce should be made for 8 Days, till the Regent sent some Pacificators of her own to St. *Andrews*, to propound equal Conditions of Peace to both Parties. But the Reformers, plainly perceiving, that the Regent did but protract Time, till she passed her Army over the next *Firth*, because then she could not compose things to her own Advantage, the Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Stuart*, dealt with her by Letters, that she would withdraw the Garison out of *Perth*, and leave the City to its own Laws, as she promised, when she was admitted into it, and that the envy of her breach of Covenant was cast-upon them, who were the Authors of the Agreement. The Regent, giving no Answer to these Letters, they turn'd their Ensigns towards *Perth*, from whence miserable Complaints and Groans for Relief were daily brought them. For the Laird of *Kinfans*, a neighbouring Laird, whom the Regent, at her Departure, had made Governor of the Town, to shew his Officiousness, did mightily vex the Citizens; for taking the opportunity of his Command over them, he indulg'd his own private Passions, and reveng'd the old Grudges, which he had with many of them, even to extremity, banishing some, and spoiling others, on the account of Religion; and he also allow'd the like Liberty to his Souldiers.

The Reformers, under the command of *Argyle* and *Stuart*, take *Perth*, *Cowper*, *Linlithgo* and *Edinburgh*, and purge them from monuments of Idolatry.

The Forces, which were at *Cowper*, understanding of these Injuries, done to their Friends and Partners in the Reformation, beat up

up a March thither, very early in the Morning, they beſieg'd the Town, which, after a few days, was Surrendred to them; *Kinſans* was outed of his Governorſhip, and *Patrick Ruven*, the old Governor, ſubſtituted in his Place; afterward they burnt *Scone*, an old and unpeopled Town, becauſe, contrary to their Faith given, they had ſlain one of their Number.

By their Spies they were inform'd, that the Regent was ſending a Gariſon of *French* to *Sterlin*, that ſo they, who were beyond the *Forth*, might be cut off from the reſt. To prevent this Deſign, *Gileſpy Cambel*, and *James Stuart*, late in the Night, with great ſilence, remov'd from *Perth*, and enter'd *Sterlin*, where they preſently overthrew the Monaſt'ry of the Friars. They alſo purg'd the other Churches about the City, from all Monuments of Idolatry; and thus, after 3 Days, they march'd towards *Edinburgh*, and deſtroy'd the ſuperſtitious Relicks at *Linlithgo*, a Town in the Midway; and though they were but a very few in Number, the Common Souldiers, as if the War had been ended, ſlipping home to to their domeſtic Affairs, yet they cut the Combs of the Papiſts in ſo many Towns; yea, ſo great a Terror did ſeize upon the mercenary Troops of the *Scots* and *French*, that they fled, with all their Baggage, which they could draw after them, to *Dunbar*. The *Scots* Nobles, who were the Leaders of the Reformation, ſtaid there ſeveral days to order Matters; For, beſides cleanſing of the Temples from all the Maſſifying Trade, they appointed Preachers to expound the Word of God, purely and ſincerely, to the People.

In the mean time, word was brought from *France*, that King *Henry* the 2*d* was dead, which News increas'd the Joy, but leſſen'd the Induſtry, of the *Scots*; for many now betook themſelves to their private Affairs, as if all the Danger had been over. On the other ſide, the Regent, fearing leſt She, and the *French*, ſhould be expell'd out of all *Scotland*, was highly vigilant and intent upon all Occaſions. Firſt, ſhe ſent forth Scouts to *Edinburgh*, to fiſh out the Enemies Deſigns, by whom being inform'd, that the Common Souldiers had diſperſt themſelves, and that the few, which remain'd, kept no Military Diſcipline nor Watch, ſhe thought not fit to omit ſuch an Opportunity, but march'd with the Forces, which ſhe had, directly to *Edinburgh*. Duke *James Hamilton*, and *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, very dutifully met Her, but they not being able to compoſe Matters, only got this Point, That the Conflict ſhould not begin that Day. At length, after many Conditions had been canvaſs'd on both ſides, on the 24*th* of *July*, in the Year 1559, a Truce was made to laſt till the 10*th* of *January*; The ſum of the Terms, were, That no Man ſhould be compell'd in matters of Religion; That no Gariſon ſhould be plac'd in *Edinburgh*; That the Prieſts ſhould not be hindred from receiving the Fruits of their Lands, Tithes, Penſions, or other Incomes, freely; That none ſhould demoliſh Churches, Temples, Monaſtries and other Places, made for the uſe of Prieſts, or ſhould transfer them to other uſes; And that the day after, the Mint, for coining Mony, and the Royal Palace, with all the Furniture they found there, ſhould be reſtor'd to the Regent.

A Truce between the Regent, and the Reformers.

She

She was more careful to keep the Articles of this Truce, in appearance, becauſe She had ſhewn ſo much diſtaſteful Levity, in keeping the Pacts, made in former times; yet notwithſtanding, She, under-hand, by Men of her own Faction, caus'd the *Scots* to be irritated, who were by Nature inclinable to Paſſion, and ſo gave occaſion of haraſſing the miſerable Vulgar. But having no colour for her Project, ſufficient to diſguiſe her Cruelty, under the pretence of Law, ſhe caus'd falſe Reports to be ſpread abroad, That Religion was but made a pretence for Rebellion, but the true Cauſe of riſing in Arms, was, that, the lawful Line being Extinct, the Kingdom might be transferr'd to *James*, the late King's Baſtard-Son. When ſhe perceiv'd, that the Minds of Men were ſomewhat poſſeſs'd by thoſe, and ſuch other kind of lying, Reports, ſhe ſent ſome Letters to the ſaid *James*, pretending, that they came from *Francis* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *France*, wherein he was upbraided with the Commemoration of the pretended Courteſies he had received, and withal was grievouſly threatned, if he did not lay aſide his Deſign of Revolting, and return to his Duty. *James* anſwer'd thereunto, That he was not conſcious to himſelf, either in word or deed, of any Offence, either againſt King, Regent, or Laws; but, in regard the Nobility had undertaken the Cauſe of reforming Religion, which was decay'd, or rather had join'd themſelves to thoſe who were *firſt* therein, he was willing to bear the envy of thoſe Things, if any did ariſe, which were acted in Common by himſelf and others, they aiming at nothing therein, but the Glory of God; neither was it juſt for him to deſert that Cauſe, which had *Chriſt* himſelf for its Head, Favourer and Defender, whom unleſs they would voluntarily deny, they could not ſurceaſe their enterprize. Setting that Cauſe aſide, he and others, who were branded with the invidious Name of Rebels, would be moſt obſequious and Loyal in all other Things. This Anſwer was given to the Regent, to be ſent into *France*, where 'twas look'd upon as proud and contumacious, whereas ſome eſteem'd it modeſt enough, and within compaſs, eſpecially, as to the Point of upbraiding him which Courteſies, whereas, in Truth, he had receiv'd none, unleſs ſuch as were common to all Strangers.

Amidſt theſe things, a thouſand *French* Mercenaries arriv'd at *Leith*, and alſo the Earl of *Arran*, Son to *James Hamilton*, late Governor, came to the Convention of the Nobles, which were held at *Sterlin*. The Regent became now cock-ſure, upon the Arrival of the *French*, and began openly to apply her Mind to ſubdue all *Scotland* by Force. But the Cauſe of the Earl of *Arran's* Return, was this, He was more Eager and Zealous in the Cauſe of Reformation, than was ſafe for him in thoſe Times, and therefore he was deſign'd to be put to Death, by the *Guiſes*, who were the Favorites of *Francis* the Younger, for the Terror of the inferior Orders of Men; yea, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was ſo bold in a Speech, which he made in the Parliament of *Paris*, inveighing againſt the Cauſe of Reformation, that, he ſaid, they ſhould ſhortly ſee ſome eminent Man ſuffer upon that Account, who was little inferior to a Prince. He, being made acquainted therewith, and withal calling

French Auxiliaries arrive, to ſtrengthen the Regent,

to

to Mind, that he had, a little before, been free in his Diſcourſe with the Duke of *Guiſe*, upon that Head, by the Advice of his Friends, provided for his Safety by a ſecret Flight; and, contrary to all Mens Expectation, came home in the midſt of his Countries Tumults, join'd himſelf with the part of the Reformers, procur'd his Father alſo to join with them, and ſo he reconcil'd many to him, who had been his Enemies before, upon old Grudges.

The chief of the Party, there preſent, being inform'd, That, for certain, ſome Auxiliaries were arriv'd, and others were levying to be ſpeedily ſent over to *Leith*, which was ſtrongly fortifi'd to be made a Magazine for Proviſions and Ammunition for War; and, That the *French* intended to make uſe of that Town, as a Place to ſecure their Retreat, if they were diſtreſs'd; and as a Port to receive their Friends, if they proſper'd. Hereupon the *Scots* gather'd their Forces together, and indeavour'd to beſiege *Leith*, but in vain. For the Regent and the Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, who had not yet join'd himſelf with the Reformers and Vindicators of publick Freedom, had the Poſſeſſion of almoſt all the Braſs-Guns in *Scotland*; and beſides, the Party had not ſtrength enough, to ſhut up a Town in a formal Siege, which had the Sea on one ſide, and was alſo divided by a River.

Which diſguſts the Reformed.

In the mean time, the King of *France*, being inform'd, how Matters ſtood in *Scotland*, ſent thither *L'abros*, a Knight of the Order of the * *Cochle*, with 2000 Foot, to aſſiſt the Queen in the maintenance of the Popiſh Religion; There were alſo ſent with him the Biſhop of *Amiens*, and 3 Doctors of the *Sorbon*, to diſpute matters Controverted, by Arguments, if need were; The arrival of them did ſo raiſe up the dejected Spirit of the Regent, that ſhe ſolemnly Swore, ſhe would now be ſpeedily reveng'd of God's Enemies and the King's. There were then 12 of the chief Nobility aſſembled at *Edinburgh*, which gave anſwer to Mr. *D'Labros* and the Biſhop, who alleged, they were ſent over Embaſſadors, and therefore deſir'd a day to propound their Demands, *viz.* That they did not ſeek Peace, as they pretended, but that they threatn'd War; otherwiſe, if it were only to Diſpute, to what purpoſe was it to bring ſo many arm'd Forces? As for themſelves, they were not ſo imprudent, as to commit themſelves to a Diſpute, where they muſt be forc'd to accept what Conditions, their Enemies pleas'd. But if a Pacification might be acceptable to them, they alſo would take Care, that they might not ſeem to be compell'd by Force, but overcome by Reaſon; and if they did really aim at what they pretended, they ſhould ſend back the Foreign Souldiers, and meet unarm'd, as they had done before; that ſo the Matter might be determin'd by Equity and Right, not by Force of Arms: This they ſaid to the Embaſſadors. As to the fortifying *Leith*, they wrote back the Regent, to this purpoſe;

* Or, of St. *Michael*.

Embaſſadors from *France*.

Their Demands anſwer'd by the Reformed.

That they did much admire, the Regent had, without any Provocation, ſo ſoon forgot, and receded from her Agreements, as, by driving out the ancient Inhabitants of *Leith*, and placing a Colony of Strangers there, and ſo erecting a Fort over all their Heads to the ruin of their Laws and Liberties, ſhe had done; and therefore, they earneſtly

neſtly deſir'd her, to deſiſt from ſo pernicious a Counſel, which was temerariouſly undertaken by her againſt the Faith of her Promiſes, againſt the publick Utility, Law and Liberty; leſt otherwiſe, they ſhould be compell'd to call for the aid of all the People, in the Caſe.

The Reformers expoſtulate with the Regent.

About a Month after, they ſent an Anſwer from a Convention at *Edinburgh*, to the ſame Purpoſe, withal adding This to their former Requeſts, That She would demoliſh all the new Fortifications, and ſend away all Strangers, and Mercenaries, that ſo the Town might be free for Traffick and mutual Commerce, which if She refus'd to do, they would look upon it as a ſure Argument, that ſhe was reſolv'd to bring the Kingdom into Slavery, which Miſchief they would do all they could to prevent.

The Regents anſwers to their Demands.

The Regent, three days after, ſent *Robert Forman*, Principal Herauld, (King of Arms as they call him) giving him theſe Commands, in anſwer to them. Firſt of all, you ſhall declare to them, that I am mightily ſurpriz'd, and look upon it as an unexpected thing, that any other Man ſhould claim any Power here, beſides my Son in Law and Daughter, on whom all my Authority depends. The former Actings of the Nobles, and theſe their preſent Poſtulations, or rather Commands, do ſufficiently declare, that they acknowledg no Authority, Superior to themſelves. That their Petition, or rather their Threats, though guilded over with ſmooth Words, were not at all new to Her. Next, you ſhall require the Duke of *Caſtle-herault*, to call to Mind, what he promis'd to me, by word of Mouth, and to the King by Letters, that he would not only be Loyal to the King, but alſo would take effectual Care, that his Son, the Earl of *Arran*, ſhould not mix himſelf in theſe Tumults of his Country; you, ſhall ask him, Whether his preſent Actings do correſpond with thoſe Promiſes? To their Letters you ſhall Anſwer, That, for the ſake of the publick Tranquillity, I will do, and ſo I promiſe, whatſoever is not contrary to Piety towards God, or Duty towards the King; as for the deſtruction of Law and Liberty, it never entred into her Heart, much leſs to ſubdue the Kingdom by Force. For whom, ſaid She, ſhould I conquer it, ſeeing my Daughter doth now, as lawful Heireſs, poſſeſs it. As to the Fortification at *Leith*, you ſhall ask, Whether ever She attempted any thing therein, before they, in many Conventions, and at length, by a mutual Conſpiracy, had openly declar'd, That they rejected the Government, ſet over them by Law; and, without her Advice or Notice, though She held the Place and Authothority of a chief Magiſtrate, had broke the publick Peace, at their Pleaſure; and had ſtrengthned their Party by taking of Towns, and had treated with old Enemies for eſtabliſhing a League; yea, that now many of them kept *Engliſh* in their Houſes; ſo that, to omit other Arguments, What Reaſon have they to judg it lawful for themſelves to keep up an Army at *Edinburgh*, to invade thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion of the Government; and yet it muſt not be lawful for me to have ſome Forces about me at *Leith*, for my own Defence? Their aim is principally This, to compel Me, by often ſhifting of Places, to avoid their Fury, as I have hitherto done:

Is there any mention in their Letters about Obedience to lawful Magistrates? Do they discover any Way to renew Peace and Concord? By what Indication do they manifest, that they are willing, that these Tumults should be appeased, and all things reduced to their former State? Let them colour and guild their Pretensions how they please, with the shew of publick Good, yet, 'tis plain, that they mind nothing less; for if that one thing were a *Remora* to Concord, I have often shewed the Way that leads thereto. They themselves are not ignorant, that the *French*, at the Command of their own King, had long since quitted *Scotland*, if their Actings had not occasion'd their longer Stay. And therefore, if now they will offer any honest Conditions, which may afford a probable ground of hope, that the Majesty of the Government may be preserved, and that they will, with Modesty, obey their Superiours, I shall refuse no Way of renewing Peace, nor omit any thing relating to the Publick Good; neither am I only thus affected towards them, but the *French* King is of the same mind too, who hath sent over an Illustrious Knight of the Order of St. *Michael*, and another prime Ecclesiastical Person, with Letters and Commands to that purpose, whom yet they had so slighted, as not to vouchsafe them an Answer, no, nor Audience neither. And therefore you shall require the Duke, the other Nobles, and Country-men of all sorts, presently to separate themselves, otherwise they shall be proclaimed Traitors.

The Rejoinder of the Reformed Nobility, to the Regent's Answer.

To this Letter, the Nobles sent an Answer the day after, which was *October* 23. to this purpose; 'We plainly perceive, by your 'Letters and Commands, sent us by your Herauld, how you persist 'in your Disaffection to God's true Worship, to the Publick Good of 'the whole Country, and to the Common Liberty of us all; which, 'that we may perserve according to our Duty, we do, in the Name 'of our King and Queen, suspend and inhibit that publick Administration, which you usurp under their Names, as being fully per'suaded, that your Actings are quite contrary to their Inclinations, 'and against the Publick Good of the Kingdom: And as you do 'not esteem us a Senate and publick Council, who are the lawful 'Inhabitants of this Kingdom and Country; so we do not acknow'ledg you as Regent, in supream Authority over us, especially 'since your Government (if you have any such entrusted to you, by 'our Princes) is, for weighty and just Reasons, abrogated by us, 'and that in the Name of those Kings, to whom we are born 'Counsellors, especially in such Things as concern the Safety of the 'whole Common-wealth. And though we are determined to un'dergo the utmost Hazard for the freeing of that Town, wherein 'you have a Garison, from foreign Mercenaries, which you have 'hired against us; yet, for the Reverence and due Respect we bear 'you, as the Mother of our Queen, we earnestly intreat you, to 'withdraw your self, whilst Necessity compels us to reduce that 'Town by Force, which we oft endeavour'd to gain by fair Means. 'And withal we desire, that, within the space of twenty four hours, 'you would withdraw likewise Those, who challenge the Name of 'Embassadours to themselves, and forbid them either to decide 'Controversies, or to manage Civil and Martial Affairs; and also,

'that

'that all Mercenary Souldiers in that Town would retire likewiſe,
'for we would willingly ſpare their Lives, and conſult their Safe-
'ty, both by reaſon of that ancient Amity, which hath interceded
'betwixt the Kings of *Scotland* and *France*; and alſo, by reaſon of
'the Marriage of their King with our Queen, which doth equita-
'bly ingage us, rather to encreaſe our Union, than diminiſh it.

The ſame Day, the Herauld alſo related, that, the Day before, in a full Aſſembly of Nobles and Commons, it was voted, That all the Regent's Words, Deeds and Deſigns tended only to Tyranny, and therefore a Decree was made to abrogate her Authority, to which all of them ſubſcribed, as moſt juſt: Moreover, they did inhibit the Truſt her Son-in-Law and Daughter had committed to her; they alſo forbad her to execute any Act of publick Government, till a general Convention of the Eſtates, which they determined to ſummon, as ſoon as conveniently they could. The 25*th* day, the Nobles ſent an Herauld to *Leith*, to warn all the *Scots* to depart out of the Town within the ſpace of twenty four hours, and to ſeparate themſelves from the Deſtroyers of publick Liberty. After theſe Threats, Horſemen made Excurſions on both ſides, and the War began, yet without any conſiderable Slaughter. In the beginning of this Action, there fell ſo great and ſudden a Terror upon the Cauſe of the Reformed, which did mightily diſturb them for the preſent, and alſo cut off all hopes of Succeſs for the future. For the Regent, partly by Threats, and partly by Promiſes, had wrought off many, who had given in their Names to the Reformers, from the Faction of the Nobles; and beſides, their Camp was full of Spies, who diſcovered both their Words and Actions, yea, thoſe which they thought were concern'd to be kept moſt ſecret, to the Regent; and when *James Balfure*'s Servant was taken, carrying Letters to *Leith*, the Suſpicion lighted on a great many, and the Fear diffus'd it ſelf over the whole Body: And moreover, the Mercenary Souldiers mutinied, becauſe they had not their Pay down upon the Nail; and if any one indeavoured to appeaſe them, he was grievouſly threatned by them. But Men did leſs admire the Sedition of ſuch Men, who had neither Religion nor Honeſty, than they did the Imbecillity and Faintheartedneſs of the Duke of *Caſtleherault*, who was ſo amazed at the Fear of his Neighbours, that his Terror diſcouraged the Minds of many. Thoſe, who were moſt couragious, endeavoured to apply Remedies to theſe Miſeries; and their firſt Conſultation was, to appeaſe the Mercenaries: And, ſeeing the Nobles, which remained, could not make up a Sum ſufficient to quiet and pay them, ſome declining through Covetouſneſs, others pleading Inability; at laſt, they agreed to melt down all their Silver-Plate; and when the *Say-maſters* were ready to aſſiſt therein, the Mints or Stamps, I know not by whoſe Fraud, were taken away.

They abrogate the Regent's Power.

The only ground of Hope was from *England*, which was adjudg'd too ſlow. At laſt, they reſolved to try the Fidelity of their private Friends, and thereupon they ſent *John Cockburn* of * *Ormiſton* to Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and Sir *James Croft*, two Knights of known Valour, (who, at that time, were Officers at *Berwick*) to

* In *Eaſt-Lothian.*

The Reformers meet with great diſcouragements, by the prevailing of the *French*, and deſire Aid from *England*.

obtain of them a ſmall Sum of Mony, to ſerve their preſent Occaſion. This their Deſign, though they kept it as private as they could, was yet diſcovered to the Regent, who commanded the Earl of *Bothwel* to waylay him in his Return. He, though in a few days before, he had taken a ſolemn Oath, that he would not prejudice the Cauſe of the Nobles in the leaſt; yea, though he had given them hopes, that he would join himſelf to their Party, yet nevertheleſs lay in Ambuſh for *Ormiſton*, aſſaulted him unawares, wounded and took him Priſoner, and ſo became Maſter of all the Mony, that he brought: When the noiſe of this Exploit was brought to *Edinburgh*, it alarm'd the Earl of *Arran*, and *James Stuart*, and almoſt all the Horſe to draw out, not ſo much for deſire of Revenge, as to free *Ormiſton*, (if he were alive) or, at leaſt, to put a ſtop to their March, that he might not be convey'd to the Regent. But *Bothwel*, having notice thereof by a Spy, prevented their coming by his Flight.

The ſame Day, the Governour of *Dundee*, with the Townſ-men thereof, and a few Volunteers, marched towards *Leith*, and placed their Ordnance on an adjoining Hill. The *French*, who were informed by their Scouts, that almoſt all the Enemies Horſe were abſent, drew forth ſome Troops, to cut off thoſe few Foot, whoſe Paucity they ſaw. The *Dundeans* ſtood a while in hope of Relief, but in regard thoſe few Mercenaries which followed them, turned their backs almoſt at the firſt Charge, they alſo retired, leaving their Guns behind them, until at length a Noiſe was raiſed in the Rear, that the *French* were gone another way towards the Gates of the City, to ſeize them, and ſo to keep them out; upon this bruit, there was ſuch an univerſal Perturbation, that every one ſhifted for himſelf, the beſt he could; and whilſt each Man endeavour'd to ſave one, the Weak were trodden under foot by the Strong; ſo every body look'd to his own Particular, and there was no Proviſion made in common for them all. The Papiſts, on this Emergency, crept out of their lurking Holes, and did openly reproach them. Inſomuch, that they, who ever pretended great Zeal for the Reformation, began partly to withdraw themſelves ſecretly, and partly they conſulted, how to deſert the whole buſineſs.

On the 5*th* Day of *November*, when News were brought, that the *French* were march'd out to intercept ſome Proviſions, coming towards *Edinburgh*; beſides the Diſagreement of the Reformed amongſt themſelves, the Mercenaries could ſcarce be got out of the Town, to oppoſe them. The Earl of *Arran*, and *James Stuart*, and their Friends went out firſt againſt them, with whom there joined many worthy and valiant Perſons. They charged the *French* more fiercely than prudently, ſo that they were near upon the point, to have been ſhut out from *Edinburgh*, and ſo to have paid for their Raſhneſs. For the Mariſhes on the one ſide, and the adjacent Wall of an Orchard, left them but a narrow ſpace for their March, and That alſo open to the *French* Musketeers; ſo that they were trodden under foot, partly by their own Men, and partly by the Enemies Horſe. In this Trepidation, they had been all certainly cut off, unleſs the Commanders, leaping from their Horſes, had put themſelves into

into equal Danger with the reſt; ſome of the common Souldiers, ſeeing this, ſtopp'd for Shame, amongſt whom was *Alexander Haliburton*, a Captain, a ſtout young Man, and very forward in the Cauſe of Religion, he was grievouſly wounded, taken Priſoner, and ſoon after died of his Wounds.

After this Conflict, in which there fell about twenty five, many withdrew themſelves, and others were upon the point of Deſperation; but the Earl of *Arran*, and *James Stuart*, promiſed to continue their Endeavours, if but a ſmall Company of them would keep together; when all, in a manner, refuſed ſo to do, the next Conſultation was, to leave the City, and, as the Nobles had decreed, in the ſecond Watch, they began their March, and the Day after came to *Sterlin*. There *John Knox* made an excellent Sermon to them, wherein he erected the Minds of many, into an aſſur'd hope of a ſpeedy Deliverance out of theſe Diſtreſſes. Here it was agreed upon, in a Convention, that, becauſe the *French* were continually ſtrengthen'd and increas'd with new Supplies, they alſo would ſtrengthen their Party, by foreign Aid; and in order thereunto, *William Maitland* was ſent into *England*, a young Man of great Prudence and Learning; he was to inform the Queen, what eminent Danger would accrue to *England*, if the *French* were ſuffer'd to fortify Places, and plant Gariſons in *Scotland*, in regard they ſought the Deſtruction, not of Religion only, but of Laws and Liberties too; and if the *Scots* were overcome by Force or Fraud, yea, if they were reduced to Servitude by unjuſt Conditions, they would have an eaſier ſtep to infringe the Power of the *Engliſh*.

John Knox's encouraging Sermon.

The *Engliſh*, after a long Debate of the Matter, at length, gave ſome hopes of Aſſiſtance: Whereupon, the Noblemen, who were the Aſſertors of Liberty, divided themſelves into two Parties; Some abode at *Glaſcow*, that they might command the Neighbouring Provinces, and defend their Partners in the Reformation from Wrong; Others were ſent into *Fife*. The *French* did what Miſchief they could to their Enemies; but, being troubled to hear of the *Engliſh* Supplies, they endeavoured to ſubdue the Relicks of the contrary Faction, before their Coming; and firſt, they marched againſt that Party which was in *Fife*: Firſt, in their March they plundered *Linlithgo*, and the Eſtates of the *Hamiltons*; from thence they march'd to *Sterlin*, where they ſtaid no longer, but till they could pillage the *Townſ-men*, and then paſs'd over the Bridg, and led their Army along the Shore of the River, which was full of Towns and Villages, well inhabited. They ranſack'd all they met with, and at laſt, came to * *Kinghorn*. The *Scots*, to ſtop their Career, put a ſmall Gariſon into a Town, called *Dyſert*: Here the *French* made light Skirmiſhes for twenty Days together; and becauſe they could not wreek their Fury upon the Maſters, they did it upon the bare Walls of their Houſes, and raz'd a Village, called *Grange*, belonging to *William Kircaldy*, from the very Foundation. He, knowing that the *French* were wont to make often Excurſions from thence to plunder the Country-People, a little before day, plac'd himſelf in Ambuſh, and obſerving Captain *L'abaſt*, a *Savoyard*, to march out with his Company, he kept himſelf cloſe ſo long,

England reſolves to ſend Aid to the Reformers in *Scotland*.

* A Borough Royal in *Fife*.

long, till the *French* were above a Mile from their Garison, and then his Horse started up, and intercepted them from their Fellows. The *French* had but one way for it, in those Circumstances, and that was to enter a Country-Village near at hand, and so to endeavour to defend themselves behind Walls and Hedges. The *Scots*, being irritated by the former Cruelty of the *French*, were utterly unmindful of their own Safety, while they were intent to attend their Enemies, (though they had no Arms, but Horsemens Lances) yet broke down all which was in their way, and rush'd in upon them; the Captain, who refused to take Quarter, and fifty of his Men, were slain, the rest they sent Prisoners to *Dundee*.

They who were at *Dysert*, as in a setled Post, met at *Cowper*; out of them and others, that were at *Glasgow*, there were some Persons chosen to be sent to *Berwick*, to agree the Terms of the League with the *English*. The chief Articles were these, 'That if any 'Strangers should enter *Brittain* in a Warlike manner, each of them 'should aid and assist one another; That the Queen of *England* should 'pay the *Scots* in *England*, and also the *English* Auxiliaries in *Scotland*; 'That the Prey taken from the Enemy should belong to the *English*, 'but the Towns and Castles should presently be restored to the right 'Owners; That the *Scots* should give Hostages, which were to re-'main in *England*, during the Marriage of the *French* King with the 'Q. of *Scots*, and if that Marriage were disanull'd, one year after.

These Transactions past at *Berwick*, *February* 27, 1570. One thing the *English* gave strict warning of to the *Scots*, which was, that they should not join in a set Battel, and so hazard all, before the Aids of their Friends came; for the *English* Nobles were much afraid, that the over-eager Spirits of the *Scots* would precipitate the whole matter into an irrecoverable Mistake.

In the mean time, the *French*, having plundered *Dysert* and *Weemes*, had a Debate among themselves, Whether they should march directly towards the Enemy, or else go all along the Shore to S. *Andrews*, and so to *Cowper*. This later opinion prevailed, because, by reason of the great Snow, which had fallen, all the High-ways were so clogged, that the Horse, without great Inconvenience, could not march thrô the Mid-land Countries; wherefore passing along a little by the Sea, when they came to the Promontory, called * *Kincraige*, (*i. e.* the Head or end of a Rock,) some of them got thereupon, where there was a large Prospect into the Sea, and they came down in great Joy, and told their Fellows, that they discovered eight great Ships, of the first Rate, at Sea; whereupon the *French* did certainly conclude, that those Vessels had brought them over Aid, which they had long before expected; and therefore they saluted them, as the Custom is, with the Discharge of their great Guns, and congratulated one another, invited them on Shore, resolving to pass that day in a great deal of Mirth and Jollity; not long after, one or two Boats landed from the contrary Shore of *Lothian*, they (haivng, in their passage, had some Discourse with the Passengers, in those Foreign Ships) made a Discovery, that it was a Fleet of *English*; and withal, that the Report was, that the Land-Forces of the *English* were not far from the Borders of *Scotland*.

* In *Fist.*

A Fleet of *English* appear, to aid the *Scots* Reformers, which terrifies the *French*.

Here-

Hereupon, there was a ſudden change of Spirit among them, and their unſeaſonable Laughter was turned into Fear and Trembling; ſo that preſently they catch'd up their Colours, and retreated, part of them to *Kinghorn*, others to *Dumfermlin*, many of them leaving their Dinners behind them, for very haſte; for they were afraid, leſt the Gariſon, which they had left at *Leith*, might be cut off, and they themſelves expoſed to the Fury of the Enemy, who lay about them in all Quarters, before they could gather all their Strength into a Body.

During this whole March, they plundered more of the Papiſts, who came in thick to them, than of their Enemies. For of them, the richer ſort had withdrawn a great part of their Eſtates into remote places of Safeguard; as for thoſe, who had not thus ſecured their Eſtates, the *French* Commanders being lifted up with their preſent Succeſs, and alſo with the hopes of Aid from *France*, which was every day expected, in Confidence whereof they hoped to be perpetual Lords of thoſe Countries; hereupon, they reſerved the richeſt Farms and Villages, which moſt abounded with all kind of Proviſions, unplundered, as a peculiar Prey for themſelves. But the Papiſts were either exhauſted by the frequent Invitations of the principal Commanders, to feaſt at their Houſes, under a Pretence of Friendſhip; or elſe, were privately pillaged by the common Souldiers; or, at leaſt, in their Retreat, were openly ſpoiled by the *French*, who were in great want of Proviſions, and that not without bitter Exprobrations of their Cowardiſe in Fighting, and their Avarice, in not relieving their Friends, which things (ſaid they) we leave to you to judg, how near a-kin they are to plain Perfidiouſneſs. This contumelious Pride, joined with the Rapacity of the *French* Faction, quite turned the Hearts of many from them; and not long after, the *Fife* Men, being compell'd, partly by Fear of their Enemies, and partly by the Wrongs received by their own *Partizans*, joined themſelves to the Reformers; and, at laſt, the remote Countries did univerſally revolt from the Outlandiſh, and ſhewed themſelves as eager in repreſſing the Tyranny of the *French*, as the other *Scots* did in aſſerting their Religion.

The *French* loſe the hearts even of the *Scotiſh* Papiſts themſelves, by their Inſolencies and Plunderings.

The Spring was now at hand, and both Parties haſtened to draw their Forces together into one place. The Earl of *Martigues*, a ſtout and noble Young-Man, landed from *France* in two Ships, bringing with him about 1000 Foot, and a few Horſe; he and his Souldiers preſently went on Shore, but the Ships were taken in the Night by the *Scots*. About the ſame time, the Marqueſs of *Elbeuff*, Brother to the Regent, who was bringing Aid of Men and Mony in eight Ships, returned back into the Haven, whence he ſet Sail, partly for Fear, becauſe the Sea was full of *Engliſh* Ships, and partly excuſing himſelf, for the Badneſs of the Weather. Moreover, a new Fleet of *Engliſh* was ſent in to ſecond the former, who flew up and down the whole Chanel, and held *Keith*-Iſland beſieged, ſtopping all manner of Proviſion from paſſing by Sea into *Leith*.

French Aid arrives in *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the Regent;

In the mean time, the chief of the Aſſertors of Liberty, who commanded in *Fife*, went to *Perth*, and after three Days Conference there with *Huntly*, they won over all that Northern part of

Scotland

Scotland to their Party; and Order was ſoon after given, that they ſhould all aſſemble and rendevouz at the end of *March*. About the ſame time, all the chief Reformers had a Meeting at *Linlithgo*; from thence they went to *Hadington*, and, on the firſt of *April*, they joined the *Engliſh*; there were in the *Engliſh* Army above 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe: The next Night, they pitched their Tents at *Preſton*. The ſame day, the Regent, to withdraw her ſelf from the Danger now nearly approaching, and to avoid the uncertain Hazard of War, retired, with ſome few of her Domeſticks, into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; *John Erskin* was Governour thereof, a Man of approved Piety and Carefulneſs, he had received the Command of it, by a Decree of the publick Council, as hath been before related, but upon this Condition, That he ſhould render it up to none, unleſs by the Command of the ſame Council. The *French* ſaw, that the Poſſeſſion of this Caſtle was of huge Advantage to their Affairs, and therefore they uſed great Endeavours to obtain it by Treachery. The Governour, though he were not ignorant of their Intentions towards him, and had ſo fortified the Caſtle, and made ſuch other diligent Proviſion, that 'twas ſecure, either from Force or Fraud; yet, was not willing to exclude the Regent, at ſuch a time; but, in receiving her into the Caſtle, he took great care, that both ſhe and the Caſtle might be ſtill under his Command. The Nobles, who were the Aſſertors of publick Liberty, though before they had often found, that her Mind was obſtinately averſe againſt the Cauſe, which they had undertaken, yet thought it adviſeable not to pretermit the preſent Occaſion, as hoping, that the Fear of the War, approaching nearer to her, and the Uncertainty of Aid from a remote Country, might incline her Mind to peaceable Counſels. Whereupon, the chief of the Party had a Meeting at *Dalkeith*, from whence they wrote to her to this purpoſe;

So doth an *Engliſh* Army, to aid the Reformers.

The Reformers laſt Letter to the Regent.

'We have oft-times heretofore earneſtly intreated you, both by 'Letters and Meſſengers, to ſend away the *French* Souldiers, who 'do yet, another Year, grievouſly oppreſs the poor Country-People; 'yea, they raiſe up a juſt Fear in the Commonalty, that they ſhall 'be reduced into miſerable Bondage; from which Fear, we have 'many times requeſted you to free us, but when our juſt Intreaties 'prevail'd nothing with you, we were inforced to repreſent our de'plorable Eſtate to the Queen of *England*, as the neareſt Princeſs to 'our Borders, and to deſire Aid of her, to expel the Strangers, who 'threatned to make us Slaves, out of our Kingdom, and that by 'Force of Arms, if it could not otherwiſe be done; and though, 'ſhe, out of a ſenſe of our Calamities, hath undertaken our Cauſe; 'yet, that we might perform our Duty towards the Mother of our 'Queen, and might prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, as 'much as is poſſible, and might then have Recourſe to Force of 'Arms, when we have tried all other Ways to obtain Right without 'Succeſs, do as yet deem it a part of our Modeſty, again to pray you, 'to command the *French* Souldiers, with their Commanders and Offi'cers, to depart immediately out of the Land. In order to the Ac'compliſhment whereof, the Queen of *England* will not only afford

'them

'them a ſafe Paſſage through her Kingdom, but will alſo aſſiſt with 'her Fleet to tranſport them. If this Condition be rejected, we call 'God and Man to Witneſs, that we take up Arms, not out of Ha- 'tred, or any wicked Intent, but inforc'd thereto by mere Neceſſi- 'ty, that ſo we may try the Extremity of Remedies, that the Com- 'mon-Wealth, our Selves, our Eſtates, and Poſterities, might not be 'precipitated into utter Ruin. And yet notwithſtanding, though 'we, at preſent, ſuffer very heavy Preſſures, and heavier ones are 'near at hand, no Danger whatſoever ſhall ever inforce us to depart 'from our Duty towards our Queen, or from the King her Husband, 'in the leaſt tittle, wherein the Deſtruction of our ancient Liberty, 'and the Ruin of our Selves, and our Poſterity, is not concerned. 'As for you, moſt benign Princeſs, we beſeech you again, that, 'weighing the Equity of our Demands, the Inconveniencies attend- 'ing War, and how neceſſary Peace is to this your Daughter's King- 'dom, ſo miſerably harraſſed, you would afford a favourable Ear to 'our juſt Requeſts; which if you ſhall do, you will leave a grate- 'ful and pleaſant Memory of your Moderation amongſt all Nations, 'and will alſo provide for the Security of the greateſt part of Chri- 'ſtians. Farewel. Dated at *Dalkeith*, the 4*th* of *April*, in the Year '1560.

The 6*th* Day of *April*, when the *Engliſh* drew near by the Sea-ſide, about 1300 *French* march'd out of *Leith*, and poſſeſſed a lit-tle riſing Hill, at the end of the Plain, becauſe they thought that the *Engliſh* would pitch their Tents there. There was a ſharp Fight for above five Hours, for the recovering and keeping the Place, with no ſmall Loſs on both ſides; at laſt, the *Scotch* Horſe, with great Violence, ruſh'd in amongſt the thickeſt Band of the *French*, and drove them back in great Aſtoniſhment into the Town; and if the *Engliſh* Horſe had come in ſooner than they did, as 'twas agreed, they had been all excluded from their Fellows, and ſo cut off.

After this Onſet, there were Conferences managed between the Parties, but in vain, for the *Engliſh* did deſpiſe all Truce, and ever and anon made ſome light Excurſions, yet not without Blood; 'tis not neceſſary to recount them. On the 22*d* of *April*, *John Monluck*, Biſhop of *Vallence* in *Savoy*, was firſt carried into the *Engliſh* Camp, then into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to the Regent, where he had a Conference with her three Days, and then re-turned to the *Scotiſh* Nobles; the Terms of Concord could not, then neither, be agreed on, becauſe the *Scots* perſiſted peremptori-ly in their Demand, that the foreign Souldiers ſhould return home. Hereupon, the *Engliſh*, becauſe the diſtance between their Camp and the Town was too great for their Ordnance to do any Execu-tion, ſo that their Batteries ſignified little or nothing, removed their Camp on the other ſide *Leith*-River, near the Town, where they might more certainly annoy the Enemy, and alſo have frequent Skirmiſhes with him, Hand to Hand. On the laſt day of *April*, about two Hours before Sun-ſet, a caſual Fire ſeized upon part of the Town, which, being aſſiſted by the Violence of the Winds, burnt fiercely till the next Morning, deſtroying many Houſes, and

Skirmiſhes between the *Engliſh*, and the *French*.

making a great Devaſtation, yea, it took part of the publick Granary, and conſum'd a great deal of Proviſions. In this hurly-burly, the *Engliſh* were not wanting to the occaſion, for they turn'd their great Guns upon that part, and plaid ſo hot upon the People, that they durſt not come to quench the Fire; yea, they enter'd the Trenches, and in ſome places meaſur'd the height of the Walls, ſo that if the *French*, at the beginning of the Combuſtion, fearing ſome Treachery, had not run thick to the Walls, and thereby prevented their loſs in ſuch a general Conſternation, that very day had put an end to the War.

On the 4*th* of *May*, the *Engliſh* ſet fire to the Water-Mills, which were near the Town; one of them they burnt down before day, the other, the next day after; the *French*, in vain indeavouring to quench the Flames. On the 7*th* of *May*, the Beſiegers ſet Ladders to the Walls to make an Aſſault, but the Ladders were too ſhort, ſo that they were beaten off, many wounded, and 160 ſlain: The three following days, the *French* were imploy'd, with great Labour and Hazard, in repairing the Walls, the *Engliſh* continually playing upon them where they ſaw the greateſt Numbers. The Papiſts were extreamly puft up with this Succeſs, ſo that now they promis'd to themſelves, that the *Engliſh* would depart, the Siege would be rais'd, and the War be finiſh'd. But the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were nothing diſcourag'd by this Blow, but exhorted one another to Conſtancy, and the *Engliſh* promis'd to ſtay, till they heard their Queen's pleaſure from her Court. In the mean time, Letters came from the Duke of *Norfolk*, which did mightily incourage all their Spirits. For he wrote to *Grey*, the chief Commander, wiſhing him to continue the Siege, and that he ſhould not want Souldiers, as long as there was a Man able to bear Arms in his Province, (which was very large, reaching from *Trent* to *Tweed*) and, if need were, he himſelf would come in Perſon into the Camp, and, as a ſure Pledge thereof, he caus'd his own Tent to be erected in the Camp; and, in a few days, ſent in 2000 Auxiliaries; ſo that the Memory of the former loſs was quite worn out, and, with great alacrity they renew'd the War; and from that day forward, though the *French* made frequent Sallies, yet hardly one of them was proſperous to their Party.

Embaſſadors from *England*.

In the mean time, the Queen of *England* ſent *William Cecil*, a learned and prudent Perſon, who was then the chief Manager of Affairs in *England*, and *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *York*, into *Scotland*, to treat about a Peace; they were commanded to confer Counſels with *Randan* and *Monluck* of the *French* Party, concerning Conditions of Peace. For the Kings of *France* thought it a thing below their Dignity, to enter into an equal diſpute with their own Subjects. The fame of this Conference was the Cauſe, that, as if all Controverſies had been already decided, a Convention was Indicted to be held in *July*. In the mean time, the Queen Dowager died in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, *June* 11, worn out with Sickneſs, and with Grief. Her Death did variouſly affect the minds of Men, for ſome of them who fought againſt Her, did yet bewail her Death, for ſhe was indowed with a ſingular Wit, and had alſo a Mind

The Queen-Regent's death, with her Character.

Mind very propenſe to Equity; ſhe had quieted the fierceſt Highlanders, and the furtheſt Inhabitants of the Iſles, by her Wiſdom and Valour; ſome believ'd, that ſhe would never have had any War with the *Scots*, if ſhe had been left free to her own Diſpoſition; for She ſo accommodated her ſelf to their Manners, that ſhe ſeem'd able to accompliſh all things without Force; but the Miſery was, Though the Name of Governeſs reſided in Her, neither did ſhe want Virtues, worthy of ſo great a Dignity, yet ſhe did, as it were, rule precariouſly, becauſe, in all Matters of Moment, ſhe was to receive Anſwers, like ſo many Oracles, from *France*. For the *Guiſes*, who were then the powerfull'ſt in the *French* Court, had deſign'd the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as a Peculiar to their Family; and accordingly, they advis'd their Siſter, to be more ſevere in aſſerting the Papal Religion, than either her own Diſpoſition, or thoſe Times, could well bear. This ſhe gave ſome evident hints of; for ſhe hath been heard to ſay, that if Matters were left to her own Arbitrement, ſhe did not deſpair, but to compoſe them upon no unequal Conditions. Some others were of opinion, that ſhe alleged thoſe things rather popularly than really, as her Mind was, and that not only with an intent to avert the fault or envy of Mal-adminiſtration from her Self; but alſo, that, under a pretext of asking Advice, ſhe might ſpin out the time in delay, whilſt She ſent for foreign Aid; and ſo, by yielding, ſhe might blunt the vehement edg of the *Scots*; and, in time, ſuffer their angry mood to abate, in regard, ſhe was of Opinion, that the *Scots* Troops, being Volunteers, after one or two Disbandings, could not again be eaſily got together, becauſe they were made up of Men, who were not under Pay, nor under any certain Command. And the Inconſtancy of the Queen, in keeping her Promiſes, was no obſcure evidence of this her Diſſimulation, for She did not expect the end of a Truce, which, by Conditions, ſhe was oblig'd to do, in renewing a War; but if any ſpecious Advantage were offer'd, ſhe would adventure to do it, Arbitrarily, of her own Head. Others there were, who caſt the blame of all things, which were avariciouſly or cruelly acted, or which were attempted by Fraud or Calumny, upon thoſe who were her Counſellors, in managing Affairs. For when She undertook the Regency, at the very Firſt, ſome *French* Counſellors were join'd to her Aſſiſtance, as *Oſel*, Embaſſador of the King of *France*, a Man quickly, and vehemently, paſſionate, otherwiſe a good Man, and well-skill'd in the Arts, both of Peace and War; he was one that directed his Counſel rather by the Rule of Equity, than the Will and Pleaſure of the *Guiſes*. One Monſieur de *Ruby* was join'd to him, as his Companion, a Lawyer of *Paris*, who was to diſpute Matters of Law, if any ſuch did occur; He, in his publick Adminiſtration, conform'd all things, as much as he could, to the Manners and Laws of *France*, (as if That alone were the right Way to govern a Commonwealth) by which means he rais'd a ſuſpicion of Innovation upon him; and though others might ſhare the Guilt of the ſame Crime with him, yet he alone, in a manner, bore the blame and envy of it. But theſe Two committed no Offence, which was remedileſs and uncurable.

The Character of the *French* Embaſſadors, in *Scotland*.

Three *French* Generals in *Scotland*, with their respective Characters.

Towards the end of the War, there were three *French* Generals, having distinct limits allotted them, who manag'd Military Affairs in *Scotland*; *viz*, The Count *Martigues*, of the House of *Luxemburgh*, who was afterwards made Duke of *D'Estames*; *L'abros*, of a Noble, or Equestrian Family, highly experienc'd in Military Matters; and a Third was the Bishop of *Amiens*, accompanied with some Doctors of the *Sorbon*, as if the Matter were to be determin'd by the Pen, not the Sword. All the Counsels of these Three did tend to open Tyranny. *Martigues* his Advice was, to destroy all the Country near to *Leith*, by Fire and Sword, that so the desolateness of the Country, and the want of Necessaries, might compel the *Scots* to raise the Siege. But if that Counsel had took Effect, many peaceable Persons, poor besides, and, for the most part, Papists too, would have been destroy'd, and the Besieged would have had no benefit neither; for the Sea being open, Provisions might easily have been brought by Ships, from all the Maritim places of *Scotland* and *England*, into the Leaguer of the Besiegers, and the devastation of the Land and Soil would have redounded as much on the Papists, as on the Embracers of the True Religion.

L'abros was of opinion, That all the Nobility of *Scotland* were to be cut off, without distinction, and that a thousand *French* Curiassiers were to be garison'd on their Lands, who were to keep under the common Sort, as Vassals. This his Design was discover'd by some Letters of his, intercepted, which were going for *France*; and 'tis scarce credible, how the Hatred against the *French*, begun upon other Causes, was increas'd thereby.

As for the Bishop of *Amiens*, he would have had all Those to be seiz'd on, and put to Death, without pleading in their own Defence, whom he thought not so favourable to the Pope's Cause, as he would have them; yea, all Those, who were not so forward to assist the *French* Party, as he expected; and he mightily blam'd the *French* Souldiers, for suffering those, who were disaffected to their King, to strut it openly up and down; One he particularly aimed at, *viz*. Mr. *William Maitland*, a Noble and learned Man, whom, because the *Sorbonists* could not refute by their Reasons, the Bishop design'd to take off by the Sword; yea, he upbraided the *French* Souldiers for permitting him to live, and advis'd them to kill him; which he having notice of, took his opportunity to withdraw himself from the *French*, and so escap'd into the *Scots* Camp.

The Seventeenth BOOK.

A Few days after the Death of the Regent, a Truce was made for a ſhort time, to hear the Embaſſadors, who were come to treat of Peace out of both Nations, *France*, and *England*. Hereupon, the Nobles aſſembled; Theſe could not effect any thing; the greateſt obſtacle to an agreement, was, That the *French*, who, the Winter before, had obtain'd great Booties out of the neighbouring Parts, refus'd to depart, unleſs they carry'd their Baggage, and plunder, along with them. This was denied them; Whereupon, Irruptions were made more fierce than ever, though not ſo proſperous to the *French*. At length, when both ſides were weary of the War, and the Inclinations to Peace could no longer be diſſembled, the Embaſſadors, on both ſides, met again in a Conference: The things, which moſt inclin'd all to Peace were theſe; The *French* had no hopes of any relief, and their Proviſions grew daily ſcant, and were not likely to hold out long, ſo that their Condition was almoſt wholly deſperate. And for the *Engliſh*, they were wearied out with the long Siege, and wanted Neceſſaries as well as the *French*, ſo that They likewiſe deſir'd an end of the War. And the *Scots* too, receiving no Pay, could hardly be kept from running away; So that they eaſily hearkned to a Capitulation. Thus, by the joint Conſent of all Parties, on the 8*th* day of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1559, Peace was Proclaim'd on theſe Conditions, That the *French* ſhould Sail away in 20 days, with their Bag and Baggage; and ſeeing they had not Ships enough to tranſport them all over at preſent, they were to hire ſome from the *Engliſh*, leaving Hoſtages, till they were ſafely return'd; That *Leith* ſhould be render'd up to the *Scots*, and the Walls thereof demoliſh'd; That the Fortifications lately made by the *French* at *Dunbar*, ſhould be ſlighted; That theſe Articles, being perform'd, the *Engliſh* ſhould immediately reduce their Forces; That *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, by the conſent of her Husband *Francis*, ſhould grant an Oblivion, of all that the *Scotiſh* Nobility had done or attempted, from the 10*th* day of *March* 1559, till the 1*ſt* of *Auguſt*, 1560. And that a Law ſhould be made to that purpoſe, to be confirm'd in the next Parliament there, (which was appointed to be in *Auguſt*.) And *Francis* and *Mary* were to give their Conſent to the holding that Aſſembly. That 60 of the *French* ſhould keep the Iſland of *Keith*, and the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, that ſo, the Queen might not ſeem to be ejected out of the Poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom at once. After this departure of the foreign Souldiers, there was a great Tranquillity, and Ceſſation from Arms, till the Queen's Return. The Aſſembly of the Eſtates were kept at *Edinburgh*, wherein the greateſt Debate was, about promoting the Reform'd Religion. The Statutes made were ſent into *France*, for the Queen to give her conſent to, and ſubſcribe. This was done, rather to ſound her Mind, than out of any hope to obtain any thing from

After the Regent's death, Peace concluded between the Parties, by which the *French* were to leave *Scotland*; a point the Regent would never yield to in her Life-time, though often preſs'd thereto.

from Her. Embaſſadors alſo were diſpatch'd for *England*, to give them thanks for their Aſſiſtance ſo ſeaſonably afforded.

Sandeland, Embaſſador from *Scotland* to *France*.

Not long after, *James Sandeland*, Knight of *Rhodes*, came unto the *French* Court, a Man as yet free from the Diſcords of the Faction; his buſineſs was, to excuſe things paſt, and to pacify the the Grudges remaining ſince the former Wars, and ſo to try all ways to eſtabliſh Peace and Concord. But his arrival hapned to be in very troubleſome times, for the whole Conduct of the *French* Affairs was then in the Hands of the *Guiſes*; who, when they perceiv'd, that neither Threatnings nor Flatteries did prevail, endeavour'd to oppreſs the contrary Faction by force of Arms; and when they could lay no other plauſible Crime againſt their Contrariants, they accus'd them of High-Treaſon, for betraying the Kingdom. Hereupon, the King of *Navarr*, was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment; and his Brother, the Prince of *Conde*, ſentenc'd to Death; *Annas*, Duke of *Momorancy*, and the two Sons of his Siſter, *Jaſper* and *Francis Colignes*, and their Kinſman the * *Vidam* of *Charters*, were deſtin'd to the Slaughter; and beſides thoſe, above 7000 more were put into the black Liſt of Criminals. Moreover, all means were us'd to terrify the People. The City of *Orleans* was full of Foot-Souldiers, Guards of Horſe were poſted all up and down the Country; all the High-ways were beſet by them; Sentence was paſt, by a few Men in the Court, concerning the Lives, Fortunes and good Names of the honeſteſt Men; all the Steeples of Churches and Towers round about the Walls, had their Windows ſhut up, and their Gates and Doors fortified, being deſign'd for Priſons; Criminal Judges were call'd together out of the whole Kingdom; The manner of Puniſhment was thus deſign'd, That as ſoon as the Froſt broke, and the River *Loir* was navigable, the King ſhould go to *Chinon* in *Poictou*, at the Mouth of the River *Vien*; and then the *Guiſes*, with a few of their Partizans, at the Command of the Court-Cabal, (of which They were the chief) ſhould perform the Execution. Mean while, *Sandeland* came to Court, not ſo much humbly to deſire Pardon for what was paſt, as to excuſe his Country-Men, laying all the blame of the Tumults upon the *French*. The *Guiſes* receiv'd him very courſly, blaming him, that he, being a Man dedicated to the *Holy War*, had undertaken to manage the Commands of the Rebels, upon the Account of that execrable Hereſy, which the Conſent of all Nations had highly condemn'd, in the Council of *Trent*; yea, many of them did admire, not at the Folly, but even Madneſs, of the *Scots*, that they, being but a few, and diſagreeing amongſt themſelves; and beſides, deſtitute of Mony, and other Warlike Preparations, ſhould dare to provoke ſo potent a King, who was now at quiet from any foreign Enemy. Between theſe fretful Indignations and Threatnings, the King fell ſuddenly Sick. The Embaſſador was diſmiſs'd without any Anſwer; but the Meſſage of the Kings Death reach'd him at *Paris*, in the *Nones* of *December*, whence he made haſte home, hoping for better things for future.

* A *Vidam*, in *France*, is a Baron, holding of a Biſhop.

A Maſſacre deſign'd in *France*, by the *Guiſes*.

December 5.

The News of the King's Death, being divulg'd, did not ſo much erect the Minds of the *Scots*, being in great Suſpence, by reaſon

of

of their imminent Dangers, as it fill'd all *France* with Faction, and the Poiſon of domeſtick Diſcords; *James*, the Queen's Brother, *Scotland* being now freed from the Domination of the *French*, by the Death of *Francis*, made what haſte he could to the Queen; who, when her Husband was dead, went to *Lorrain* to her Uncles, either as a Receſs to her *Grief*, or elſe out of womanly Emulation, that ſhe might not be near her Mother-in-Law, who, by reaſon of the Slothfulneſs of *Anthony Burbon*, King of *Navar*, did, by degrees, derive the whole Adminiſtration of Affairs into her own Hands. There *James*, the Queen's Brother, having ſetled things in *Scotland* for a Seaſon, found her; and, after much Diſcourſe, the Queen told him, ſhe had a mind to return to *Scotland*, and fix'd a Day, by which they might expect her, her Uncles being alſo of the ſame Opinion: For, before *James*'s Coming, there had been great Conſultation about the Matter, ſome alleging the Difficulty of the Voyage, eſpecially the Queen of *England* being nothing favourable; beſides, ſhe was to go to a barbarous People, and naturally ſeditious, who were hardly kept in quiet by the Government of Men. Moreover, ſhe had freſh Examples, before her Eyes, of her Father and Mother, whom, when they could not, or durſt not, openly oppreſs, by ſundry Artifices they drove them to Deſpair; ſo that ſhe would be in daily peril, either of her Honour, or of her Life, amongſt them. On the other ſide, they who were skill'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*, did urge, that the Seditions, ariſing there, were occaſion'd oftner by default of the Princes than the People, in that they endeavour'd to reduce that Kingdom to an Arbitrary and boundleſs Rule, which, time out of mind, had been circumſcrib'd and manag'd within due Bounds of Law; and That ſuch a Nation, which was more warlike than opulent, could never endure. But all thoſe Kings, who never attempted to infringe the Liberties of the People, were not only free from private Enemies, and popular Tumults, but alſo reigned, much beloved of their Subjects, famous Abroad, and unconquered by their Enemies: But the beſt, and almoſt only Way at preſent to quiet things, was, to attempt no Alteration in the State of Religion, as then eſtabliſh'd. Theſe were the Debates, as publickly bruited on both ſides. But there were other more prevailing Cauſes with her Uncles; for they, in the Troubles of *France*, cheriſhing rather great, than honeſt Hopes, thought, if the Queen were abſent, ſhe would be more in their Power, than if ſhe ſtaid in *France*; and that Neighbour-Princes, in hopes to carry her for a Wife, would ſeek their Friendſhips, and uſe them, as Mediators. In the mean time, one or other of their Faction would preſide over the Management of Affairs in *Scotland*. Beſides, the Queen's Reſolution ſwayed much in the Caſe, who was determined to return into her own Country; for her Husband was dead; and her Mother-in-Law, (who manag'd Matters of State) being ſomething alienated from her, ſhe ſaw, ſhe ſhould be cheap at that Court; and tho ſhe had been but a little uſed to Government, yet a Woman, young, of a flouriſhing Age, and a lofty Spirit too, could not endure to truckle under another; ſhe had rather have any Fortune in a Kingdom, than the richeſt without one; neither could

The Death of *Francis*, the *French* King.

The Queen of *Scots* reſolves to return from *France*.

could she hope, that her Condition would be very honourable, the Power of the *Guises* being weakned by the adverse Party, at the first brush: Besides, the Persuasions and Promises of her Brother *James* serv'd much to weigh down the Ballance; for he assur'd her, she would find all Quiet at home, especially seeing he was a Man, to whose Faith she might safely commit her self, being her natural Brother, and who, from his Youth, had performed many noble and brave Exploits, and so had got great Credit and Renown amongst all Men. Whilst the Queen was intent on these Matters, *Noal*, a Senator of *Bourdeaux*, who was sent out of *France*, came into *Scotland*, a little after the end of the publick Convention, and was put off till the next Assembly, which, in order to the setling publick Matters, was Indicted to be held at *Edinburgh*, *May* the 21*st*; yet the Nobles, who met there at the time, in great abundance, did not sit, because they were as yet uncertain of the Queen's Will and Pleasure. In the mean time, *James Stuart* returned from *France*, and brought a Commission from the Queen, giving them Liberty to sit, and enact Laws for the Good of the Publick: Then the *French* Embassador had Audience; the Heads of his Embassy were, That the ancient League with the *French* should be renewed, and the new one with the *English*, broke; That Priests should be restor'd to their Estates and Dignities, whence they had been ejected. To which Answer was given; As to the *French* League, that they were not conscious to themselves, that they had broken it in the least; but that it had been many ways infring'd by the *French* themselves, and especially of late, in their opposing the publick Liberty, and indeavouring to bring a miserable Yoke of Bondage upon a People, which were their Allies, and giving no occasion on their part. As for the League with *England*, they could not dissolve it, without a brand of the greatest Ingratitude imaginable, in recompensing so great a Courtesy with the highest Injury, as to join against those, who had been the Deliverers of their Country. As for the Restitution of Priests, they told him, That those he call'd Priests, they knew no use or need of their Office in the Church. In that Parliament, a Statute was made to demolish all the Monasteries of the Monks, and Men were presently sent abroad into all Parts of the Land, to put it in Execution.

An Embassador from *France*, with his Demands, and the Answers of the *Scotish* Nobility thereunto.

The *Scots* Parliament demolishes all Monasteries.

Matters being prepar'd in *France* for the Queen's Journy, her intimate Friends, who govern'd her Counsels, advis'd her, for the present, wholly to pretermit and pass over Matters about Religion, though some gave her rash Counsel, to arm on that account, and kill all that opposed. The chief of which were *Dury*, the Abbat of *Dumfermling*, and *John Sinclare*, lately design'd Bishop of * *Brechin*; and she her self was by Nature, as also by the persuasion of her Kindred, so inclinable to their Counsel, that sometimes Threats broke out from her, as if it were against her Will, which were catch'd up at Court, and spread amongst the Vulgar: And she would divers times boast, among her Familiars, that she would follow the Example of her Kinswoman, *Mary*, Queen of *England*. Wherefore the Main of her Counsels tended to this, to feed the Men of her own Faction with hopes at present, and to suppress the opposite

* A Town built on the River *South-Esk*, in *Angus*.

oppoſite Party by degrees; and when ſhe was well ſetled in her Power, then to declare her mind. And this ſeem'd not hard to do, ſeeing the Council of *Trent* was lately begun, on pretence to reſtore the decay'd Manners of the Church, but indeed, to extirpate the Profeſſors of the true Religion, as, by the Decrees of that Cabal, was afterwards declared. Beſides, her Uncles did mightily animate the Queen, by ſhewing her the Power of the Papal Faction, whoſe Head, by the Decree of the Council, *Francis*, the eldeſt Brother of the *Guiſes*, was to be. In the mean time, *Charles* the Cardinal, amidſt ſo many publick Cares, was mindful of himſelf, and advis'd the Queen, not to carry her Houſhold-ſtuff and Furniture, which were of great value, as 'twere, into another World, but to leave them with him, till ſhe might be aſſur'd of the Event of her Journy. She knew the Man and his Craft well enough, and therefore anſwer'd him, That ſeeing ſhe ventur'd her ſelf, ſhe might as well truſt her Goods as her Perſon. When all was reſolv'd upon, they ſent into *England*, to try, how that Queen ſtood affected to the Voyage; *D'Oſel*, the Envoy, was well entertain'd there, and ſent back preſently into *France*, to tell the Queen of *Scots*, that if ſhe pleas'd to paſs through *England*, ſhe ſhould have all the Reſpect, which ſhe could deſire from a Kinſwoman and an Ally; and that ſhe would take it as a great Favour, beſides; but if ſhe ſhunn'd her Interview, ſhe would look upon it as an Affront. For the *Engliſh* Queen had prepar'd a great Fleet, the pretence was, to ſcour the Sea of Pyrates; but ſome thought that 'twas to intercept the Queen of *Scots*, if ſhe adventured to paſs againſt her Will. They took one Ship, wherein the Earl of *Eglington* was, and brought her to *London*, but diſmiſs'd her again in a little time. But, whatever the Deſign was, in providing a Fleet, if any Danger was intended, Providence did prevent it; for, when the *French* Gallies came upon the Main, a Miſt followed them for ſeveral days, till they came into *Scotland*, the 21*ſt* day of *Auguſt*.

The News of the Queen's Arrival being divulged abroad, the Nobility, from all parts of the Kingdom, came haſtily in, as to a publick Show, partly to congratulate her Return; ſome alſo came, to put her in mind of the Services they did her, in her abſence, that ſo they might preoccupate her Favour, and prevent the Cavils of their Enemies: Others came, to give a gueſs of her future Regiment, by her firſt Entrance into the Kingdom: upon theſe different Grounds, all did equally deſire to ſee their Queen, which was ſo unexpectedly caſt upon them, after ſuch various Events of changeable Providences. They conſidered, that ſhe was born amidſt the cruel Tempeſts of War, and loſt her Father in about ſix days after her Birth; that ſhe was well educated, by the great care of her Mother, the choiceſt of Women; but between Domeſtick Seditions and Foreign Wars, ſhe was left, as a Prey to the ſtrongeſt ſide; and even almoſt before ſhe had a ſenſe of Miſery, was expoſed to all the Perils of inraged Fortune: That ſhe left her Country, being as 'twere, ſent into Baniſhment, where, between the Fury of Arms, and the Violence of the Waves, ſhe was hardly preſerved. 'Tis true, Her Fortune ſomewhat ſmiled upon her,

The Queen arrives in *Scotland*, with various Deſcants thereupon.

and advanced her to an Illuſtrious Marriage, but her Joy was not laſting, but tranſitory; for, her Mother and Husband dying, ſhe was caſt into a Mourning Widow'd Eſtate, having the *new* Kingdom ſhe received, and her *old* one too, ſtanding on very tickliſh Terms. Furthermore, beſides the Variety of her Dangers, the excellent Meen of her Beauty, the Vigour of her adult Age, and the Elegancy of her Wit, did much commend her. Theſe Accompliſhments, her courtly Education had either much increas'd, or, at leaſt, made them more acceptable, by a falſe Diſguiſe of Virtue, not ſincere, but adumbrated only to a kind of Similitude thereof, which made the Goodneſs of her Nature, by her deſire to pleaſe and ingratiate her ſelf, leſs acceptable, and ſo nipp'd the Seeds of Virtue, by the Blandiſhments of Pleaſure, that they might not come to bring forth any ripe Fruit in their Seaſon. As theſe things were grateful to the Vulgar, ſo the more Intelligent ſaw through them; yet, they hoped, that her ſoft and tender Age might be eaſily bettered and amended, by Experience. Amidſt theſe Gratulations, there was a light Offence happened, but it ſtruck deep into the Minds of either Faction. The Nobility had agreed with the Queen, that no Alteration ſhould be made, in point of the Religion received, only ſhe and her Family were to have Maſs, and that in private, too. But while the Furniture for it was carrying through the Court into the Chappel, one of the Company catch'd the Torches out of his Hands that carried them, and broke them; and unleſs ſome moderate Men had come in, and prevented it, all the reſt of the *Apparatus* had been ſpoiled too. That Action was differently interpreted amongſt the Vulgar; ſome blamed it, as a Fact too audacious; ſome ſaid, 'twas to try Mens Patience, how far it would bear; others affirmed, and ſpake it publickly, that the Prieſts ought to be puniſh'd with the Puniſhment, appointed in the Scriptures, againſt Idolatry. But this Commotion was nipp'd in the very bud by *James* the Queen's Brother, to the great, but hidden Indignation of *George Gordon*, who was willing to lay hold on all occaſions of Diſturbance: And here, thinking an Opportunity was open to curry Favour, he went to the Queen's Uncles, then preſent, and promiſed them to reduce all the Country, beyond *Dunkelden*, to the old Religion. But they ſuſpected the matter, as having heard enough of the Diſpoſition of the Man, and fearing, leſt he ſhould raiſe a new Storm to no purpoſe, communicated the matter to *James*, the Queen's Brother. The reſt of the Year was ſpent in Balls and Feaſtings, and in ſending away the *French*, who, out of Civility, had attended the Queen, and were then honourably diſmiſs'd, only one of her Uncles, the Marqueſs of *Elbeuff*, ſtaid behind. Amidſt theſe Matters, *William Maitland* junior was ſent Embaſſador into *England*, to complement that Queen, as the Cuſtom is, and to acquaint her, how highly ſhe ſtood affected towards her, and how much ſhe deſired to maintain Peace and Concord with her: He alſo carried to her Letters from the Nobility, in which was mentioned a Friendly Commemoration of former Courteſies and Obligations; but one thing they earneſtly deſired of her, and That was, that, both publickly and privat ey

Maitland ſent Embaſſador into *England*;

vately, ſhe would ſhew her ſelf friendly and courteous towards their Queen; and that being provoked by good Offices, ſhe would not only perſevere in her ancient Friendſhip, but add daily ſtronger Obligations (if poſſible) hereunto. As for their part, it ſhould be their earneſt Study and Deſire, to pretermit no occaſion of perpetuating the Peace betwixt the two Neighbour-Kingdoms. That there was but One ſure way, to induce an Amneſty of all paſt Differences, and to ſtop the Spring of them for ever, if the Queen of *England* would declare, by an Act of Parliament, firmed by the Royal Aſſent, That the Queen of *Scots* was Heireſs to the Kingdom of *England*, next after her Self and her Children, (if ever ſhe had any.) After the Embaſſador had aſſerted the Equity of ſuch a Statute, and how beneficial it would be to all *Britain*, by many Arguments, he added in the cloſe, 'That ſhe, being her neareſt Kinſ-'woman, ought to be more intent and diligent than others, in having 'ſuch an Act made, and that the Queen did expect that Teſtimony of 'Good-will, and the Reſpect from her. To which the Queen of *England* anſwered in theſe Words, 'I expected another kind of Embaſſy from 'your Queen; I wonder ſhe hath forgot, how that, before her Departure 'out of *France*, after much urging, ſhe at laſt promiſed, that the 'League, made at *Leith*, ſhould be confirmed, ſhe having pro-'miſed me faithfully it ſhould be ſo, as ſoon as ever ſhe returned into 'her own Country. I have been put off with Words long enough; 'now 'tis time, (if ſhe have any reſpect to her Honour) that her 'Deeds ſhould anſwer her Words. To which the Embaſſador anſwered, 'That he was ſent in this Embaſſy, but a very few days af-'ter the Queen's Arrival, before ſhe had entred upon the Adminiſtra-'tion of any publick Affairs; That ſhe had been hitherto taken up in 'treating the Nobility, many of whom ſhe had never ſeen before, 'who came from divers parts to perform their dutiful Salutations to 'her; but ſhe was chiefly imployed about ſetling the State of Reli-'gion, which, how difficult and troubleſome a thing it is, (ſaid he) 'you your ſelf are not ignorant: Hence, (he proceeded) your Ma-'jeſty may eaſily underſtand, that the Queen of *Scots* had no va-'cant time at all before my Departure; neither had ſhe as yet called 'fit Men to her Council, to conſult about various Affairs; eſpecially, 'ſince the Nobility, that liv'd in the furtheſt parts towards the North, 'had not been yet to attend her, before his Coming, without 'whoſe advice, Matters of ſuch publick Moment, could not, nor 'ought not, to be tranſacted. Upon which the *Engliſh* Queen was ſomething moved, and ſaid, 'What need had your Queen to make 'any Conſultation about doing that, which ſhe hath obliged her ſelf 'to under her Hand and Seal? He replied, I can give no other 'Anſwer at preſent, for I received nothing in command about it, 'neither did our Queen expect, that an account thereof would now 'be required of me; and you may eaſily conſider with your ſelf, 'what juſt cauſes of Delay, ſhe, at preſent, lies under. After ſome Words had paſt betwixt them, upon theſe matters, the Queen returned to the main Point, 'I obſerve, ſaid ſhe, what you moſt 'inſiſt upon, in behalf of your Queen, and in ſeconding the Requeſts 'of the Nobles, you put me in Mind, that your Queen is deſcended

Who perſuades Queen *Elizabeth*, by many Arguments, to declare the Queen of *Scots*, her Succeſſor.

'from the Blood of the Kings of *England*, and that I am bound to 'love her by a natural Obligation, as being my near Kinswoman, 'which I neither can, or will, deny; I have also made it evident to 'the whole World, that, in all my Actions, I never attempted any 'thing against the Weal and Tranquillity of her self and her King-'dom: Those, who are acquainted with my inward Thoughts and 'Inclinations, are conscious, that though I had just cause of Offence 'given, by her using my Arms, and claiming a Title to the King-'dom, yet I could never be perswaded, but that these Seeds of Hatred 'came from others, not from her self. However the case stands, I 'hope, she will not take away my Crown whilst I am alive, nor 'hinder my Children (if I have any) to succeed me in the King-'dom: But if any Casualty should happen to me before, she shall 'never find, that I have done any thing, which may, in the least, pre-'judice the Right she pretends to have to the Kingdom of *England*; 'what that Right is, I never thought my self obliged to make a 'strict Disquisition into, and I am of the same Mind still, I leave it 'to those who are skilful in the Law to determine. As for your 'Queen, she may expect this confidently of me, that if her Cause be 'just, I shall not prejudice it in the least; I call God to witness, that 'next to my self, I know none that I would prefer before her; or 'if the matter come to a Dispute, that can exclude her: Thou 'knowest, says she, who are the Competitors: By what Assistance, 'or in hopes of what Force, can such poor Creatures, attempt such a 'mighty thing? After some further Discourse, the Conclusion was short, 'That it was a matter of great Weight and Moment, and 'that this was the first time, she had entertained any serious Thoughts 'about it, and therefore she had need of longer time to dispatch it. A few days after, she sent for the Embassador again; and told him, 'That she extreamly wondred, Why the Nobles should demand such 'a thing of her, upon the first Arrival of the Queen, especially, 'knowing, that the Causes of former Offences were not yet taken 'away: But what, pray, do they require? That I, having been so 'much wrong'd, should, before any Satisfaction receiv'd, gratify 'her in so great a matter. This Demand is not far from a Threat: 'If they proceed on in this way, let them know, that I have 'Force at home, and Friends abroad, as well as They, who will de-'fend my just Right. To which he answered, That he had shewn 'clearly, at first, how that the Nobility had insisted on this hopeful '*Medium* of Concord, partly out of Duty to their Queen, in a 'Prospect to maintain her Weal, and increase her Dignity; partly 'out of a Desire, to conciliate and settle publick Peace and Amity. 'And, that they deal more plainly with you, than with any other 'Prince, in this Cause, proceeds from your known and experienc'd 'Good-Will towards them, and also upon the account of their own 'Safety; for, they knew they must venture Life and Fortune, if 'any Body did oppose the Right of the Queen, or any War should a-'rise betwixt the Nations, on that ground. And therefore their 'Desires did not seem unwarrantable or unjust, as tending to the era-'dicating the Seeds of all Discords, and the settling a firm and solid 'Peace. She rejoined, If I had acted any thing which might dimi-

'nish

'niſh your Queen's Right, then your Demand might have been juſt,
'that what was amiſs might be amended: *But this Poſtulation is
'without an Example, that I ſhould wrap my ſelf up in my Wind-
'ing-Sheet while I am alive; neither was the like ever ask'd of any
'Prince. However, I take not the good Intention of your Nobility
'amiſs, and the rather, becauſe 'tis an Evidence to me, that they
'have a Deſire to promote the Intereſt and Honour of their Queen;
'and I do put as great Value on their Prudence, in providing for their
'own Security, and in being tender of ſhedding Chriſtian Blood,
'which could not be avoided, if any Faction ſhould ariſe to challenge
'the Kingdom; But what ſuch Party can there be, or where ſhould
'they have Force? But to let theſe Conſiderations paſs, ſuppoſe me
'inclinable to aſſent to their Demands, do you think, I would do it,
'rather at the Requeſt of the Nobles, than of the Queen her ſelf?

Which ſhe abſolutely refuſes to do, with her Reaſons for it.

'But there are many other things, which avert me from ſuch a
'Tranſaction. Firſt, I am not ignorant, how dangerous a thing 'tis,
'to venture on the Diſpute. The Diſceptation concerning the Right
'of the Kingdom, I have always mightily avoided; for the Con-
'troverſy hath been already ſo much canvaſs'd in the Mouths of ma-
'ny, concerning a juſt and lawful Marriage, and what Children
'were Baſtards, and what Legitimate, according as every one is ad-
'dicted to this or that Party, that, by reaſon of theſe Diſputes, I
'have hitherto been more backward in marrying. Once, when I
'took the Crown publickly upon me, I married my ſelf to the King-
'dom, and I wear the Ring, I then put on my Finger, as a Badg
'thereof; however, my Reſolution ſtands, *I will be Queen of* Eng-
'land, *as long as I live.* And when I am dead, let that Perſon ſuc-
'ceed in my place, which hath moſt Right to it; and if That chance
'to be your Queen, I will put no Obſtacle in her way; but if ano-
'ther hath a better Title, 'twere unjuſt to require of me, to make
'a publick Edict to his Prejudice. If there be any Law againſt
'your Queen, 'tis unknown to me, and I have no great Delight to
'ſift into it; but if there ſhould be any ſuch Law, I was ſworn
'at my Coronation, that I would not change my Subjects Laws.
'As for your ſecond Allegation, That the Declaration of my Suc-
'ceſſor will knit a ſtricter Bond of Amity betwixt us, I am afraid
'rather, it will be a Seminary of Hatred and Diſcontent; What, do
'you think I am willing to have my Grave-Clothes always before
'my Eyes? Kings have this Peculiarity, that they have ſome kind
'of Sentiments againſt their own Children, who are born lawful
'Heirs to ſucceed them. Thus *Charles* the *7th* of *France* ſome-
'what diſguſted *Lewis* the *11th*; and *Lewis* the *3d*, *Charles* the
'*8th*; and of late, *Francis* ill-reſented *Henry*. And, how is it
'likely, I ſhould ſtand affected towards my Kinſwoman, if ſhe be
'once declared my Heir? Juſt as *Charles* the *7th* was towards *Lewis*
'the *11th*. Beſides, and that which weighs moſt with me, I know
'the Inconſtancy of this People; I know, how they loath the pre-
'ſent State of things; I know, how intent their Eyes are upon a
'Succeſſor. 'Tis natural for all Men, as the Proverb is, *to worſhip
'rather the riſing, than the ſetting Sun:* I have learn'd, That from
'my own Times, to omit other Examples; when my Siſter *Mary*

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'ſat

'ſat at *Helm*, how eagerly did ſome Men deſire to ſee Me plac'd 'in the Throne? how Solicitous were they in advancing Me 'thereto: I am not Ignorant, what Danger they would have under-'gone, to bring their Deſign to an Iſſue, if my Will had concurr'd 'with their Deſires: Now, perhaps, the ſame Men are otherwiſe 'minded; juſt like Children, when they dream of Apples in 'their Sleep, they are very joyful; but, waking in the Morning, 'and finding themſelves fruſtrate of their hopes, their Mirth is 'turn'd into Mourning. Thus I am dealt with by Thoſe, who, 'whilſt yet I was a private Woman, wiſh'd Me ſo well: If I look'd 'upon any of Them a little more pleaſantly than ordinary, they 'thought preſently with themſelves, that, as ſoon as ever I came to 'the Throne, they ſhould be rewarded rather at the Rate of their 'own Deſires, than of the Service they perform'd for Me; but 'now, ſeeing the Event hath not anſwer'd Expectation, ſome of 'them do gape after a new change of Things, in hope of a better 'Fortune. For the Wealth of a Prince, though never ſo great, can-'not ſatisfy the unſatiable deſires of all Men. But if the Good-will 'of my Subjects do flag towards Me; or, if their Minds are 'chang'd, becauſe I am not profuſe enough in my Largeſſes; or, 'for ſome other trivial Cauſe, what will be the Event, when the 'Malevolent ſhall have a Succeſſor nam'd, to whom they may 'make their Grievances known, and, in their Anger and Pet, be-'take themſelves? What danger ſhall I then be in, when ſo power-'ful a Neighbour-Prince is my Succeſſor? The more Strength I add 'to her in aſcertaining her Succeſſion, the more I detract from my 'own Security; This Danger cannot be avoided by any Precautions, 'or by any Bonds of Law; yea, thoſe Princes, who have hope of 'a Kingdom offer'd them, will hardly contain themſelves within 'the Bounds either of Law or Equity. For my part, if my Suc-'ceſſor were publickly declar'd to the World, I ſhould think my 'Affairs to be far from being ſetled and ſecure. This was the Sum of what was truly acted at that Conference.

Courtiers unſtable, and ſelfiſh, in their Affections to their Prince.

A few days after, the Embaſſador ask'd the Queen, Whether ſhe would return any Anſwer to the Letter of the *Scotiſh* Nobility? 'I have nothing, ſaid She, at preſent to Anſwer, only I 'commend their Sedulity and Love to their Prince; but the Mat-'ter is of ſuch great weight, that I cannot ſo ſoon give a plain 'and expreſs Anſwer thereunto; but, when your Queen ſhall have 'done her Duty, in confirming the League ſhe oblig'd her Self 'to ratify, then 'twill be ſeaſonable, to try my Affection towards 'Her. In the mean time, I cannot gratify her in her Requeſt, with-'out diminution of my own Dignity. The Embaſſador reply'd, He 'had no Command about that Affair, nor ever had any diſcourſe, 'with his Miſtreſs concerning it, neither did he then propound 'the Queen's Judgment concerning the Right of Succeſſion, but 'his Own, and had brought Reaſons to inforce it; but, as for 'the Confirmation of the League by her Husband, 'twas inforc'd 'from the Queen of *Scots*, without the conſent of Thoſe, whom 'the ratifying or diſanulling thereof, did much concern; neither 'was it a thing of ſuch Conſequence, as therefore to exclude Her,

'and her Poſterity, from the Inheritance of *England*; I do not in-
'quire, ſaid he, by Whom, When, How, by What Authority, and
'for What Reaſon, that League was made, ſeeing I had no Com-
'mand to ſpeak of any ſuch Matter. But this I dare affirm, That
'though 'twere confirm'd by Her, in compliance with her Husband's
'deſire, yet, ſo great a ſtreſs depending on it, his Queen, in time,
'would find out ſome Reaſon or other, why it ſhould, and ought, to
'be diſſolv'd; I ſpeak not this (ſaid he) in the Name of the Queen,
'but my intent is to ſhew, that our Nobility have cauſe for what
'they do, that ſo, all Controverſies being pluckt up by the Roots,
'a firm and ſure Peace may be eſtabliſht betwixt us.

After much diſcourſe, *Pro* and *Con*, about the League, the Queen was brought to this, That Embaſſadors ſhould be choſen on both ſides to review it, and to regulate it, according to this Form, That the Queen of *Scots* ſhould abſtain from uſing the Arms of *England*, and from the Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, as long as the Queen of *England*, or any of her Children, were alive. On the other ſide, the Queen of *England* was to do nothing, neither by her Self, nor her Poſterity, which might prejudice the Queen of *Scots*, or impair her Right of Succeſſion. Theſe were the Affairs tranſacted in this Embaſſy; which, while they were treated of abroad, in order to ſettle Peace, Sedition had almoſt broke out at home. There was Maſs allow'd to the Queen and her Family, (as I ſaid before) concerning which, when the Edict was publiſh'd, there was one of the Nobility which oppos'd it, *viz.* the Earl of *Arran*; the Queen being much offended thereat, tho ſhe diſſembled her Anger. The next offence was, againſt the *Edinburgers*, they uſe ordinarily to chuſe their Magiſtrates, *September* 29; at that time, *Archibald Douglas*, the Sheriff, according to Cuſtom, Proclaim'd, That no Adulterer, Fornicator, Drunkard, Maſs-Monger, yea, or obſtinate Papiſts, after the Firſt of *September*, ſhould ſtay in the Town, great Penalties being denounc'd againſt the Diſobeyers thereof. When the Queen was inform'd hereof, ſhe committed the Magiſtrates to Priſon, without hearing them, and commanded the Citizens to chuſe new Magiſtrates, injoining them to ſet the Gates open to all her good Subjects, not without the ſecret Indignation, and Laughter, of ſome, that Flagitious Perſons ſhould be accounted ſuch good Subjects, and her moſt faithful Miniſters and Servants. The Queen, finding, that the Citizens took this Matter more patiently than ſhe expected, by degrees attempted greater Matters. Her Maſs was before but privately celebrated, without any great Solemnity; but, on the 1*ſt* of *October*, ſhe added all the gaudry of Popiſh Offices to it. The Reform'd Miniſters of the Goſpel took this very grievouſly, and complain'd much of it in their Pulpits, putting the Nobility in mind of their Duty. Hereupon, a Diſpute was agitated betwixt a Few in a private Houſe, Whether 'twere lawful to reſtrain Idolatry, which was likely to ſpread and ruin all? or, Whether they might, by Force, reduce the chief Magiſtrate to the Bounds of the Law, who ſet no limits to his own Arbitrarineſs? The Reform'd Miniſters perſiſted conſtantly in their Opinion, which had been approv'd

The Queen of *Scots* not to uſe the *Engliſh* Arms, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time.

A Queſtion ſtated, whether a chief Magiſtrate might be compell'd to do his Duty, with various Opinions thereupon.

approv'd in former times, That a Magistrate might be compell'd by Force to do his Duty. The Nobles were more unstedfast in their Resolutions, either to curry favour with the Queen, or, out of hopes of Honour and Reward; yet 'twas decreed for Them, being Superior in Number and Greatness.

In the mean time, the Court was drown'd in Vice, and loos'd the Reins to all Luxury; neither was it awakened by the News of the Moss-Troops, inhabiting the *English* Borders, who, as if by permission, did freely plunder, and kill'd all that oppos'd them. *James*, the Queen's Brother, was sent, with a delegated Power, to suppress them, not so much, as many thought, to honour him, as to expose him to danger. For, as his Power was distasteful to the Queen, so his innocent Carriage was more offensive in reproving her for her Faults, and stopping her Carreer to Tyranny. But God, beyond all Mens hope, prosper'd his just endeavours; he hang'd 28 of the Robbers, the rest he suppress'd, either by the sole Terror of his Name, or else, by making them give Hostages for their good Behaviour. The Queen seem'd to her Self to have got some Liberty by his Absence, for she was not well pleas'd with the present state of Things; partly, by reason of the Controversies in Religion; and partly, because Matters were manag'd more strictly than a young Woman, who had been educated in the corrupteſt of all Courts, (as interpreting lawful Domination to be unseemly for Princes, as if the Slavery of others was their Liberty) could well endure; so that sometimes she was heard to speak some high discontented Words; yea, the Foundation of Tyranny seem'd to be laid: for, whereas all former Kings intrusted their Safety only to the Nobility, she determin'd to have a Guard for her Body; but could find no pretence to bring it about, neither could she give any reasonable colour for her desire, but only vain courtly Magnificence, and the Usage of foreign Princes. The Deportment of her Brother, the more unblameable it was, troubled her the more, in regard it cut off any opportunity to feign Crimes, or fasten Suspicions on him; as also, because she knew he would not endure her loose living; besides, the People were so affected, that they would take a Guard for her Body, as a manifest Omen of Tyranny: whereupon, her restless Mind, determining by any means whatsoever, to effect, what she had once resolv'd upon, devis'd this Stratagem; She had a Brother nam'd *John*, an ambitious Man, and not so strictly conversationed, as *James* was; he was easily persuaded to be obsequious to the Queen, and thereupon was dearer to Her, as a fitter Instrument to raise Tumults. She communicates her Design to him, in the absence of *James*, about raising a Guard; The Plot was laid thus, There was a noise of a Tumult to be bruited abroad in the Night, as if *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, would have surpriz'd the Queen, who had but a few Men to guard Her, and so have carried her to his Castle, 14 Miles off. This story, they thought, would take with the Vulgar, both because the Queen was averse from him, and he extreamly in Love with Her, both which were publickly known; This Tumult was made as the Plot was, and Horsemen scouted about the Neighbour-fields, a good

The Queen designs to have a Guard for her Body, *a-la-mode* of *France*.

part

part of the Night; and, in the Morning, a Guard was ſet at the Court-gate, ſome fretting, others ſmiling thereat; The Authors of this project, though they knew themſelves that they were not believ'd, yet were mightily pleas'd, as ſecure of Mens opinions, and knowing, that none, there preſent, durſt oppoſe them. Upon this beginning, the Court ran headlong into Wantonneſs and Luxury; notwithſtanding, as yet, Juſtice was equally adminiſtred, and Offences puniſh'd; for the chief management of Affairs was in *James*, the Queen's Brother, who, for his Equity and Valor, was dear to all; He us'd, as his chief Counſellor, *William Maitland*, a young Man of a great Judgment, having already given large Experiments thereof, and rais'd up higher Expectations, for the future. Their joint virtuous Counſels kept things quiet at Home and Abroad, and 'twas as well, as good Men could wiſh; As for the Factious, they could rather fret, than complain juſtly.

Amidſt theſe things, a Debate aroſe in the Court, which held them play three whole Months. They, who had been Kings or Regents in former times, had exhauſted the publick Treaſure, (which was never great in *Scotland*) the Queen was immoderately expenceful; The Eſtates of the Nobility and Commonalty, in the late Tumults, were mightily waſted; ſo that now, nothing remain'd to maintain Court-expences, but the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues. Whereupon, the chief of the Clergy were ſent for to Court, and ſome of the prime Nobility were added to that Number, that could either cajole them by Perſuaſion, or compel them by Force. After a long Diſpute, the Eccleſiaſticks, being overcome rather with the ſenſe of their own Weakneſs, than the weight of any Reaſon, the Concluſion was, That a 3*d* part ſhould be taken off from Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, wherewith the Queen ſhould maintain *Orthodox* Miniſters, and reſerve the reſt for her own uſe. This Concluſion was pleaſing to none: The rich Eccleſiaſticks grudg'd, that any of their old Revenues ſhould be par'd away; and the Reform'd Miniſters expected no good from the Queen: yet indeed, though a great ſhew was made, ſhe got no great matter by it; For many of the old Poſſeſſors had their 3*ds* forgiven; many, both Men and Women, had the Wages for their houſhold Service, and Expence, paid out of it, for many Years; many got Penſions and Supports for their old Age. That Winter, the Queen created her Brother *James*, Earl of *Marr*, with the great aſſent of all good Men; For giving Honour to Virtue, all did praiſe Her; that ſhe allow'd ſome Grains to propinquity in Blood, none did diſpraiſe Her; and many thought, ſhe had done well for the Publick, in advancing a Perſon to Honour, who was of an Illuſtrious Stock, and had ſo highly deſerved of his Country, that ſo he might preſide over publick Affairs, with the greater Authority; yea, ſome thought, that this Favour of the Queen's was intended to reconcile him to Her, who, ſhe knew, was offended at the Carriage of the Court, in his abſence. Beſides, he had a Wife provided for him, *Agnes Keith*, Daughter of the Earl of *Merch*, at which Marriage, there was ſuch magnificent Feaſting, or, rather, ſuch immoderate Luxury, that the Minds of his Friends

The Queen raiſes her Revenues out of Eſtates of Eccleſiaſticks.

James, the Queen's Brother, made Earl of *Marr*, afterwards of *Murray*.

were grievously offended, and his Enemies took occasion of exclaiming and envying; and the more, because he had been so temperate, all the former part of his Life. Not long after, *Murray* was bestowed upon him, instead of *Marr* (which was found the ancient Right of *John Erskin.*) *Gordon*, being depriv'd, first of *Marr*, then of *Murray*, over which Country he had been long Governour, look'd upon himself as robb'd of his Patrimony, and therefore levelled all his Designs at the Overthrow of his Corrival. And besides, he had many other Motives thereunto. For, being far the richest Man in all *Scotland*, by reason of the Rewards his Ancestors had received, for their Service to the Crown, and also himself had augmented the Power of his Family by ill Arts. First, he overthrew *John Forbes*, (as I said before) by false Witnesses: Next, when *James Stuart*, Brother of *James* the Fifth, died without Children, he obtain'd of them, who sat at Helm, the Stewardship of *Murray*, whereby he carried himself as Heir, and arriv'd at such a pitch of Greatness, that all his Neighbours laid down their Emulation, and and rested quietly under his Authority, I had almost said, his Vassalages.

Gordon an Enemy to *Murray*.

But whilst others submitted to him, either for fear of Danger, or Patience to bear the Yoak, he was much troubled with the Disregard of one Man, or, as he called it, Pride; and that was of *James Macintosh*, chief of a great Family amongst the old *Scots*; he was born, and brought up, amongst the brute Highlanders, us'd to the Prey; but yet, whether 'twere by a secret instinct of Nature, or else by good Instructors, he arriv'd at that degree of Courtesy, Modesty, and decent Behaviour, that he might vie with those, who had the greatest care us'd in their virtuous Education. *Gordon* suspected this young-Man's Power, for, he knew, he could not use so good a Disposition, as an Instrument for his wicked Purposes; and therefore, on a sudden, he laid Hands on him, and cast him into Prison; but, not able to find any Crime in him worthy of Death, 'tis reported, he suborn'd some of his Friends to persuade him, to submit himself and his Cause to him, for That, they told him, was the only Way to be delivered honourably out of Prison, and also to have the Friendship of so powerful a Man, as *Gordon*. Thus the simple and plain-hearted Man was cheated into his own Destruction; yet *Gordon*, being willing to avoid the Envy of his Death, dealt with his Wife to bear the blame of it; she being a Woman of a stern manly Courage, presently undertook the Matter; and, in the absence of her Husband, the poor innocent betrayed young-Man had his Head cut off. His Neighbours were either so astonish'd at this Man's Punishment, or else were so aton'd with Gifts, that the whole Country, beyond the *Caledonians*, was under his Jurisdiction alone; so that, being a Man ambitious of Power and Glory, he took it very ill, that *James*, Earl of *Murray*, was set up, as his Rival; and, being impatient of the present State of things, he took all occasions to promote Disturbances, and did daily calumniate his Proceedings in publick; yea, he gave a Book, written with his own Hand, to the Queen, wherein he accused him to affect Tyranny, but he back'd it with very slender Arguments.

James Macintosh unjustly put to death by *Gordon* and his Wife.

On

On the other ſide of the Country, and at the ſame time, *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwel*, being much in debt, and very deboiſt, was thereby excited to attempt againſt the ſaid Earl of *Murray*; for, having ſpent his Youth wantonly amongſt Whores and Bauds, he was reduc'd to that paſs, as either to raiſe up a Civil War, or elſe to ſupport his Poverty by ſome audacious Fact: When he had conſidered all ways to compaſs his Deſign of diſturbing the Publick Peace, he thought it his beſt courſe to ſet *Murray* and the *Hamiltons* together by the Ears; his Hope ſeemed ſure to deſtroy one of the Parties thereby, no matter which. Firſt then, he goes to *Murray*, and endeavours to perſuade him, to root out the *Hamiltons*, a Family diſtaſteful and obnoxious to the Queen, the whole Kingdom, and eſpecially to himſelf; and he offered him his Aſſiſtance therein, alleging, that the thing would not be unacceptable to the Queen, in regard, beſides the common ground of Hatred, that Princes bear againſt their Kindred, as deſirous of their Ruin, the Queen had alſo ſome particular and juſt Cauſes of Offence; either becauſe of his Affection to the Evangelical Doctrine and Diſcipline, of which *Arran* was the only Aſſertor, for which alſo he had incurr'd the Hatred of the *Guiſes* in *France*; or elſe, for the hard Words he had lately given to one of the Queen's Uncles, the Marqueſs of *Elbeuf*, then in *Scotland*. But *Murray*, being an honeſt conſcientious Man, ſcorn'd to commit ſo baſe a Fact. Whereupon, *Hepburn* went to the *Hamiltons*, and offered his Service to them, to deſtroy *Murray*, whoſe Power they could not well brook; he told them, That he was the only Man, who was an Obſtacle to their hopes, and an Impeder of their Concerns; if he were taken away, the Queen muſt needs be in their power, whether ſhe would or no; and the Means were facile and eaſy. The Queen was then at *Falkland*, a Caſtle ſeated in a Town of the ſame Name: There is a ſmall Wood in the Neighbourhood, wherein *Deer*, of the nature of Stags (miſtakenly called *Fallow-Deer*, by the Country) were kept and fed. The Queen might be eaſily ſurpriz'd, as ſhe went thither, every day, or to any neighbour-place, with a ſmall Retinue, at which time, 'twere very eaſy to deſtroy *Murray*, being unarm'd, and ſuſpecting no ſuch thing, and to get the Queen's Perſon into their Hands: he quickly perſuaded the reſt; and a time was appointed to perform the Enterpriſe; only the Earl of *Arran* did execrate the Wickedneſs, and ſent Letters privately to *Murray*, acquainting him with the Series of the whole Plot: *Murray* writes back to him, by the ſame Meſſenger; but *Arran* being caſually abſent, the Letters were given to his Father: Whereupon, a Conſultation being held, *Arran* was ſhut up a cloſe Priſoner, by his Father, from whence, making his Eſcape by Night, he went towards *Falkland*: As his Eſcape was made known, Horſemen were ſent after him, all over the Country, to fetch him back again, but he hid himſelf in a Wood, and fruſtrated their Expectation, for that Night; and in the Morning, came to *Falkland*, where he diſcovered the whole Order of the treaſonable Deſign. Not long after, *Bothwel*, and *Gawin Hamilton*, who had undertaken, with a Party of Men, to commit the Fact, follow'd him, and, by the Queen's Command, had a Guard ſet upon them, as Priſoners,

Bothwel endeavours to ſupplant *Murray*.

A Design against the Regent discovered, by a Mistake in delivering of Letters, and the Conspirators imprisoned.

in the Castle of *Falkland*. When the whole Design was thus laid open, and the Spies brought word, that the Officers were met at the Time and Place mention'd by *Arran*, and that many Horsemen were seen there; *Arran*, being ask'd to explain the Order of the Plot, was a little disturb'd in his Mind; for he mightily doted on the Queen, and was also a great Friend of *Murrays*, and was desirous to gratify them: On the other side, his Father was no bad Man, only was easily drawn into great and difficult Projects, and he had a mind to exempt him from the Conspiracy. That Night, when he was alone, his Mind was so divided between Piety and Love, that he was almost besides himself; his Countenance and Speech gave evident signs of some Perturbation of Spirit; besides, there were other Causes, which might affect the young Man's Mind. For, whereas he had been brought up magnificently, till that very Day, according to the Greatness of his Family; his Father, being a covetous Man, by the persuasion of some Counsellors, who nourish'd that Vice in him, reduc'd him only to one Servant, who, before, had many Attendants. They, who attempted the Exploit, were sent to divers Prisons; *Bothwel* to *Edinburgh*-Castle, *Gawin* to *Sterlin*, till their Cause was tried; *Arran* was sent to St. *Andrews*, whither the Queen was going, to be there kept in the Archbishop's Castle; there, in his lucid Intervals, he wrote such wise and prudent Letters to the Queen, concerning himself and others, that many were suspicious, he had counterfeited himself mad, only to free his Father from the Treason: As for the rest, he constantly and sharply accus'd them; insomuch, that when he was brought to the Council, and so private a Conspiracy could not be prov'd by other Testimonies, he proffer'd to fight with *Bothwel*, himself. About the same time, *James Hamilton*, *Arran*'s Father, first wrote, and after that came, to St. *Andrews* to the Queen, earnestly desiring her to take Surety for his Son, *Bothwel*, and *Gawin Hamilton*, and leave them to him, but he could not be heard. At the same time also, the Queen took *Dunbarton*-Castle, the strongest in all *Scotland*, which *Hamilton* had held, ever since he was Regent. *George Gordon*, being an Enemy to *Murray*, was now grown to a far greater hate of *Hamilton*, his Son's Father-in-Law, who was accus'd of so manifest a Crime, and almost convicted thereof; he thought now, he had a good opportunity to rid his Enemy out of the way, especially when Two such noble Families were join'd to his side. And first, he caus'd a Tumult to be rais'd in the Town, then but thin of Company, by his own Friends, hoping, that *Murray* would come out from the Court, to appease it by his Authority; and then, being unarm'd, he might be easily slain in the Croud. This Project did not succeed, as he would have it; and therefore he sent some of his Septarm'd into the Court, to do the Fact; they entred in the Evening, and were to kill *Murray*, as he was returning to his Lodging from the Queen, who was wont to keep him late at Night; that time seem'd fittest, both to commit the Fact, and to escape after it was committed. When the Matter was discovered to *Murray*, he would not have believ'd it, unless he had seen it with his Eyes; and therefore he got some few of his faithfullest Friends, (to prevent all Suspicion)

Dunbarton-Castle taken by the Queen.

Gordon's Plot to kill *Murray*, prevented.

on) and took one or two of the *Gordons* in their Armour, as he grop'd with his Hand in the Paſſage. The Matter being brought to the Queen, *Gordon* was ſent for, who pretended, that ſome of his Retinue, that were about to go home, had arm'd themſelves, but, upon ſome occaſion or other, were detain'd; this Excuſe was rather receiv'd than approv'd of; and ſo they departed, for that time. That Summer, by the Mediation of Embaſſadors on both ſides, it was propos'd, That the Queens of *Scotland* and *England* ſhould have an Interview at *York*, there to debate many Controverſies; but when they were almoſt ready for their Journy, the Matter was put off till another time. The Cauſe of deferring the Conference, was vulgarly bruited, becauſe the Duke *D'Aumale*, one of the Brothers of the *Guiſes*, had intercepted and opened the Letters of the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, then at the *French* Court; and that by his means principally, the *Engliſh* Ship, which carried another Embaſſador, was taken and plunder'd. For theſe Wrongs and Injuries, Matters being likely to incline to a War with *France*, the Queen went from St. *Andrews* to *Edinburgh*, and ſent *Arran* thither too, clapping him up Priſoner in the Caſtle. In the mean time, *James*, her Brother, went to * *Hawick*, a great Market-Town in thoſe Parts, and there he ſurpriz'd fifty of the chief *Banditty*, which were met together, not dreaming of his coming, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the reſt, throughout all that Tract, that the whole Country was quieter for ſome time after. But, as that Fact did procure him the Love and Reverence of good Men, ſo it did daily more and more excite the Minds of the Envious to his Deſtruction; for, whereas Three very potent Families had plotted his Ruin, ſo the Acceſſion of the *Guiſes* made a Fourth; for they, being willing to reſtore the old Popiſh Religion, and knowing, they could never effect it, as long as *Murray* was alive, imploy'd their utmoſt Endeavours to remove him out of the way; many concurrent Circumſtances did contribute to the ſeeming Feaſibility of the Attempt; eſpecially becauſe the *French*, who had accompanied the Queen to *Scotland*, being return'd home, had related, what great Intereſt and Power *Gordon* had, how unquiet his Mind was, and what Promiſes of Aſſiſtance he had made, to introduce the Maſs: All theſe things they aggravated in their Diſcourſe, to the height. Whereupon, the Matter was debated by the Papiſts, in the *French* Court; and This Way of effecting it reſolv'd upon; They write to the Queen, to cheriſh the mad Spirit of *Gordon*, by large Promiſes, That ſhe ſhould rather pretend than promiſe, to marry *John*, his Son; That ſo, being hoodwink'd with that Hope, they might lead him whither they pleas'd; and alſo, they gave her the Names of thoſe in a Liſt, whom they would have deſtroy'd and ſlain. Beſides, Letters from the Pope, and the Cardinal, were ſent to her, to the ſame Effect; For, whereas her Revenue was not ſufficient to maintain that immoderate Luxury, to which ſhe had uſed her ſelf, ſhe craved ſome pecuniary Aid of the Pope, as if it were to manage a War againſt thoſe, who had revolted from the *Roman* Church: The Pope wrote ſomething obſcurely; but the Cardinal plainly, That ſhe ſhould not want Mony for that War, yet ſo, that Thoſe muſt be firſt ſlain, whoſe Names were given her in a Scrole. The

An Interview deſigned between the Queens of *England* and *Scotland* at *York*, but diſappointed.

* In *Teviotdale*.

The Regent deſtined to ruin, by the Popiſh Faction in *Scotland*, and the *Guiſes* in *France*, for adhering to the Reformation.

The Queen ſhewed theſe Letters to *Murray*, and to the reſt deſign'd for the Slaughter; either, becauſe, ſhe thought, they would have ſome notice of it another way; or elſe, to make them believe, ſhe was ſincere towards them, as not hiding from them any of her ſecret Counſels. Thereupon, all other things being fitted for the Attempt, the Queen pretended a great deſire to viſit the Parts of *Scotland*, which lie Northwards; and *Gordon* promoted her Deſire, by his forward Invitation. At laſt, when ſhe came to *Aberdeen*, *Auguſt* 13. *Gordon*'s Wife, a Woman of a manly Spirit, and cunning, uſed all her Art to ſift out the Queen's Mind, both to know her ſecret thoughts, and alſo to incline them to her own Party; ſhe knew well enough, that the Deſigns of Princes are alterable by ſmall Moments, many times; neither was ſhe ignorant, how the Queen ſtood affected a little before, towards both of them, *Murray* and *Gordon*, too; for She, hating them both, had ſometimes deliberated privately with her ſelf, which of them ſhe ſhould deſtroy: Firſt, ſhe could not away with the Innocency of *Murray*, as being a Curb to her Licentiouſneſs; and as for *Gordon*, ſhe had experimented his Perfidiouſneſs againſt her Father, firſt, then her Mother; and beſides, ſhe fear'd his Power; but the Letters of her Uncles and the Pope, urged her rather to deſtroy *Murray*. *Gordon* was not ignorant hereof; and therefore, to caſt the Ballance, he promis'd, by his Wife, to reſtore the Roman Religion: The Queen was glad of that; yet there was one Impediment, and that no great one, which kept her from aſſenting to him, and that was, that ſhe did not think it to ſtand with her Honour, to be reconciled to *John*, his Son, (who, a few days before, had been committed to Priſon for a Tumult raiſed at *Edinburgh*, but had made his Eſcape,) unleſs he return'd to *Sterlin*, to be there a Priſoner of State, at leaſt, for a few days. The Queen inſiſted upon this, not ſo much for that Cauſe, which was pretended, as that ſhe might have her way clear, when *Murray* was kill'd, and might not be compell'd to marry, when her Lover was abſent: *Gordon* was willing to ſatisfy the Queen, yet made ſome ſcruple to give up his Son, as a Pledg, into the Hands of a Man, who was the moſt adverſe, of all others, to his Deſigns, (and that was *John*, Earl of *Marr*, *Murray*'s Uncle, Governour of *Sterlin*-Caſtle) eſpecially being uncertain, how the Queen would take the Murder, when it was committed. Whilſt theſe cunning Wits endeavoured to impoſe one upon another, and were mutually ſuſpicious, the Queen affirming, that the Delay was not in her part, that the Matter was not diſpatched; and yet ſhe us'd no Expedition, neither. *John Gordon*, to ſhew himſelf officious, and to watch all Events, had got together about a Thouſand of his Friends and Tenants well-arm'd, and had quarter'd them in the Vicinage, near the Town. But *Murray*, though not guarded, as he would, yet ſaw, that all theſe things were prepar'd for his Ruin, for ſo he had been advertiſed by his Friends, both from the *French* and *Engliſh* Courts; neither was he much confident of the Queen, yet, in the day-time, he perform'd his accuſtom'd Services in the Court; and at Night, had only one or two of his Servants to watch in his Chamber; and being often inform'd of the Plots of his Enemies againſt

Gordon (incited by the Pope's Letters) undertakes to deſtroy *Murray*, the Regent.

againſt him, yet, by the Help of his Friends, he diſappointed all their Purpoſes, without any Noiſe.

Bothwel eſcapes out of Priſon.

About the ſame time, *Bothwel* was let down by a Rope out of a Window, and ſo eſcaped from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. Matters ſtood at a ſtay at *Aberdeen*, by reaſon of the Diſſimulation on both ſides. And the Queen, intending to make a further Progreſs, was invited by *John Leſly*, a Noble Man, and Client of *Gordons*, to his Houſe, about twelve Miles off; that being a loneſome Place, ſeem'd fit to the *Gordons*, to commit the Murder: But *Leſly*, who knew their ſecret Deſign, interpos'd and diſſuaded them from it, not to put that brand of Infamy on himſelf and his Family, that he ſhould betray the Queen's chief Brother, a Man not otherwiſe bad, againſt whom he had no private Grudg, to the Slaughter. The next night, they paſs'd over quietly enough at *Rothymay*, a Town of the *Abrenethies*, becauſe, the day after, they determin'd to lodg at ‖ *Strabog*, a Caſtle of the *Gordons*; ſo that they deferr'd the Murder till that time, becauſe there All would be in their power. In their Journy, *Gordon* had a long Diſcourſe with the Queen, and at laſt, he came to this, plainly to deſire the Queen to pardon his Son *John*, that, being a young Man, and ignorant of the Laws, he had made his Eſcape out of Priſon, into which he was caſt for no hainous Offence, only for a Commotion, which was not rais'd by him, neither. But the Queen urg'd, that her Authority would be vilified, unleſs his Son did return, at leaſt for ſome days, into another Priſon, though a larger one; that ſo, his former Fault being, as 'twere, expiated, he might more creditably be diſmiſs'd: Though it were but a ſlight Command, yet *Gordon*, who was willing to omit no opportunity of committing the deſign'd Fact, did obſtinately refuſe to comply with it, either, becauſe he might caſt the blame of the Murder upon his Son, if the Queen did not approve it, when 'twas done; or, becauſe, if the thing ſhould be done in the Abſence of his Son, though ſhe were not unwilling thereto, yet he ſhould be kept as an Hoſtage. The Queen was ſo much offended at this Stubbornneſs of *Gordon*, that, when ſhe was almoſt in ſight of his Houſe, ſhe turn'd aſide another way; ſo that the whole Plot, ſo wiſely contriv'd, as they thought, was now quite caſt off the hinges, till they came to *Inverneſs*. For there, beſides *Gordon*'s being Lord Preſident for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, he alſo commanded the Queen's Caſtle, which was ſeated on an high Hill, and commanded the Town; and beſides, the whole Country thereabouts were his Vaſſals. The Queen determined to lodg in the Caſtle, but was not ſuffer'd by the Guards; being thus excluded, ſhe began to fear, in regard ſhe was to lodg all Night in an unfortified Town; and in the mean time, *Huntly*'s Son had about a Thouſand choice Horſe now in Arms, beſides a promiſcuous Multitude of the Parts adjacent. But the Queen, taking Counſel from her preſent Circumſtances, ſet a Watch at all Avenues into the Town; ſhe commanded the Ships, which had brought her Proviſions, to ride ready in the River, that if her Guards were beaten off, ſhe might have a Retreat to Them. In the midſt of the Night, ſome Scouts was ſent out by *Huntly*; and the firſt Watch let them paſs on purpoſe, till they came to a

‖ Or, *Strathbogy*.

Gordon's bold Attempt againſt the Queen her ſelf.

narrow

narrow Paſſage, there they were all ſurrounded and taken; and, of the Highlanders, the *Macintoſhes* Tribe, as ſoon as they underſtood they were to fight againſt the Queen, forſook *Huntly*, and came to her, the day after, into the Town. A great Multitude of the Highlanders, when they heard of the Danger of their Prince, part by Perſuaſion, part of their own Accord, came in, and eſpecially the *Frazers* and *Monroes*, valiant Families in thoſe Countries: The Queen, now being ſecure againſt any Force, began to beſiege the Caſtle: The Beſieged were not enough for Number, neither was it well fortifi'd or prepared to indure a Siege, ſo that it was ſurrendered to her; the chief Defendants were put to Death, the reſt were ſent to their own homes. The Nobility came in on all parts; upon the coming of ſome, others were permitted to go home; ſo, on the 4*th* day after, with a Guard ſtrong enough, ſhe returned to *Aberdeen*. There, being freed from Fear, ſhe was mightily inflamed with Hatred againſt *Gordon*, and being eager to be revenged, ſhe again received her Brother, outwardly, into her Favour, pretending, that her Dependance was wholly on him: Yea, ſhe indeavoured to perſuade others, that her Safety was bound up in his Life. Hereupon, *Gordon*, perceiving, that the whole Face of the Court was altered; that the Earl of *Murray*, lately deſign'd for the Slaughter, was now in great Favour; and that himſelf was fallen from the top of his Hopes, into a mortal Hatred; and perceiving, he was gone further, than would admit a Retreat and Pardon, betook himſelf to deſperate Counſels; he thought no Remedy better for his preſent Danger, than, by all means, to get the Queen into his Power; and though, he knew, he ſhould grievouſly offend her at preſent by the Attempt, yet he did not deſpair, but her womanly Heart might be made flexible, by Obſervance, Flattery, and the Marriage of his Son, of which her Uncles were ſuppoſed to be Contrivers.

Diſappointed.

This Deſign he communicated to his Friends, and reſolved, by ſome means or other, to remove *Murray* out of the way; for if that were done, there was none beſides, to whom the Queen would commit the Government; or, who was able to manage it. His Spies gave him hope of the Feaſibility of the thing; and amongſt others, *George Gordon*, Earl of *Sutherland*, who was a daily Attendant at Court, and, pretending good Will to the Queen, did fiſh out all her Counſels, and, by fit Meſſengers, acquainted *Huntly* therewith; yea, he did not only obſerve the opportunities of Time and Place, but alſo promiſed his Aſſiſtance to effect it. Beſides, the Town was open on every ſide, and fit for any private Attempt; the Inhabitants, either by Largeſſes won, or by Alliances joined, or with Fear terrified, would attempt nothing to the contrary. The High-landers were diſmiſs'd with the Earl of *Murray*; there were but a few, and they came too from remote parts, whom he did not much fear to diſoblige: And ſeeing all the Neighbour-Countries were in his Power, the matter might be tranſacted without Blood, only one Man's Death might put the Queen into his Hands, the other Wounds might be eaſily cured: Theſe things drove him on to attempt the Matter, and when the Way to accompliſh it was now

Gordon's deſign againſt *Murray*'s Life.

fix'd,

fix'd, ſome Letters of the Earl of *Sutherland* and *John Leſly* were intercepted, which diſcover'd the whole Intrigue. *Sutherland*, upon the Diſcovery, fled for it, but *Leſly* acknowledged his Fault, and obtained his Pardon, and ever after, as long as he liv'd, performed true and faithful Service, firſt to the Queen, then to the King. *Huntly*, who, with a great Body of Men, waited the Event of his Deſign, in a place almoſt inacceſſible by reaſon of the circumjacent Mariſhes, by the advice of his Friends, determined to retreat to the Mountains; but many of the Neighbour Nobility then with the Queen, being his Friends, he truſted to their Promiſes, and therefore altered his Reſolution, and determined to abide the Succeſs of a Battel in that advantagious Place; *Murray* had ſcarce an 100 Horſe, in which he could confide; but there followed him of the Nobles, then preſent, *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, and *Patrick Lindſy*; with theſe, he march'd forth againſt the Enemy, the reſt were Country-Men of the Neighbour-hood, gathered together, about 800, whom *Huntly*, for the moſt part, had corrupted before, and were more likely to draw on *Murray*'s Party to their Ruin, than give them any Aid; yet they made mighty Boaſtings in words, promiſing, That they themſelves, without any other help, would ſubdue the Enemy; Others ſhould but look on, and be Spectators only. Some Horſemen were ſent before, to keep all Paſſages about the Mariſh, that *Huntly* might not eſcape; the reſt march'd ſoftly after, and though, the Night before, many of the *Gordonians* had ſlipped away, yet he had ſtill with him above 300 Men, maintaining themſelves in their Poſts. When *Murray* came thither, he ſtood with his Party, in Order and Rank, on a ſmall Hill, where he overlook'd all the Mariſh; the reſt, as they were advancing towards the Enemy, gave evident Tokens of Treachery, putting Boughs of Heath on their Helmets, (for that Plant grows in abundance in thoſe Parts) that they might be known by the Enemy. When they came near, the *Huntleans*, ſecure of the Succeſs, haſten to them, and ſeeing the adverſe Army diſordered, by the Traitors, and put to Flight, that they might more nimbly purſue them, they caſt away their Lances, and, with their drawn Swords, to terrify thoſe Ranks that ſtood, they cried out *Treaſon*, *Treaſon*, and made with great Violence at the Enemy. The Traitors, thinking, that they ſhould alſo put to Flight the ſtanding Party, made haſte towards it; But *Murray*, perceiving no hope in Flight, and that nothing remain'd, but to dye nobly, cried out to his Party, to hold out their Lances, and not to let thoſe that were running away, come in amongſt them: They, being thus unexpectedly excluded from both Wings, paſſed by in great Diſorder. But the *Huntleans*, who now thought the matter ended, and the Victory ſure, when they ſaw a Party, though but ſmall, ſtanding in a terrible manner, with their Pikes forward; they, who were making towards them, diſperſedly and out of order; and could not come to handy-ſtrokes, by reaſon of the length of their Spears, being ſtruck with a ſudden Terror, fled as ſwiftly, as they had purſu'd before. The Revolters perceiving this change of Fortune, preſs'd upon them in their Flight, and, as if willing to expiate their former

Wonderfully fruſtrated.

Fault, what Slaughter was made that Day, 'twas They that did it. There were 120 of the *Huntleans* ſlain, and 100 taken Priſoners; of the other Army, not a Man was loſt. Amongſt the Priſoners, was * *Huntly* himſelf, and his two Sons, *John* and *Adam*; the Father being an old Man, corpulent and puſſy, dyed under the Hands of thoſe that took him. The reſt, late at Night, were brought to *Aberdeen*. *Murray* had appointed a Miniſter of the Goſpel to wait for his Return, where, in the firſt place, he gave Thanks to † God Almighty, who, out of his Mercy, alone, beyond all Men's Expectation, without any Strength or Wiſdom of his own, had delivered him and his Men out of ſo imminent a Danger; afterwards, he went to the Court, where, though many did highly congratulate him, yet the Queen gave no Sign of Joy at all, either in Speech or Countenance.

* The *Gordons* taken Priſoners.

† The Regent gives ſolemn Thanks to Almighty God, the ſole Author of his unexpected Deliverance.

A few days after, *John Gordon* was put to Death, not without the Trouble of many, for he was a manly Youth, very beautiful, and entring on the prime of his Age, not ſo much deſigned for the Royal Bed, as deceived by the Pretence thereof; and that which moved no leſs Indignation than Pity, was, that he was beheaded by an unskilful Headſman. The Queen beheld his Death with many Tears, but, as ſhe was prone to conceal and counterfeit Affections, ſo, various Deſcants were made upon her Grief and Paſſion; and the rather, becauſe many knew, that her Brother was as much hated by her, as *Huntly*: She pardoned *Adam*, becauſe he was but young; *George* the eldeſt Son, in this deſperate caſe, fled from his Houſe to his Father-in-Law *James Hamilton*, there to ſhelter himſelf; or elſe, by his Mediation to obtain his Pardon. As for *Gordon*'s Followers, according to the Degrees of their Offences, ſome were fined, others baniſh'd the Land; many ſent packing into remote parts of the Kingdom, that they might make no more Commotions at home: Thoſe, who lighted upon powerful Interceſſors, were remitted their Offence, and taken into former Grace and Favour: Matters being thus ſettled, or, at leaſt, appeaſed for the preſent, the reſt of the Winter was ſpent in Peace.

John Gordon put to Death.

The 26*th* day of *November*, * *Bothwel*, who had eſcap'd out of Priſon, was, by a Proclamation, commanded to render himſelf again, and in Default thereof, he not obeying, was declared a publick Enemy. When the Queen was returned from *Aberdene* to St. *Johnſton's*, *James Hamilton* came to her, to beg Pardon for *George Gordon*, his Son-in-Law; he received an Anſwer not wholly ſevere, yet was forced to deliver up his Son-in-Law, who was ſent Priſoner to *Dunbar*, and, the next Year after, which was 1563, on the 7*th* of the Calends † of *February* was brought to *Edinburgh*, there condemned for Treaſon, and ſent back to *Dunbar*.

* *Bothwel* outlawed.

† *January* 26.

'Twas about this time, that there came forth a Proclamation, under a pecuniary Mulct, That ‖ no Fleſh ſhould be eaten in Lent; The pretence was, not any thing of Religion, but civil Advantage only: The Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, becauſe he did not forbear to hear, and ſay, Maſs, after the Edict made at the coming in of the Queen, was committed Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; Others, guilty of the ſame Fault were puniſh'd, but ſlightly,

‖ Lent obſerved on a Politick, not Religious, Account.

*

ly, yet were threatned to be more ſeverely treated, if they offended in the like ſort, again.

Now the time of the Parliament drew near, which was ſummon'd to be held the 20*th* day of *May*, where the Queen, with the Crown on her Head, and her Royal Robes, went in great Pomp to the Parliament-houſe, a new Spectacle to many, but that Men had been accuſtom'd to bear the Government of Women in her Mother's and Grandmother's Days. In that Aſſembly, ſome Statutes were made in Favour of the Reformed, and ſome Coyners were puniſh'd; the reſt of the Summer the Queen ſpent in *Athol*, in the Sport of Hunting.

At the end of *Autumn*, * *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lennox*, by the Queen's Leave, returned to *Scotland*, having been unworthily deſerted by the King of *France*, the 22*d* Year after his Departure, as I ſaid before: And the next Year, which was 1564, in the Month of *January*, at a Convention of the Eſtates, held almoſt on purpoſe for that very thing, his Baniſhment was remitted, and his Goods reſtored, the Queen ſeconding that Remiſſion with many favourable Words, and repeating the many great Services the Earl had done her in her very Infancy, ſhe having been delivered out of her Enemies Hand, and advanced to her Throne, by his Means. Afterwards, † *Henry*, his Son, came out of *England* into *Scotland*, on the 12*th* of *February*, having there obtained a Convoy for three Months. This Young Man, being of an high Linage, and very beautiful, the Son of her Aunt, the Queen of *Scots* received very courteouſly, and delighting daily in his Society, the common Speech was, That ſhe would marry him; neither was the Nobility againſt it, becauſe they ſaw many advantages might redound to *Britain*, by that Marriage, if it might be made by the Queen of *England*'s Conſent. Both of them were in an equal Degree of Conſanguinity from her, and ſhe was ſo far from being againſt it, that ſhe was willing rather to ſeem the Author of it, and ſo to lay ſome Obligation upon her, in making the Match; beſides, ſhe thought it for her Advantage, to humble the Power of her Kinſwoman, by this condeſcending Marriage, that it might not ſwell beyond what was ſafe and fit for Neighbours. But when all was concluded on, there fell out a Buſineſs which retarded all, and turn'd every thing, as it were, upſide down; to make it plain, I muſt fetch the Original Story, a little higher.

* *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, returns out of *France*, after twenty two Years Exile.

† *Henry Stuart* his Son, comes out of *England*, and is in great Favour with the Queen.

There was one ‖ *David Rize*, born at *Turein* in *Savoy*, his Father being honeſt, but poor, got a mean Livelihood for himſelf and Family, by teaching the Elements of Muſick; and, having no other Patrimony to leave his Children, he made them all, of both Sexes, skilful Muſicians. *David* was one of them, who, being in the prime of his Youth, and having a ſweet Voice, was, by his Skill in Muſick, erected to the hope of a better Fortune; he went to* *Nice*, to the Court of the Duke of *Savoy*, which Place that Duke had newly obtained; but, meeting with no Entertainment there, anſwerable to his hopes, contriving every way how to relieve himſelf in his Penury, he light upon *Morettius*, who, by the Dukes Command, was then preparing for a Voyage to *Scotland*; him he followed

‖ The Story of *David Rize*.

* In *Provence*, ſituated on the *Mediterranean* Sea, at the foot of the *Alps*, which divides *France* from *Italy*, near *Villa-Franca*.

lowed into *Scotland*; but, *Morettius* being a Man of no great Estate, and looking upon his Service as unnecessary and useless, he resolved to stay in *Scotland*, and try his Fortune there, especially because he had heard, that the Queen was delighted in Musick, and was not ignorant of the Grounds of it, her self. Whereupon, to make way to her Presence, he first dealt with her Musicians, of which many were *French*, to admit him into their Society, which they did; and having plaid his part once or twice, was lik'd very well, whereupon he was made one of their Set and Company, and he so complied with the Queen's Humour, that, partly by flattering her, and partly by undermining others, he grew into high Favour with her, and into the extream Hate of his Fellows; neither was he content with this favourable blast of Fortune, but he despised his Equals too, and, by sundry Criminations, worm'd them out of their Places; then he rose higher, and began to treat about Matters of State, and, by degrees, was made Secretary; and, by that means, had opportunity of private Converse with the Queen, apart from others.

The sudden advance of this Man, from a low, and almost beggerly, Estate, to such a Power, Wealth and Dignity, afforded Matter of Discourse to the People; His Fortune was above his Virtue; and his Arrogance, Contempt of his Equals, and Contention with his Superiours, were above his Fortune. This Vanity and Madness of the Man was much increas'd and nourish'd by the Flattery of the Nobility; who sought his Friendship, courted him, admir'd his Judgment, walk'd before his Lodgings, observing his Ingress and Egress: But *Murray* alone, who had no Dissimulation in his Heart, was so far from fauning on him, that he gave him many a sour look, which troubled the Queen, as much as *David* himself; But he, on the other side, to uphold himself in his Station against the Hatred of the Nobles, did apply himself, with great Adulation, to the young † Gentleman, who was to be the Queen's Husband; so that he came to be so familiar with him, as to be admitted to his Chamber and Bed-side, and to secret Conference with him; where he persuaded him, out of his unwary Credulity and Forwardness to compass his Desires, that he was the chief occasion to make the Queen to cast her Eye upon him: Besides, he cast in Seeds of Discord betwixt him and *Murray*, every day, as knowing, that if he were removed, he should pass the residue of his Life without Affront or Disturbance.

† *Rize* his Politick Court to *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnly*.

There was now much talk abroad, not only of the Queen's Marriage with *Henry*, and his secret recourse to her; but also of the too great Familiarity betwixt her and *David Rize*: *Murray*, who, by his plain downright advice to his Sister, got nothing, but her Hatred, resolved to leave the Court, that so he might not be thought the Author of what was acted there. And the Queen was willing enough, that so severe a Supervisor of her Actions should withdraw, especially in a Season, whilst she was strengthning the contrary Faction: For she recall'd those which were banish'd, *Bothwel*, from *France*; *George Gordon*, Earl of *Sutherland*, from *Flanders*; the other *George Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Huntly*, she delivered out

of

of Priſon, and reſtored to his former Place and Dignity. When *Bothwel* was return'd from *France*, *Murray* accuſes him of the Treaſonable Practices he had lately committed againſt him: Some of thoſe Noble-Men, and Gentlemen, who were his Familiars in *France*, were Witneſſes againſt him. The Matter was clear, foul, and heinous. A Day was appointed for the Trial, but the Queen firſt dealt earneſtly with her Brother, to deſiſt from the Proſecution; which he refuſed, judging his Credit to be much at ſtake, which way ſoever the balance did incline, in the Caſe. What did the Queen do next, but wrote Letters to many of the Nobility, not to appear at the time appointed? and as *Alexander*, Earl of *Glencarn*, *Murrays* intimate Friend, was paſſing by *Sterlin*, ſhe ſent for him, out of the way, to her; yet all good Men were ſo well agreed in the Caſe, that *Bothwel*, being precondemn'd in his own Conſcience, and moved with the general deteſtation of the wicked Attempt, durſt not abide the Trial. This favour of the People to *Murray*, did ſo inrage the Queen's Mind againſt him, that ſhe haſtned his, long before deſign'd, End, and the Manner to accompliſh it, was This: *Murray* was to be ſent for to *Perth*, where the Queen was with a few Attendants, there *Darnly* was to diſcourſe him, and, in the Conference, they all knew, he would ſpeak his mind freely; and then a Quarrel would ariſe, upon which *David Rize* was to give him the firſt blow, then the reſt were to Wound him to Death. *Murray* was made acquainted with this Conſpiracy by his Friends at Court, yet, come what would, he reſolved to go; but, as he was on his Journy, being again advis'd by *Patrick Ruven*, he turned aſide to his Mother's houſe, near *Loch Levin*, and, being troubled with a Lask, excuſed himſelf and ſtaid there. Thither ſome of his Friends came to viſit him, upon which, a Report was preſently ſpread, that he ſtaid there, to intercept the Queen and *Darnly* in their Return to *Edinburgh*; whereupon Horſemen were ſent out, but they diſcovered no Men in Arms, or ſign of any Force, yet the Queen made ſuch haſte, and was ſo fearful in this Journy, as if ſome great Danger had been at hand.

Bothwel avoids his Trial.

The Marriage was now at hand, and a great part of the Nobility call'd together at *Sterlin*, That ſo the Queen might countenance her Will and Pleaſure with ſome pretence of Publick Conſent. Moſt of thoſe, they ſent for, were ſuch, as, they knew, would eaſily give their Aſſent; or elſe, that durſt not oppoſe: Many of thoſe, ſo congregated, aſſented to the Motion, Provided always, that no Alteration ſhould be made in the *then* eſtabliſh'd Religion; but the Moſt did it to gratify the Queen, only *Andrew Stuart*, of *Ochiltry*, openly profeſt, that he would never give his Conſent to the admiſſion of a Popiſh King. As for *Murray*, he was not averſe from the Marriage, (for he was the firſt Adviſer, that the young Man ſhould be call'd out of *England*) but he foreſaw, what Tumults it would occaſion, if it were celebrated without the conſent of the Queen of *England*; beſides, he promis'd to procure her Conſent, that ſo all things might go on favourably, Proviſion being made about Religion; but, perceiving, that

that there would be no freedom of Debate in that Convention, he choſe rather to be abſent, than to declare his Opinion, which might prove deſtructive to himſelf, and no way advantagious to the Commonwealth.

Various Diſputes concerning the Queen's marriage with *Darnly*.

Moreover, there was a Queſtion ſtarted and diſcours'd, amongſt the Vulgar, Whether the Queen, upon her Husbands death, might not marry any other Man, whom ſhe pleas'd? Some were of Opinion, That a Queen might have the ſame freedom, as Men, even of the Commonalty, have; Others, on the contrary, affirming, That the Caſe was different, in reference to Heirs of Kingdoms, where at once, an Husband was to be taken to a Wife, and a King to be given to the People; and That it was far more Equitable, that the People ſhould provide an Husband for *one* young Queen, than that a young Queen ſhould chuſe a King for *all* the People.

In the Month of *July*, came an Embaſſador from *England*, who declar'd, That his Miſtreſs did much admire, That, ſeeing they were both equally allied to Her, they ſhould precipitate ſo great an Affair without acquainting her therewith; and therefore She earneſtly deſir'd, that they would ſtay a while, and weigh the thing a little more ſeriouſly, to the great Advantage, probably, of both Kingdoms. This Embaſſy effected nothing. Whereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was ſent by the Queen of *England* to tell *Lennox* and his Son, that they had a Convoy from her, to return at a ſet Day, and that Day was now paſt; and therefore, ſhe commanded them to return, which if they did not, they were to be baniſh'd, and their Goods Confiſcate. They were not at all terrified with the Commination; but perſiſted in their purpoſe. In the mean time, the Queen being ſenſible, that it would ſeem a very incongruous Match, if She, who was lately the Wife of a Great King, and beſides, the Heir of an Illuſtrious Kingdom, ſhould marry a private young Man, who had no Title of Honour conferr'd upon him, ſhe made an Edict, proclaiming *Darnly* Duke of *Rothſea*, and Earl of *Roſs*. Moreover, the Predictions of wizardly Women, in both Kingdoms, did contribute much to haſten the Marriage, who propheſy'd, that, if it were Conſummate before the end of *July*, it foretold much future Advantage to them Both; if not, much Reproach and Ignominy. Beſides, Rumors were ſpread abroad of the Death of the Queen of *England*, and the Day mention'd, before which ſhe ſhould die. Which Prediction ſeem'd not ſo much to divine things, as to declare a Conſpiracy of her Subjects againſt her. This alſo added much to the Queen's haſte, ſhe knew, her Uncles would be averſe from the Marriage; and, if it were longer delay'd, ſhe fear'd, they would caſt in ſome *Remora*, to diſturb the Thing, now almoſt finiſh'd.

For, when the ſecret Decree and Reſolution was made, to carry on the *Holy War* thrô all Chriſtendom, and *Guiſe* was appointed General of the League to extirpate the Reform'd Religion, hereupon he nouriſh'd high and ambitious Hopes, and therefore determin'd, by his Siſters Daughter, ſo to trouble *Britain* with domeſtic Tumults, that they ſhould not be able to Aid their Friends beyond Sea. And *David*, who could then do moſt with the Queen, urg'd,

urg'd, That the Marriage would be highly advantagious to all Chriſtendom, becauſe *Henry Darnly*, and his Father, were ſtiff Maintainers of the Popiſh Religion, were very Gracious in both Kingdoms, allied to great Families, and had large Clanſhips under them. This, being long debated, was at laſt carried; For, he knew, That if the Marriage were made by the Conſent of the Queen of *England*, and the Nobility of *Scotland*, that he ſhould loſe two great Points; One, that he ſhould be no ways ingratiated, as before; and the Other, that * Religion would be ſecur'd. But if the Queen adher'd to the Council of *Trent*, then he promis'd Honours, Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, heaps of Mony, and unrivall'd Power, to himſelf; So that, turning every Stone, He at laſt procur'd, that the Marriage ſhould be haſten'd. The *Scots* not being much for it, and the *Engliſh* very much againſt it.

* *Viz.* Reformed.

Note, *That the Name of* Henry *is joined with* Mary, *in the Title, tho before their Marriage, is accounted for at the Cloſe of the Catalogue of the* Scotiſh *Kings, prefixed before the Body of this Hiſtory.*

Mary *and* Henry Stuart, *the* CVIIth *Queen and King.*

HENRY *Stuart* was marry'd to *Mary Stuart*, *July* 28*th*; and *O Yes* being made, Proclamation thereof was publickly read, with the applauſe of the Multitude, *God Save Henry* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *Scotland*, and, the day after, they were proclaim'd in like Manner, by an Herauld at *Edinburgh*. This Matter did grievouſly offend the Nobility, and the Commons alſo; yea, ſome fretted and openly ſtorm'd, That 'twas a thing of the worſt Example, that ever was. For, To what purpoſe was it, to call a Council about making a King; and never to ask their Advice; nor to comply with their Authority, but to ſet up an Herauld inſtead of a Senate; and a Proclamation for a Statute of Parliament, or Order of Council? ſo that it was not (ſaid they) a Conſultation, but an Eſſay rather, how the *Scots* would bear the yoke of Tyranny. The abſence of ſo many Nobles increas'd the Suſpicion: The chief Nobility were away, *James* Duke of *Caſtle-herault*, *Gileſpy* Earl of *Argyle*, *James* Earl of *Murray*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, *Andrew* Earl of *Rothes*, and many others of Rich and Noble Families. Heraulds were ſent to them to command them to come in, which they not doing, were baniſh'd, and went moſt of them into *Argyle*, and their Enemies were recall'd to Court. The King and Queen having got as much Force together, as they thought were ſufficient to ſubdue the Rebels, with 4000 Men came to *Glaſgow*. The Rebels kept themſelves at *Paſley*, where various Conſultations were held, according to the Diſpoſition of the Parties. The King and Queen ſent an Herauld at Arms to have the Caſtle of *Hamilton* ſurrendred to them; which not being done, they prepare themſelves for the Fight. The contrary Faction was at variance one with another, and divided into ſeveral Opinions. The *Hamiltons*, who had the greateſt Power in thoſe Parts, were of Opinion, That no firm Peace could be made, till the King and Queen were Both taken out of the way; as long as they were ſafe, nothing could be expected, but new Wars, continual Plots,

The Queen actually Marries *Henry*, Lord *Darnly*.

Which diſguſts many of the Nobility.

Plots, and a counterfeit Peace, worſe than an open War, private Men, (ſaid they) may forget Injuries offer'd them, being weary of proſecuting them; yea, ſometimes they were recompens'd with great Advantages; but the Wrath of Princes was not to be quench'd, but by Death only. But *Murray* and *Glencarn*, who underſtood, that their diſcourſe was not founded on the Good of the Publick, but their own private Advantage, (for, upon the Queen's death, they were the next Heirs to the Crown) did equally abhor the Princes death, and *Hamiltons* Government too, which they had lately experienc'd, to be Avaritious and Cruel; ſo that, They were for milder Counſels, and, in regard, 'twas a civil Diſſenſion, wherein, as yet, there was no blood ſhed; the Diſpute having been hitherto managed by Votes not Arms, they thought it fit, if poſſible, to end it by an honeſt Agreement. Hereunto, they thought, many in the King's Army would hearken, as being deſirous of Peace, and would not be wanting to plead for Thoſe, that, in Defence of their Liberties, were inforc'd to take up Arms. As for the King and Queen, They, being yet young, might not perhaps be ſo Provident; and, for their Parts, they had not yet ſo far tranſgreſt, as to indanger the Commonwealth; as for ſmaller Injuries, which affected their Names and Reputations only, 'twas fitter they were cured by other Remedies, than Death. For, they remembred, 'twas an old Caution tranſmitted from their Anceſtors, for Imitation, *That, in the Lives and Manners of Princes, their hidden Vices ought to be concealed; their doubtful Ones taken in the beſt ſenſe; and their open Ones, ſo far born with, as they did not endanger the Ruin of the Publick.* This Opinion pleaſed the moſt, and the reſt of the *Hamiltons* acquieſced therein, and reſolved to be quiet, only *James*, chief of their Family, with 16 Horſe, remained with the Nobility; who, being leſſened by the receſs of the *Hamiltons*, were not able to give Battel to the Enemy, nor yet to break through, each to his own *Clan*, and therefore they yielded to the Times, and came that Night to * *Hamilton*, and the next Day to *Edinburgh*, to conſult how to manage the War: But, in regard the Caſtle which commanded the Town, continually plaid upon them, and their Friends could not come in ſo ſoon from remote Parts, as was requiſite; and moreover, the King and Queen were reported to be near them with their Forces, by the great Perſuaſions and Promiſes of *John Maxwel* of *Herreis*, they directed their Courſe towards *Dumfreiz*. The King and Queen returned back to *Glaſcow*, and left the Earl of *Lennox*, their Lieutenant, in the Country towards the South-Weſt, they themſelves went afterward to *Sterlin*, and thence into the middle of *Fife*. They made the greateſt part of the Nobility take an Oath, That if any Commotion aroſe from *England*, they would faithfully oppoſe it; the reſt were puniſh'd, ſome by Fine, ſome by Baniſhment. The Goods of thoſe, who fled into *England*, wherever they could find them, were ſeized upon, and they appointed Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to be held in all Counties, to enquire into the Remains of the Rebellion.

A Politic Maxim, both Prudent, and alſo Equitable.

* A Town ſtanding on the Weſt-ſide of *Clyde*, 2 Miles above *Bothwel*-Bridg.

The Nobles, that roſe up in Arms, are quelled.

On the 9*th* of *October*, they drew forth their Army out of *Edinburgh*, and march'd towards *Dumfriez*. *Maxwel*, who, till that

time,

time, had pretended to be highly of the Party, which was againſt the King, thinking it now a fit opportunity to cater for himſelf, went forth to meet them, as if he would have interceded for Pardon, for the whole Party. He dealt with them, to have part of his Father-in-Laws Eſtate, which he had a great mind to have beſtow'd upon him; they look'd upon him, as an active ſubtil Man, fit for Counſel and Buſineſs, and granted his Requeſt; whereupon, he return'd to the Rebels, and told them, he could do them no good; and therefore they muſt all ſhift for themſelves: *England* was near at hand, if they would retire thither, after he had ſettled his Affairs at home, he would follow them, and live and die with the Party; In the interim, he got a thouſand Pounds from *Murray*; upon the account of Mony, which, he alleged, he had expended in liſting ſome Horſe; For, being commanded to raiſe ſome few Troops of Horſe, he cauſed all his Domeſticks to appear as if they had been Souldiers, formally liſted. The Rebels were terrified at the coming of the King and Queen, and at *Maxwels* revolt from them; So that the King and Queen, hereupon, did what they pleas'd; They drove away moſt of the Leaders of the Faction, and the reſt were intent on the Event of their Danger, ſo that about the end of *October* they return'd to *Edinburgh*, and all things were quiet in *Scotland*, till the beginning of the next Spring.

A Convention of all the Eſtates of the Kingdom was Indicted to be held in *March*, that ſo the Goods of thoſe who were baniſh'd might be Confiſcate, their Names ſtruck out of the Roll of the Nobility, and their Armorial Enſignes torn in Pieces; neither of which the Kings of *Scotland* can lawfully do, without an Act of Parliament. In the interim, *David*, perceiving the Court to be empty of Nobility, and thinking it an opportunity to ſhew and declare the Exceſſiveneſs of his Power, did ſuggeſt ſevere Counſel to the Queen, daily preſſing her to cut off ſome of the chief of the Faction; if a few of them (ſaid he) were executed, the reſt would be quiet; and in regard, he thought, the Queen's Guard, being *Scots*-men, would not eaſily conſent to the cruel Murder of the Nobility, he was very intent to have them thrown out of their Places, and to introduce Foreigners into their Rooms, (a Project, that is wont to be the beginning of all Tyranny;) firſt, Mention was made of ſending for ſome *Germans* over for that Service; becauſe that Nation were highly faithful to their Princes: But, when *David* had conſidered ſeriouſly with himſelf, he thought it more conducive to his Intereſt to have *Italians*; firſt, becauſe, being his Country-Men, he preſumed, they would be more at his Devotion; next, that being Men of no Religion, they would be fitter to make Diſturbances, ſo that, he thought, they might eaſily be induc'd to venture upon any Deſign, Right or Wrong; for, being wicked and indigent Perſons, born and bred up under Tyrants, us'd to War, and being far from their own home, they car'd not what became of *Britain*, and therefore ſeem'd moſt Proper to attempt Innovations. Hereupon, Souldiers of Fortune were privately ſent for out of *Flanders* and other Countries of the Continent; but they were to come in by Piece-meal, as 'twere, One by One, and at ſeveral times,

Rhe perſuades the Queen to cut off ſome of the *Scotiſh* Nobility, and to entertain Foreigners, as a Guard to her Perſon.

too, that the Deſign might not be diſcover'd: It would be more dangerous (ſaid he) to offend any one of thoſe Ruffians, than the Queen her Self.

The Queen, after her haſty Marriage, is aſſoon alienated from the King, who, at the inſtigation of *Rizo*, is plauſibly diſmiſt from Court.

But, as *David's* Power and Authority, with the Queen, did daily increaſe, ſo the King grew Cheaper with her every Day; for, as She had been raſhly precipitate in making the Marriage, ſo She as ſoon repented, and gave manifeſt Tokens of her alienated Mind. For, as preſently after the Marriage was celebrated, ſhe had publickly Proclaim'd him King by an Herauld, without the conſent of the States, and afterwards, in all her Mandates till that time, the King and Queens Name were expreſt, now ſhe chang'd the Order, keeping both Names in, but ſetting her own, Firſt. At length, the Queen, to deprive her Husband of all opportunity to do Courteſies for any, found fault with him; that, whilſt he was buſy in Hawking and Hunting, many State-Matters were acted unſeaſonably; or elſe, were wholly omitted; and therefore it would be better, that She might ſubſcribe her Name for them Both; and, by this means, he might enjoy his Pleaſure, and yet no publick Buſineſs be retarded. He was willing to gratify her in every thing, and yielded to be diſmiſt upon ſuch frivolous Grounds, that ſo, being remote from the Council and Privity of publick Affairs, the Obligation for all Boons might rebound to the Queen her ſelf. For, ſhe thought thus with her ſelf, that if her Husband's Favour could do no good Offices for any, and his Anger were formidable to none, he would, by Degrees, grow to be deſpis'd by all; and to increaſe the Indignity, *David* was ſubſtituted, with an Iron Seal, to impreſs the King's Name on Proclamations. He, thus fraudulently cheated out of publick Buſineſs, leſt he might alſo prove an Interrupter of their private Pleaſures, in a very ſharp Winter, was ſent away to * *Pebly*, with a ſmall retinue, far beneath the Dignity of ſome private Perſons, for a Prey rather than Recreation. At the ſame time, there fell ſuch a quantity of Snow, that, the Place not being very Plentiful, and beſides, troubled with Thieves; He, that was always bred up at Court, and uſed to a liberal Diet, was in great hazard of wanting Neceſſaries, unleſs the Biſhop of the *Orcades* had caſually come thither; for he, knowing the ſcarcity of the Place, brought him ſome Wine, and other Proviſions, for his uſe.

* Or, *Pebils.*

The Queen was not content to advance *David*, and, as 'twere, to ſhew him to the People, from ſuch an obſcure Original, on the account before mention'd; but ſhe adviſ'd another way, how to cloath him with domeſtick Honour: For, whereas the Queen had, for ſome Months before, permitted more Company than was uſual to ſit with her at her Table; that ſo, in the Croud, *David's* place might be leſs envy'd; by this ſhew of Popularity, ſhe thought, to gain the point, that the unaccuſtomedneſs of the Sight would, by the Multitude of Gueſts and daily Uſage, be ſomewhat alleviated; and ſo Mens high Stomachs, by degrees, be inur'd to bear any thing. At laſt it came to this, That but he and one or two more ſat at Meat with Her; and, that the ſtraitneſs of the Room might take off ſomething from the envy of the thing, ſometimes ſhe

* would

would eat her Junkets in a ſmall Parlor, ſometimes at *David*'s own Lodgings. But the Way ſhe thus took to abate, did but increaſe, the Reflections, for it maintained Suſpicions, and gave occaſion to odd Diſcourſes. Mens Thoughts were now inclin'd to the worſt, and it ſerv'd to inflame them, That in Houſholdſtuff, in Apparel, and in the Number of brave and ſtately Horſes, he exceeded even the King himſelf; and it made the matter look the worſe, that all this Ornament did not credit his Face, but rather his Face ſpoil'd all this Ornament.

But the Queen, not being able to amend the Faults of Nature, endeavour'd, by heaping Wealth and Honour upon him, to raiſe him up to the degree of the Nobles, that ſhe might cover the Meanneſs of his Birth, and the Defects of his Body too, with the Vail of his lofty Promotions. But he was to be advanced by degrees, leſt he might ſeem to be but a poor Mercenary Senator. The firſt Attempt was made, on the account of a piece of Land near *Edinburgh*, the *Scots* call it * *Malvil*: The Owner of the Land, his Father-in-Law, and others, that were beſt able to perſuade him, were ſent for, and the Queen deals with the preſent Owner, to part with his Poſſeſſions; and ſhe deſir'd his Father-in-Law, and Friends, to perſuade him to it: But this Matter not ſucceeding, the Queen took the Repulſe, as an Affront to her; and, which was worſe, *David* took it very heinouſly, alſo. Theſe Things being noiſed abroad, the Commonalty did bewail the ſad State of Affairs, and expected that things would grow worſe, if Men, eminent for their Families, Eſtates and Credits, ſhould be outed of their ancient Patrimonies, to gratify the Luſt of a beggarly Varlet; yea, many of the elder Sort call'd to mind, and told others of that time, when *Cockburn* wickedly ſlew the King's Brother; and, of a *Stone-cutter*, was made Earl of *Marr*, which rais'd up ſuch a Fire of Civil War, that could not be extinguiſh'd, but by the Death of the King, and almoſt the Deſtruction of the Kingdom. Theſe things were ſpoken openly, but Men in private did mutter much more, (as it uſeth to be in Matters not very creditable): Yet the King would never be perſuaded to believe it, unleſs he ſaw it with his own Eyes; ſo that, one time, hearing, that *David* was gone into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, he came to a little Door, of which he always carried the Key about him, and found it bolted in the inſide, which it never us'd to be; he knock'd, no body anſwered; whereupon, conceiving great Wrath and Indignation in his Heart, that Night he could not ſleep. From that time forward, he conſulted with ſome few of his Servants, (for he durſt truſt but a few, many of them having been corrupted by the Queen, and put upon him, rather as Spies of his Actions, than Attendants on his Perſon) how to rid *David* out of the way; they approved his Deſign, but could not find out a probable Way to effect it; that Conſultation had been managed for ſome days, when other of his Servants, who were not of the Privacy, ſuſpected the matter, and there being evident ſigns of it, they acquainted the Queen therewith, and told her, They would bring her to the place where they were, and they were as good as their Words; they obſerv'd and watch'd the opportunity, when others

* A Caſtle on *North-Eſk*, two Miles above *Dalkeith* in *Mid-Lothian*, with the demeſnes thereof.

The King, being at laſt made ſenſible of *Rizzo*'s ſcandalous Familiarity with the Queen, reſolves to deſtroy him.

were ſhut out, and the King had only his Confidents with him; the Queen, as if ſhe were paſſing through his Chamber to her own, ſurprized him, with his Partiſans; whereupon, ſhe inveighed againſt him moſt bitterly, and highly threatned his Domeſticks, telling them, all their Plots were in vain, ſhe knew all their Minds and Actions, and would remedy them well enough, in time.

Matters being brought to this paſs, the King acquaints his Father with his ſad Condition; they both concluded, That the only Remedy for the preſent Malady, was, to reconcile that part of the Nobility which were preſent, and to recal thoſe that were abſent; but great haſte was required in the thing, becauſe the Day was near at hand, wherein the Queen reſolved to condemn the Nobles that were abſent, ſhe having Indicted a Convention of the Eſtates for that purpoſe, againſt the Wills of the *French* and *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, who interceded in the Caſe: For they knew, that the Accuſed had committed no ſuch heinous Offence; and beſides, they foreſaw the Danger that would inſue.

About the ſame time, the Queen of *England* ſent her a very large and obliging Letter, full of prudent Advice, in reference to the preſent Eſtate of *Scotland*, endeavouring to incline her Kinſwoman, from a wrathful, to a reconcilable Temper. The Nobility knew, that ſuch Letters were come, and they gueſs'd at What the Contents were; and thereupon, the Queen counterfeited a civiller Reſpect to them than ordinary, and began to read them in the preſence of many of them; when ſhe was in the middle, *David* ſtood up, and bid her, *Read no more, ſhe had read enough, ſhe ſhould ſtop*; that Carriage of his ſeemed to them rather arrogant than new, for they knew, how imperiouſly he had carried it towards her heretofore, yea, and ſometimes he would reprove her more ſharply, than her own Husband ever durſt do.

The Peremptorineſs of *Rizo*.

At that time, the Cauſe of the Baniſh'd was hotly diſputed in the Parliament-Houſe; ſome, to gratify the Queen, would have the Puniſhment, due to Traitors, to be paſs'd upon them; others contended, that they had done nothing worthy to be ſo ſeverely treated. In the mean time, *David* went about to all of them, one by one, to feel their pulſes, what each ones Vote would be concerning the Exiles, if he was choſen ‖ *Speaker*, by the reſt of the Convention; he told them plainly, the Queen was reſolved to have them condemn'd, and 'twas in vain for any of them to contend againſt it; and beſides, he would be ſure to incur the Queen's Diſpleaſure thereby. His Deſign in this, was, partly to confound the weaker Spirits betwixt Hope and Fear, and partly to exclude the more reſolv'd out of the number of the Judges ſelect, or Lords of the Articles; or, at leaſt, that the major Part might be of ſuch a Gizard, as would pleaſe the Queen. This audacious Improbity of ſo mean a Fellow, was fear'd by ſome, and hated by all. Whereupon, the King, by his Father's Advice, ſent for *James Douglas*, and *Patrick Lindſy*, his Kinſmen, one by the Father, the other by the Mother's ſide; they adviſe with *Patrick Ruven*, an able Man both for Advice and Execution, but he was ſo weakned with a laſting Diſeaſe, that, for ſome Months, he could not riſe out of his Bed; however, they

‖ Or, *Preſident*.

they were willing to truſt him, amongſt ſome few others, in a matter of ſo great Concernment, both by reaſon of his great Prudence, and alſo becauſe his Children were Couſin-Germans to the King. The King was told by them, what a great Error he had committed before, in ſuffering his Kinſmen and Friends to be driven from Court, in favour of ſuch a baſe Raſcal, as *Rize*; yea, he himſelf did, in effect, thruſt them out from the Court with his own Hands, and ſo had advanced ſuch a contemptible Muſhroom, that now he himſelf was deſpiſed by him; they had alſo much other Diſcourſe concerning the State of the Publick: The King was quickly brought to acknowledg his Fault, and to promiſe to act nothing for the future, without the Conſent of the Nobility.

But thoſe wiſe and experienc'd Counſellors thought it not ſafe to truſt the verbal Promiſes of an Uxorious young Man, as believing, that he might, in time, be enticed by his Wife, to deny this Capitulation, to their certain Ruin; and therefore they drew up the Heads of their Contract in Writing, to which he willingly and forwardly ſubſcribed: The Heads were, 'For the eſtabliſhing Religion, 'as 'twas provided for at the Queen's Return to *Scotland*; To re- 'duce the Perſons, lately baniſhed, becauſe their Country could 'not well want their Service; To deſtroy *David*, for as long as he 'was alive, the King could not maintain his Dignity, nor the No- 'bility be in Safety. They all ſet their Hands to this Schedule, wherein the King profeſſing himſelf the Author of the Homicide, they reſolved preſently to attempt the Fact, both to prevent the Condemnation of the abſent Nobles, and alſo, leſt Delay might diſcover their Deſign. And therefore, when the Queen was at Supper, in a narrow private Room, the Earl of *Argyle*'s Wife and *David* ſitting with her, as they were wont, and there were but a few Attendants, for the Room would not hold many, *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, with a great number of his Friends, were walking in an outward Chamber, their faithful Friends and Vaſſals were commanded to ſtay below in the Yard, to quiet the Tumult, if any ſhould be. The King comes out of his own Chamber, which was below the Queen's, and goes up to her by a narrow pair of Stairs, which were open to none, but himſelf; *Patrick Ruven* follow'd him arm'd, with but four or five Companions, at moſt; they entred into the Cloſet, where they were at Supper, and the Queen, being ſomething mov'd at that unuſual Appearance of arm'd Men, and alſo perceiving *Ruven*, in an uncouth poſture, and lean by reaſon of his late Diſeaſe, and yet in his Armour, asked him, What was the matter? for the Spectators thought, that his Feaver had diſturb'd his Head, and put him beſides himſelf. He commanded *David* to riſe, and come forth, for the Place, he ſat in, was not fit for him; the Queen preſently roſe, and ſought to defend him by the interpoſal of her Body, but the King took her in his Arms, and bid her to be of good chear, they would do her no hurt, *only the Death of that Villain was reſolved on*; they haled *David* out into the next, then, into the outer Chamber; there thoſe that waited with *Douglas*, made an end of him with many Wounds, which was againſt the Mind of all thoſe who conſpired his Death, for they reſolved to hang

Articles of Agreement betwixt the King and the Nobles, for the deſtruction of *Rize*, &c.

Rize haled from the Table, as he was at Supper with the Queen, and ſlain.

hang him up publickly, as knowing, it would be a grateful Spectacle to all the People.

Damiot's warning to *Rizz*, to get him packing out of *Scotland*, which he scornfully rejected.

There went a constant Report, that one *John Damiot*, a *French* Priest, counted a Conjurer, told *David* once or twice, that, now he had feather'd his Nest, he should be gone, and withdraw himself from the Envy of the Nobles, who would be too hard for him: And that he should answer, The *Scots* were greater Threatners than Fighters; he was also told a little before his Death, that he should take heed of a Bastard; to which he replied, That as long as he lived, no Bastard should have so much Power in *Scotland*, as that he need fear it; for, he thought, his Danger was predicted from *Murray*, but the Prophecy was either fulfill'd, or eluded, by *George Douglas*'s giving him his first Blow, who was the base-begotten Son to the Earl of *Angus*; after he had began, then every one rush'd in, to strike him, either to revenge their own particular Grief, or the publick Concern. Hereupon, a Tumult arose all over the House, and the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athol*, and *Bothwel*, who were at Supper in another part of the Palace, were rushing out, but they were kept within their Chamber, by those who guarded the Courts below, and had no harm done them. *Ruven* went out of that Privy-room into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, where, not being able to stand, he sat down, and called for something to drink; Whereupon, the Queen fell upon him, with such Words, as her present Grief and Fury suggested to her, calling him a Perfidious Traitor, and ask'd him, How he durst be so bold, as to speak to her, sitting, whereas she her self stood; he excus'd it, as not done out of Pride, but Weakness of Body; but advis'd her, 'That in managing the Affairs 'of the Kingdom, she would rather consult the Nobility, who had 'a Concern in the Publick, than vagrant Rascals, who could give 'no Pledg for their Faithfulness, and who had nothing to lose, ei-'ther in Estate or Credit; neither was the Fact, then committed, 'without a Precedent: That *Scotland* was a Kingdom bounded by 'Laws, and was never wont to be govern'd by the Will and Plea-'sure of one Man, but by the Rule of the Law, and the Consent 'of the Nobility; and if any former King had done otherwise, he 'had smarted severely for it: Neither were the *Scots* at present so 'far degenerated from their Ancestors, as to bear not only the Go-'vernment, but even the Servitude, of a Stranger, who was scarce 'worthy to be their Slave. The Queen was more inraged at this Speech, than before: Whereupon, they departed, having plac'd Guards in all convenient Places, that no Tumult might arise.

Ruven's memorable Speech to the Queen, on the occasion of *Rizz*'s Death.

In the mean time, the News was carried all over the Town, and as every ones Disposition was, right or wrong, they took Arms, and went to the Palace: There the King shewed himself to them out of a Window, and told the Multitude, That He, and the Queen were safe, and there was no cause for their tumultuous Assembly; What was done, was by his Command, and what that was, they should know in time, and therefore, at present, every one should go to his own House: Upon which Command they withdrew, except some few, that staid to keep Guard. The next day in the Morning, the Nobles that return'd from *England*, offer'd themselves

The King takes *Rizz*'s Death upon himself.

to

to the † Trial in the Town-hall, being ready to plead their Cauſe, for That was the day appointed; but no body appearing againſt them, they there openly proteſted, That it was not their Fault, for they were ready to ſubmit to a Legal Trial, and ſo every one return'd to his own Lodging. The Queen ſent for her Brother, and, after a long Conference with him, ſhe gave him hopes, That, ever after, ſhe would commit her ſelf to the Nobles. Hereupon, the Guards were ſlackn'd; though many thought, this her Clemency did preſage no Good to the Publick, for ſhe gathered together the Souldiers of her old Guard, and went through a back Gate by Night, with *George Seton,* who attended with 200 Horſe, firſt to his Caſtle, then to *Dunbar*; ſhe carried alſo the King along with her, who, for fear of his Life, was forc'd to obey. There ſhe gathered a Force together, and, pretending a Reconcilement to thoſe who were lately returned from Baniſhment, ſhe turn'd her Fury upon the Murderers of *David,* but they, yeilding to the time, ſhifted for themſelves, and ſo, having ſettled Matters, ſhe return'd to her old Diſpoſition. Firſt of all, ſhe caus'd ‖ *David's* Body which was buried before the Door of a Neighbour-Church, to be removed in the Night, and to be plac'd in the Sepulchre of the late King and his Children: Which gave occaſion to illfavour'd Reports, being, amongſt a few others, a bad thing, for what greater Confeſſion of Adultery with him could ſhe well make, than, as far as ſhe was able, to equal ſuch an obſcure Fellow, who was neither liberally brought up, nor had deſerved well of the Publick, in his laſt Funerals, with her Father and Brothers? and, to increaſe the Indignity of the thing, ſhe put the Varlet almoſt into the Arms of *Magdalene Vallois,* late Queen. As for her Husband, ſhe threatned him, and obliquely in her Diſcourſes ſcoff'd at him, doing her Endeavour to take away all Power from him, and to render him as contemptible, as ſhe could.

† The baniſhed Nobles offer themſelves to their Trial.

‖ *Rizo's* Body buried, by the Queen's Order, in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Scotland.*

At this time, the Proceſs was very ſevere againſt *David's* * Murderers, many of the Accus'd were baniſh'd, ſome to one place, ſome to another; ſome were fin'd; ſome (but the moſt innocent, and therefore ſecure) put to Death; for the prime Contrivers of the Fact were fled, ſome to *England,* others to the *High-lands*: Thoſe, who were but the leaſt ſuſpected to have an hand in it, had their Offices and Employments taken from them, and beſtow'd upon their Enemies: And a Proclamation was made by an Herald, (in ſuch a publick Sorrow, not without Laughter,) That no Man ſhould ſay, The King was a Partaker in, or ſo much as privy to, *David's* Slaughter: This Commotion, being a little ſettled, after the 15*th* of *April,* the Earl of *Argyle* and *Murray* were receiv'd into Favour, and ſhe her ſelf, drawing near the time of her Delivery, retired into *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and on the 19*th* day of *June,* a little after nine a Clock at Night, was brought † to Bed of a Son, afterwards called, *James* the Sixth.

* A Proclamation againſt *David Rizo's* Murderers.

† The Queen delivered of King *James* the Sixth.

The

The Eighteenth BOOK.

THE Queen, after her Delivery, receiv'd all other Visitants with Kindness enough, suitable to the occasion of a publick Joy; but when her Husband came, she and her Attendants did so comport themselves, both in Speech and Countenance, as if they were afraid of nothing more, than that he should not understand, that his Presence was disdainful, and his Company unacceptable to them all; but on the contrary; * *Bothwel* alone was the Man, he managed all Affairs: The Queen was so inclined to him, that she would have it understood, no Suit would be obtained from her, but by his Mediation: And, as if she were afraid her Favours to him were but mean and not sufficiently known, on a certain day, she took one or two with her, and went down to the Haven called *New-Haven*, and, her Attendants not knowing whither she intended, she went aboard a small Vessel, prepared there for her; *William* and *Edmond Blacater*, *Edward Robertson*, and *Thomas Dickson*, all *Bothwels* Creatures, and Pirates of known Rapacity, had fitted the Ship, before; with this Guard of Robbers, to the great Admiration of all good Men, she ventur'd to Sea, taking none of her honest Servants along with her: She landed at † *Alloway*, a Castle of the Earl of *Marrs*, where she so demeaned her self for some time, as if she had forgot not only the Dignity of a Queen, but even the Modesty of a Matron.

* The Queen disgusts her Husband, and favours *Bothwel*.

† In *Clackmannan-shire*, on the North side of the *Forth*, below *Sterlin*.

The King, when he heard of the Queen's sudden Departure, followed her, as fast as he could, by Land, his Design and Hopes were, to be with her, and to injoy mutual Society, as Man and Wife: but He, as an importunate Disturber of her Pleasures, was bid go back whence he came, and had hardly time allow'd him for his Servants to refresh themselves. A few days after, the Queen return'd to *Edinburgh*, and because, it seems, she would avoid the Croud of People, she went not to her own Palace, but to the House of a private Man in the Vicinage: From thence she went to another, where the annual Convention, call'd the *Exchequer-Court*, was then held, not so much for the Largeness of the House, or the Pleasure of the Gardens, as, that one *David Chalmers*, a Creature of *Bothwel's*, had an house near it, whose back-Door was contiguous to the Queen's Garden, by which *Bothwel* might pass in and out to her, as often as he pleased. In the mean time, the King finding no place for Favour with his Wife, is sent away with Injuries and Chidings, and having often tried her Spirit, yet, by no Offices of Observance, could he obtain to be admitted to conjugal Familiarity, as heretofore; whereupon, he retired in Discontent to *Sterlin*. A while after, the Queen appointed to go to *Jedburgh*, to hold a Convention. About the beginning of *October*, *Bothwel* prepared an Expedition into *Liddisdale*, and carrying himself there, neither according to the Place which he held, nor the Dignity of his Family, nor the Expectation of any Man, ‖ he was wounded by a mean Padder,

‖ *Bothwel* wounded by an High-way-Pad.

Padder, whom he had taken, and unawares almoſt diſpatch'd with a Leaden Bullet, and ſo he was carried to † *Hermitage*-Caſtle, in great Danger of his Life. When the News was brought to the Queen at † *Borthwick*, though the Winter was very ſharp, ſhe flew in haſte firſt to *Mulroſs*, then to *Jedburgh*; there, though ſhe receiv'd certain Intelligence, that *Bothwel* was alive, yet, being impatient of Delay, and not able to forbear, though in ſuch a bad time of the Year, notwithſtanding the Difficulty of the Way, and the Danger of Robbers, ſhe put her ſelf on her Journy, with ſuch an Attendance, as hardly any honeſt Man, though he were but of a mean Condition, would truſt his Life and Fortune to. From thence ſhe return'd again to *Jedburgh*, and there made great and diligent Preparation, that *Bothwel* ſhould be brought thither, whither when he came, their Converſation together was little for the Credit of either of them: There the * Queen, either by reaſon of her continual toil, Day and Night; or elſe, by the ſecret Providence of God, fell into ſuch a ſore and dangerous Diſeaſe, that no body almoſt thought ſhe could have lived. When the King heard of it, he went in great haſte to *Jedburgh*, both to give her a Viſit, and to teſtify his Obſervance by all the good Offices he could; and alſo to incline her to a better courſe of Life, hoping, ſhe might repent of what ſhe had done; as, in great Dangers, Perſons are wont to do: She, on the contrary, gave not the leaſt Evidence of a reconcil'd Mind, but charged, that no body ſhould riſe up, or ſalute him, as he came in, or give him Entertainment, ſo much as one Night: But ſhe, ſuſpecting the Diſpoſition of *Murray*, as courteous and civil, dealt with his Wife to make haſte now, to fain her ſelf ſick, and go immediately to Bed, that ſo, by the pretence of Sickneſs, the King might be excluded from thence; yea, ſhe made it her buſineſs, to inforce him to be gone for want of Lodging; which he had done, unleſs one of the Family of the *Humes*, for very ſhame, had pretended a ſudden cauſe for his Departure, and ſo left his Lodging free for the King.

† In *Liddiſdale*.

† A Caſtle in *Mid-Lothian*.

* The Queen falls ſick, yet continues to ſlight the Applications of her Husband to her;

The next day in the Morning, She returned again to *Sterlin*, her Return was the more reflected on, becauſe, at the very ſame time, *Bothwel* was carried out of the place where he lodg'd, to the Queen's Lodgings, in the face of all the People, and though neither of them were well recovered, She from her Diſeaſe, He from his Wounds, yet they journyed firſt to *Kelſo*, then to *Coldingham*; next, to *Cragmiller*, (a Caſtle two Miles from *Edinburgh*) not caring for the Reports that were ſpred of them by the way. The Queen, in all her Diſcourſe, profeſs'd, that She could never live, unleſs She were divorc'd from the King; and if She might not be ſo, She would lay violent Hands on her ſelf. She would, ever and anon, ſpeak of a * Divorce, and would ſay, it might eaſily be done, if the Popes Bull were recall'd, whereby leave was given to contract Marriages againſt the Papal Laws; but, ſeeing this matter was not like to go, as She expected, (for theſe things were acted in the Preſence of many of the Nobility) She left off other Methods, and applied Her Mind only to his Murder.

* She meditates a Divorce.

A little before Winter, when the Embaſſadors from *France* and *England* came to be Witneſſes at the Baptiſm of the Prince, the Queen ſtrove, both by pecuniary, and all other induſtrious, ways, That *Bothwel* ſhould appear the moſt magnificent amongſt all her Subjects and Gueſts at the Entertainment, whereas her lawful Huſband, at the Baptiſm, was not allowed Neceſſaries; yea, was forbid to come in ſight of the Embaſſadors, his Servants alſo, appointed for his daily Attendants, were taken from him, and the Nobility forbid to obſerve him: But this Carriage, and her Comportment in former times, the more implacable ſhe was towards him, made them more to pity him, in ſeeing a young and harmleſs Perſon reproachfully uſed; and yet not only to bear it patiently, but even to endeavour to appeaſe her Rage by the ſervileſt Offices, he could perform; that ſo he might win ſome Degree of her Favour. As for his Apparel and Dreſs, ſhe put the Fault upon the Embroiderers, Goldſmiths and other Tradeſmen, though 'twas but a falſe ſhameleſs Pretence, for, every body knew, it was her own occaſion; whereas for *Bothwel*'s Ornaments, ſhe wrought many of them with her own Hands. Beſides, Foreign Embaſſadors were adviſed, not to enter into Diſcourſe with the King, though they were in the ſame Caſtle together, the moſt part of the Day.

Strange Diſreſpect to the King, at the Baptiſm of his own Son.

The young Gentleman, being thus uncourteouſly treated, expoſed to the Contempt of all, and his Rival honoured before his Face, reſolved to go to his Father, to *Glaſgow*, who, as ſome thought, had ſent for him. The Queen ſhew'd her accuſtomed Hatred at his Departure, ſhe took away all the Silver Plate, which he had uſed ever ſince he was married, and put Pewter in their ſtead; beſides, ſhe gave him Poiſon before his Departure, that ſo the Evil might be more ſecret, if he died, when abſent from Court. But the Poiſon wrought ſooner, than thoſe, who gave it, ſuppoſed it would; for, before he was gone a Mile from *Sterlin*, he had ſuch a grievous Pain all over his Body, that 'twas very apparent, his Diſeaſe was not caſual, but fraudulently deſign'd; but, as ſoon as he came to *Glaſgow*, the Miſchief did manifeſtly diſcover it ſelf; blew Puſtules aroſe all over his Body, with ſo much Pain and Torment, that there was little hope of his Life; *James Abernethy*, an able, faithful and experienc'd, Phyſician, being conſulted about his Diſeaſe, anſwered preſently, That he had taken Poiſon: He ſent for the Queen's Domeſtick Phyſician, but the Queen would not ſuffer him to go, fearing, leſt his Skill might cure him, and alſo ſhe was not willing, that Many ſhould know of his being poiſon'd. When the Ceremonies of the Baptiſm were over, and the Company, by degrees, gone home; the Queen was private with *Bothwel*, ſcarce any body beſides at *Drummond* and *Tillibardin*, a Noble-Man's Houſe, where ſhe ſpent two days about the beginning of *January*, and ſo return'd to *Sterlin*, and pretended daily to go to *Glaſgow*, but expecting to hear every day of the King's Death; to prevent the worſt, ſhe reſolved to have her Son in her own Power; and, that her Deſign might occaſion no Suſpicion, they began to find fault, That the Houſe, wherein he was kept, was inconvenient; That in ſuch a moiſt and cold place, he might be ſubject to *Rheums*, but the true cauſe was far

Thereupon he withdraws from Court;

Is poiſoned, but

far otherwiſe of his Removal, for, 'twas very plain, That the Place, whither he was carried, was far more obnoxious, upon the foreſaid Accounts, in being ſcituate in a low Mariſh Soil, having a Mountain betwixt it and the Sun-riſing; whereupon the Child, being ſcarce ſeven Months old, was brought in a very ſharp Winter to *Edinburgh*; when ſhe there heard that the King was recovered, as having overcome the Poiſon, by the Vigour of his Youth, and the Strength of his Natural Conſtitution, ſhe renew'd her Plot to deſtroy him, acquainting alſo ſome of the Nobility therewith. In the mean time, News was brought her, that the King deſign'd to fly to *France* or *Spain*, and that he had ſpoke about it with the Maſter of an *Engliſh* Ship, which was then in the *Firth* of *Clyde*; hereupon, ſome thought, That an occaſion was offered her to ſend for him, and if he refuſed to come, to kill him out of the way; yea, ſome offered to be Agents in the thing; all of them adviſed, That the Fact ſhould be privately committed, and That it ſhould be haſtned, before he was perfectly recovered: The Queen, having already gotten her Son, that ſhe might alſo have her Husband, in her Power, though not as yet agreed in the Deſign, how he ſhould be diſpatch'd, reſolv'd to go to *Glaſgow*, having, as ſhe thought, ſufficiently clear'd her ſelf from his former Suſpicions by many kind Letters ſhe had lately ſent him: But her Words and Deeds did not agree; for, ſhe took almoſt none with her in her Retinue, but the *Hamiltons*, and other Hereditary Enemies of the King. In the mean time, ſhe intruſts *Bothwel* with doing What was contributory to the Deſign at *Edinburgh*, for that Place ſeem'd moſt convenient to them, both to commit, and alſo to conceal, ſo great a Wickedneſs; for there being a great Aſſembly of the Nobles, the Suſpicion might be put off from one to the other, and ſo divided between Many. When the Queen had tried all the ways ſhe could, to diſſemble her Hatred: At laſt, by many Chidings, Complaints and Lamentations, paſt betwixt them, ſhe could yet ſcarce make him believe, that ſhe was reconciled to him. The King, hardly yet recover'd from his Diſeaſe, was brought in a Litter to *Edinburgh*, to the Place deſign'd for his Murder, which *Bothwel*, in the Queen's Abſence, had undertook to provide, and That was, an Houſe uninhabited for ſome Years before, near the Walls of the City, in a loneſome ſolitary place, between the Ruins of two Churches, where no Noiſe or Outcry could be heard; thither he was thruſt with a few Attendants only, for the moſt of them (being ſuch, as the Queen had put upon him, rather as Spies than Servants) were departed, as foreknowing the Danger at hand; and Thoſe that remained, could not get the Keys of the Door from the Harbingers, that provided the Lodgings.

overcomes it, by the Vigour of his Youth.

The Story of the Infernal Deſign to deſtroy *Henry Stuart*, King of *Scotland*, agitated and complotted, with the Series of its Procedure.

The Queen was moſt intent on this One thing, to avert all Suſpicion from her ſelf; and her Diſſimulation had proceded ſo far, That the King was fully perſuaded, there was a firm Reconcilement betwixt them: So that he wrote Letters to his Father, who ſtaid behind, ſick at *Glaſgow*, giving him great Hopes and Aſſurance, That the Queen was now ſincerely His, and, commemorating her many good Offices towards him, now he promiſed to himſelf, That there would be a Change of all things for the better. As he was writing

these Letters, the Queen came in on a sudden, and, reading them, she gave him many Embraces and Kisses, telling him, that Sight mightily pleased her, that now she saw, there was no Cloud of Suspicion hovering over his Mind.

Things being thus well secured on that side, her next care was, to contrive, as much as possible, to cast the Guilt upon Another, and therefore she sent for her Brother *Murray*, who had lately obtained leave, and was going to St. *Andrews*, to visit his Wife, who lay there (as he heard) dangerously sick. For, besides the Danger of Child-bearing, she had Pustles, that rose all over her Body, with a violent Feaver; the Cause of her detaining him, she pretended to be, that she might honourably dismiss the Duke of *Savoy's* Embassador, who came too late to the Prince's Baptism; though this seem'd a mean pretence to take him off from so just and necessary a Duty, yet he obeyed. In the Interim, the Queen every day made her Visits to the King, and reconciled him to *Bothwel*, whom, she, by all means, desired to be out of Gun-shot of any Suspicion: She made him large Promises of her Affection for the time to come, which over-officious Carriage, though suspected by all, yet no Man was so bold as to advise the King of his Danger, in regard he was wont to tell the Queen, whatever he heard, to insinuate the more into her Favour; only *Robert*, the Queen's Brother, mov'd either with the Horridness of the Fact, or with Pity to the young Man, took the Confidence to acquaint him of his Wives Plot against him, but on this condition, That he would keep it to himself, and provide for his Safety, the best he could. The King, notwithstanding, reveal'd it to the Queen, according to his custom; whereupon *Robert* was call'd for, and he stoutly deny'd it, so that, they gave one another the Lie, and were laying their Hands on their Swords. The Queen was glad to see, That her Designs were likely to have so good a Conclusion, and that so near at hand, without her Trouble, and therefore she calls for her other Brother, *James*, as if he were to decide the Controversy; but the Truth was, That he also might, on that occasion, be cut off; there was no body present but *Bothwel*, who was so far from keeping them from fighting, that he would rather have kill'd him, that had the worst of the Combate himself, as plainly appeared, when he said, There was no reason, *James* should be sent for in such haste, to keep those from Duelling, who, whatsoever they pretended, had no such Maw to it. This stir being quieted, the Queen and *Bothwel* were wholly intent, how to perpetrate the Murder; and how to do it, with all imaginable Privacy, too. The Queen, to dissemble both Love to her Husband, and an Amnesty of old Offences, causes her Bed to be brought, from the Palace, into a Chamber below the King's, where she lay, after she had sat late up with him, in Discourse, for some Nights.

In the mean time, she devises all manner of ways, to cast the *Odium* of the Fact, when committed, upon her Brother *James*, and the Earl of *Morton*; for, she thought, if those Two, whose Authority and Esteem was much fear'd and hated by her, were taken out of the way, all things else would fall in of themselves: She was

also

alſo incited thereunto, by Letters from the Pope, and from *Charles*, Cardinal of *Lorrain*. For, the Summer before, having, by her Uncle, deſir'd a Sum of Mony from the Pope, for levying an Army to diſturb the State of Religion in *Britain*, and the Pope more cunningly, but the Cardinal plainly, had advis'd her to deſtroy thoſe, who were the greateſt Hindrances to the Reſtitution of Popery, and eſpecially Thoſe two Earls by Name; if they were once taken off, they promiſed a Maſs of Mony for the War. Some Inckling hereof, the Queen thought, was come to the Ears of the Nobility; and therefore, to clear her ſelf from any Suſpicion, or the leaſt Inclination to ſuch a thing, ſhe ſhewed them the Letters. But theſe Deſigns, ſo ſubtilly laid, as they thought, were ſomewhat diſturbed by often Meſſages from *Murray*'s Wife, how that ſhe had miſcarried, and that there were ſmall hopes of her Life. This Meſſage was brought him on the *Lord's Day*, as he was going to Sermon; whereupon, he returned back to the Queen, and deſired leave of her to be gone; ſhe very much urg'd him, to ſtay one day longer, to hear certainer News, alleging, That if he made never ſo much haſte, his Coming would do her no good; but, if her Diſeaſe did abate, to morrow would be time enough; but he was fully bent on his Journy, and went his way. The Queen had deferr'd the Murder till that Night, and would ſeem to be ſo jocund and diſſolute, as to celebrate the Marriage of *Sebaſtian*, one of her Muſick, in the very Palace, and when the Evening was paſt in Mirth and Jollity, then ſhe went with a numerous Attendance, to ſee her Husband; ſhe ſpent ſome hours with him, and was merrier than formerly, often kiſſing him, and giving him a Ring, as a Token of her Love. After the Queen's Departure, the King, with the few Servants that were about him, recollecting the Proceedings of the Day paſt, amongſt ſome comfortable Speeches given him by the Queen, he was much troubled at the remembrance of a few Words; for ſhe, whether, not being able to contain her Joy, ariſing from the Hope, that the Murder would be now acted; or, whether it fell from her by chance, caſt out a word, *That* David Rize *was ſlain the laſt Year, juſt about that time.* This unſeaſonable mention of his Death, tho none of them lik'd it, yet, becauſe much of the Night was paſt, and the next Morning was deſign'd for Sports and Paſtimes, they went ſpeedily to Bed. In the mean time, Gunpowder was plac'd in the Room below, to blow up the Houſe; other things were cautiouſly and craftily enough tranſacted, yet, in a ſmall matter, they left a track, whereby to be diſcovered. For the Bed, in which the Queen us'd ſometimes to lie, was taken from thence, and a worſe put in its place, as if, though they were prodigal enough of their Credit, yet they would ſpare a little Mony. In the mean time, one *Paris*, a *French* Man, a Partiſan in the Conſpiracy, entred into the King's Bed-Chamber, and there ſtood ſtill, yet ſo, that the Queen might ſee him, That was the Sign agreed on betwixt them, that all things were in a readineſs. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw *Paris*, as if *Sebaſtian*'s Marriage came into her Mind, ſhe began to blame her ſelf, that ſhe had bin ſo negligent, as not to dance that night at the Wedding, (as 'twas agreed) and to put the Bride to Bed, as the manner

ner is; whereupon, ſhe preſently ſtarted up, and went home. Being returned to the Palace, ſhe had a pretty deal of Diſcourſe with *Bothwel*, who being, at length, diſmiſs'd, went to his Chamber, chang'd his Apparel, put on a Souldier's Coat, and, with a few in his Company, paſs'd through the Guards into the Town; Two other Parties, of the Conſpirators, came ſeveral ways to the appointed Place, and a few of them entred into the King's Bed-Chamber, of which they had the Keys, (as I ſaid before) and whilſt he was faſt aſleep, they took him by the Throat, and ſtrangled him, and one alſo of his Servants, who lay near him: When they were ſlain, they carried their Bodies through a little Gate, which they had made on purpoſe, in the Walls of the City, into a Garden near hand; then they ſet fire to the Gunpowder, which blew up the Houſe from the very Foundation, and made ſuch a Noiſe, that it ſhook ſome of the neighbouring Houſes; yea, thoſe, that were found aſleep in the furtheſt parts of the City, were awakened, and frighted at the Noiſe. When the Deed was done, *Bothwel* was let out by the Ruins of the City-Walls, and ſo return'd to the Palace, through the Guard, another way, than that he came. This was the common Report about the King's Death, which held ſome Days. The Queen had ſat up that Night, to wait for the Event, and, hearing of the Tumult, called together thoſe of the Nobility, who were at Court, and amongſt the reſt, *Bothwel*; and, by their Advice, ſent out to know, What was the matter, as if ſhe had been ignorant of all that was done; ſome went to inſpect the Body, the King had only a linen Shirt on the upper part of his Body, the reſt of it lay naked; his other Apparel, and his Shoes, lay near him: The Common People came, in great Multitudes, to ſee him, and many Conjectures there were, yet they all agreed, (ſorely againſt *Bothwel*'s Mind) That he could never be thrown out of the Houſe, by the Force of the Gunpowder, for there was no part broken, bruis'd, or black and blew, about his Body, which, in a Ruin by Gunpowder, would have been; beſides, his Apparel lying near him, was not ſing'd with the Flame, or covered with any Aſhes; ſo that, it could not be thrown thither, by any Caſualty, but plac'd there on purpoſe, by ſome bodies Hand. *Bothwel* returned home, and, as if he had been in great Admiration, brought the News to the Queen, whereupon ſhe went to Bed, and lay ſecure, ſoundly aſleep, a great part of the next Day.

The King ſtrangled,

And then the Houſe, wherein he was, blown up with Gunpowder.

In the mean time, Reports were ſpread abroad by the *Parricides*, and carried into the Borders of *England* before day, That the King was Murdered by the deſign of *Murray* and *Morton*; yet every Body thought, privately within himſelf, That the Queen muſt needs be the Author of the Murder. Neither was the || Biſhop of St. *Andrews* free from Suſpicion, There were ſhrewd Conjectures againſt him, as the high and cruel Enmities betwixt the Families; neither was the Biſhop, ever well reconciled to the Queen, before ſhe deſign'd that Wickedneſs in her Mind; and, of late, when he accompanied her to *Glaſgow*, he was made acquainted with the utmoſt of her Projects. It increaſt Mens ſuſpicions of him, becauſe, at that time, he had retir'd to the Houſe of his Brother, the Earl of

|| The Biſhop of St. *Andrews* ſhrewdly ſuſpected about the King's Death.

* *Arran*,

Arran, which was near to the Houſe, where the King was ſlain: Whereas, before, he always us'd to live in ſome Eminent part of the City; where he might conveniently receive Viſits, and curry Favour with the People, by Feaſting them; and beſides, Lights were ſeen in his Houſe, and a Watch all the Night, from the upper part of the City, and when the deſign'd Powder-Clap was, then the Lights were put out, and his Vaſſals, many of whom watch'd in their Arms, were forbidden to go out of Doors: But the true Story of the matter of Fact, which broke out, after ſome Months, gave occaſion to People to look upon thoſe things as certain Indications, which before were but Suſpicions only.

The Aſſaſſins do falſly impute the King's Murder to *Murray*, and *Morton*.

When the Murder was committed, preſently Meſſengers were ſent into *England*, who were to Report, That the King of *Scots* was cruelly Murdered by his Subjects, by the contrivance, eſpecially, of *Murray* and *Morton*. The News was preſently brought to Court, which ſo inflam'd all the *Engliſh* to the hatred of the whole Nation, that, for ſome days, no *Scots* Man durſt walk abroad, without Danger of his Life; and, tho many Letters paſt to and fro, diſcovering the ſecret Contrivances of the Deſign, yet they could hardly be appeas'd. The King's Body, having been left a while as a Spectacle to be gaz'd upon, and a great Concourſe of People continually ſtockt thither, the Queen order'd, That it ſhould be laid on a Form or Bier turn'd upſide down, and brought by Porters into the Palace. There ſhe her Self viewed the Body, the faireſt of that Age, and yet her Countenance diſcover'd not the ſecrets of her Mind, neither one way or other. The Nobles there preſent Decreed, that a Royal and Magnificent Funeral ſhould be made for him: But the Queen caus'd him to be carry'd forth by Bearers in the Night, to be buried in no manner of State; and that which increas'd the Indignity the more, was, that his Grave was made near *David Rizes*; as if ſhe deſign'd to Sacrifice the Life of her Husband to the Ghoſt of that filthy Varlet.

The *Engliſh* inflamed againſt the *Scots*, upon hearing the horrid Murder of their King.

There were Two Prodigies hapning at that time, which are worth the while to relate: One of them a little preceded the Murder, it was This; One *James Londin*, a Gentleman of *Fife*, having been long Sick of a Feaver, the day before the King was kill'd, about Noon, lifted up himſelf a little out of his Bed, and, as if he had been aſtoniſh'd, cry'd out to thoſe that ſtood by him, with a loud Voice, *to go help the King, for the Parricides was juſt now Murdering him*; and a while after, he call'd out with a mournful Tone, *Now 'tis too late to help, he is already Slain:* and he himſelf lived not long after he had utter'd thoſe Words. The Other did accompany the Murder it ſelf. Three of the familiar Friends of the Earl of *Athol*'s, the King's Couſin, Men of Reputation for Valour and Eſtate, had their Lodgings, not far from the King's; when they were aſleep about Midnight, there was a certain Man ſeem'd to come to *Dugal Stuart*, who lay next the Wall, and to draw his Hand gently over his Beard and Cheek, ſo to awake him, ſaying, *Ariſe, they are off'ring Violence to us.* He preſently awak'd, and conſidering the Apparition within himſelf: Another of them cries out preſently in the ſame Bed, *Who kicks me? Dugal* anſwer'd,

Prodigies accompanying the King's death.

perhaps

perhaps, 'tis a Cat, which us'd to walk about in the Night; whereupon, the 3*d* which was not yet awake, roſe preſently out of his Bed, and was going to run away, demanding, *Who it was that had given him a box on the Ear?* as ſoon as he had ſpoken it, one ſeem'd to go out of the Houſe by the Door, not without ſome Noiſe. Whilſt they were deſcanting on what they had heard and ſeen, The noiſe of the King's Houſe, that was blown up, drove them all into a great Fright. He that took the Murder moſt heinouſly, was, *John Stuart* Earl of *Athol*, as for other Reaſons, ſo, becauſe he was the chief Maker of the Match between the Queen and him. The Night after the Murder, arm'd Guards watch'd the Palace at Night, as in ſuch ſudden Conſternations is uſual, and they hearing the outſide Wall of the Earl of *Athols* Lodging make a Noiſe or Crack, as if ſome were gently digging at the Foundation, they rais'd the Family, which went no more to Bed, that Night: The day after, the Earl went into the Town, and a little after that, went home, for fear of his Life. The Earl of *Murray*, at his return to Court from St. *Andrews*, was not without danger neither, for arm'd Men walkt about his Houſe at Night; but he not being well, and his Servants thereupon uſing to watch with him all Night, the Villains could not attempt any thing privately againſt him, and openly they durſt not. At length *Bothwel* (who would willingly have been freed from ſuch a trouble) reſolved to perform the wicked Fact, with his own Hands. And therefore about Midnight, he askt his Domeſticks, how *Murray* did? They told him, he was grievouſly troubled with the Gout: What, ſaid he, if we ſhould go ſee him? and preſently he roſe up, and was haſtening to his Houſe. As he was going, he was inform'd by his Domeſticks, that he was gone to his Brother *Roberts*, to be at more Freedom and Eaſe, out of the Noiſe of the Court, whereupon he held his Peace, ſtood ſtill, grieving, that he had loſt ſo fair an Opportunity, and ſo return'd home. The Queen, mean while, look'd very demurely, and, diſſembling great Sorrow, thought That way to reconcile the People to her; but that ſpeeded as ill with her, as the reſt of the Conſpiracy. For, whereas it was the Cuſtom, time out of Mind, for Queens, after their Husbands Death, to abſtain ſeveral Days, not only from the ſight of Men, but even from ſeeing the Light, ſhe indeed perſonated a fain'd Grief, but her Joy did ſo exceed it, that, thô the Doors were ſhut, yet the Windows were open, and caſting off her mourning Weeds, in 4 days, ſhe could well enough bear the ſight of the Sun and Air: And before 12 days were over, her Mind was harden'd againſt the talks of the People, and ſhe went to *Seton*, about 7 Miles from the Town, *Bothwel* never departing from her ſide; there her Carriage was ſuch, that ſhe ſeemed ſomewhat chang'd in the Apparel of her Body, but nothing at all in the habit of her Mind. The Place was full of the Nobility, and ſhe went daily abroad to the accuſtom'd Sports, thô ſome of them were not ſo fit for the Female Sex: But the coming of Mr. *D'Crocke*, a *French*-Man, (who had often before been Embaſſador in *Scotland*) did ſomewhat diſturb their Meaſures; for, he telling them how infamous the Matter was amongſt Strangers,

Bothwel deſigns to deſtroy *Murray*.

The Aſſaſſination of the *Scots* King odious to all Nations.

Strangers, they returned to *Edinburgh*: But *Seton* (I perceive) had ſo many Conveniencies, that, tho with the further hazard of her Credit, ſhe muſt needs return thither again. There the main head of the Conſultation, was, How *Bothwel* might be acquitted of the King's Murder. There was a Deſign, before, to try and acquit him; for, preſently upon the King's Death, *Bothwel*, and ſome of his Complices, came to the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, who was the Hereditary Capital Judge in Criminal Cauſes. Firſt, they pretended they were wholly ignorant of what was done, and wondred at it, as a new, unheard of, and incredible, Thing; then, they proceeded to the Examination of it; they ſummon in ſome poor Women out of the Neighbourhood, but they ſtuck betwixt Hope and Fear, being uncertain, Whether they ſhould ſpeak, or hold their Peace; but, tho they were very cautious in their Words, yet, uttering more than was expected, they were ſent away, as having ſpoken nothing upon any certain ground; and, as for their Teſtimony, it was eaſy enough to deſpiſe it: Whereupon, ſome of the King's Servants were ſent for, whom the Fire had not deſtroyed; They, being ask'd concerning the Ingreſs of the Aſſaſſinates? reply'd, That the Keys were not in their Power; it being urg'd upon them again, In whoſe, then? They anſwered, The Queens; Whereupon, the further Examination was put off, as they pretended; but, indeed, was quite ſuppreſt, for they were afraid, if they went any further, the Court-Secrets would have been all publickly known.

Bothwels Mock-Trial for the King's Murder, before the Earl of *Argyle*.

And yet, to ſet a Gloſs on the Matter, a Proclamation was publiſh'd, and a pecuniary Reward offer'd to the Diſcoverers of the King's Murder. But, Who dar'd be ſo bold as to impeach *Bothwel*, ſeeing he was to be the Impleaded, the Judge, the Examiner, and the Exactor of the puniſhment, too? Yet this fear, which ſtopt the Mouths of divers ſingle Perſons, could not bridle the Multitude. For Libels were publiſh'd, Pictures made, and Night-haukings and Cries were uttered, whereby the Parricides might eaſily underſtand, That their whole Deſign was diſcover'd, Who deſign'd the Wickedneſs, and Who aſſiſted in the Execution thereof: And the Commonalty, the more they were forbidden, the more did their Grief make them ſpeak. Though the Conſpirators ſeem'd to deſpiſe theſe things, yet they were ſo inwardly prickt and grip'd, that they could not diſſemble their ſorrow: And therefore omitting the Examination about the King's Death, they fell upon another Gueſt, more ſevere; and That was, againſt the Authors of Libels, or, (as they worded it) the Calumniators of *Bothwel*, and this was ſo ſeverely proſecuted, that no Pains nor Coſt were ſpar'd therein; all the Painters and Writing-Maſters were call'd in, that ſo they might diſcover the Pictures and Libels, by thoſe that drew or wrote them; they further added a Clauſe, ſuitable enough to the Edict, which made it Capital, not only to ſell, but even to read them, when they were Sold. But they, who endeavour'd to bridle the Diſcourſe of the People, by threatning Capital Puniſhment, to them, were not ſatisfi'd with the King's Death, but retain'd their hatred againſt him, though in his grave. The Queen gave her Husband's Goods, his Arms, Horſes, Apparel, and other Houſ-

A Proclamation publiſhed, for a Blind, to diſcover the King's Murderers.

holdſtuff, either to his Father's Enemies, or to the Murderers themſelves, as if they had been forfeited into her Exchequer. As theſe Matters were acted openly, ſo many did as publickly inveigh againſt them: So that one Taylor, who was about to fit ſome of the King's Clothes for *Bothwel*'s Body, was ſo bold, as to ſay; Now he ſaw the old Country-Cuſtom verifi'd: *That the Executioner had the Apparel of thoſe, that ſuffer'd by his Hand.*

The bold Speech of a Taylor.

There was alſo another Care troubled them, How they might get the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* into the Queen's Hands; *John*, Earl of *Marr*, was Governour of it, upon Condition, that he ſhould render it to none, but by Order of the Eſtates; and though ſuch a Convention was to be the Month after, yet the Queen was ſo earneſt, that every ſmall delay ſeem'd very tedious to Her. And therefore ſhe dealt with the Earl's Friends and Kindred, (for he himſelf lay then very ſick at *Sterlin*) to ſurrender the Caſtle to Her; pretending This as the chief Cauſe, That the Commons of *Edinburgh* were ſo tumultuous, (there being then a Commotion amongſt them) That ſhe could not keep them within the Bounds of their Duty, unleſs ſhe had that Fort in her Hands; and that thereupon, as an Earneſt of her great Affection to *John*, ſhe would put her only Son, the Heir of the Kingdom, into his Hands, to be educated by him; which Office of Guardianſhip, his Anceſtors had diſcharg'd to their great Commendation, as in ſo many other Princes, of late Times, in her Mother and Grandfathers Education. Tho the Earl underſtood, whither her Promiſes and Flatteries did tend, yet he complied with her Requeſt. The Queen, finding him more facile than ſhe hoped, eſſays next to be poſſeſt of the Caſtle, as ſoon as it was convenient; and yet to keep her Son too: When he would not hearken to that, ſhe ſets upon him by another Wile, propounding to him to come to *Linlithgo*, (in the Mid-way between *Edinburgh* and *Sterlin*) and there, on an appointed Day, to receive the Prince, and to ſurrender the Caſtle. But this Project being ſuſpected of Fraud, at laſt it was agreed, That he ſhould be deliver'd to *Erskin* at *Sterlin*, and That he, in the interim, ſhould give the chief of his Family in Hoſtage, for the rendring of the Caſtle.

The Queen ſolicitous to procure the Government of *Edinburgh*-Caſtle into her own Hands.

Theſe things were ſome trouble to the Parricides, but they were moſt of all troubled with the daily complaints of the Earl of *Lennox*; He would not adventure to come to Court, by reaſon of *Bothwel*'s Power, accompanied with the higheſt Luxury; but he earneſtly ſolicited the Queen by Letters, That ſhe would commit *Bothwel* to Priſon, who, without doubt, was the Author of the King's Murder, till a Day might be appointed to bring him to his Trial. She, though eluding his deſire by many Stratagems, yet, ſeeing the Examination of ſo heinous a Fact could not be avoided, deſign'd to have it carried on, thus.

The Earl of *Lennox* firſt publickly accuſes *Bothwel* of the King's Murder.

The Aſſembly of the Eſtates, on the *Ides* of * *April*, was near at hand; before that time, ſhe was willing to have the matter tried, that ſo *Bothwel*, being abſolv'd by the Votes of the Judges, might be further clear'd by the Suffrages of the whole Parliament. This haſte was the cauſe, that nothing was carried on orderly, or according

* *April.* 15.

cording to ancient Cuſtom, in that judiciary Proceſs. For, the Accuſers (as is uſual) ought to have been Cited, with their Kindred, as Wife, Father, Mother, Son, either to appear Perſonally, or, by Proxy, within 40 Days, for that is the time limited by the Law. Here, the Father was only ſummon'd to appear, *April* 13*th*, without ſummoning any of his Friends, only his own Family, which, at that Time, was in a low Eſtate, and reduc'd but to a Few; Whereas, in the mean time, *Bothwel* flew up and down the Town, with a great many Troops at his heels; The Earl of *Lennox* thought it beſt for him not to come into a City full of his Enemies, where he had no Friends nor Vaſſals to ſecure him; and beſides, if there were no Danger of Life, yet there could be no freedom of Debate. *Bothwel* appears at the Day appointed, and comes into the Town-Hall, being both Plaintiff and Defendant too. The Judges of the Nobility were call'd over, moſt of them his Friends, none daring to appear on the other ſide to except againſt any one of them; only *Robert Cuningham*, one of *Lennox*'s Family, gave a ſmall ſtop to the Proceedings; He, having Liberty to ſpeak openly, declar'd, That the Proceſs was not according to Law, nor Cuſtom, where the accus'd Perſon was ſo powerful, that he could not be brought to Puniſhment, and the Accuſer was abſent for fear of his Life. And therefore, Whatſoever ſhould be determin'd there, as being againſt Lavv and Right, vvas Null and Void; yet, they perſiſted in their Deſign, notwithſtanding. Moreover, *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils*, being choſen one of the Judges, rather for Forms ſake, than that he thought he ſhould do any Good, deſir'd to be excuſed, and offered alſo to pay the Forfeiture, uſually taken of thoſe vvho decline Sitting; vvhen preſently a Meſſenger brought him a Ring from the Queen, vvith a Command, that he ſhould ſit as one of the Judges, or elſe, ſhe threatned to commit him to Priſon. When that did not prevail, ſhe ſent another Meſſenger, vvho told him, he ſhould be puniſh'd as a Traitor, if he refus'd; ſo that, by ſuch kind of Terrors, they were inforc'd to ſit, and the Iſſue vvas; They declar'd, they ſaw no Reaſon to find *Bothwel* Guilty; yet, if any Man hereafter could lawfully accuſe him, they gave a Caution, That this Judgment ſhould be no hindrance to him. Some thought, the Iſſue vvas vviſely given in by them. For the Indictment vvas conceiv'd in ſuch Words, That the ſevereſt Judges could never have found *Bothwel* Guilty, for it vvas laid againſt a Murder committed the 9*th* of *February*, vvhereas the King vvas ſlain the *Tenth*.

Whereupon a Court is haſtily ſummon'd;

By which *Bothwel* is acquitted, tho but Conditionally.

Thus *Bothwel* was acquitted of the Fact, but not of the Infamy of it. Suſpicions did increaſe upon him, and his Puniſhment ſeemed only to be deferred; but any Pretence whatſoever, though a ſhameleſs one, ſeem'd good enough to the Queen, who made haſte to marry him. As a Surpluſage to his Abſolution, there was a Chartel, or Challenge, poſted on the eminenteſt part of the Court, declaring, That though *Bothwel* was lawfully acquitted of the King's Murder, yet, to make his Innocency more appear, he was ready to decide the matter in a Duel againſt any Gentleman, or Perſon of Honour, that ſhould dare lay it to his charge. The Morrow after, there was

Bothwel challenges his Accuſers.

one, which did, as manfully, poſt up an Anſwer to his Challenge, provided the place of Combate were appointed, wherein, without Danger, he might declare his Name. Though theſe things ſucceeded reaſonably well, yet the Queen, in that Parliament, was more rugged, than formerly; for, whereas before, ſhe pretended Civility in her Carriage, now, ſhe plainly diſcovered a Deſire of Tyranny; for what ſhe promiſed at *Sterlin*, in Matters of Religion, ſhe now flatly deny'd; and That was, That the Laws, eſtabliſh'd under Popiſh Tyranny, ſhould be abrogated in the firſt Parliament, and the Reformed Religion ſhould be ſtrengthned by new Laws. And, when beſides her Promiſe, Two Edicts, ſigned with her own hand, were produced; being catch'd here, ſhe boggled, and commanded the Commiſſioners of the *Kirk*, to attend her another Time; and, after that, ſhe never gave them opportunity to appear before her again; and thoſe Acts of the Eſtates, which were Publiſhed before her coming into *Scotland*, by the conſent of *Francis* her Husband, thoſe, ſhe alleg'd, did fall under the Act of Oblivion: That Speech ſeemed to all a manifeſt Profeſſion of Tyranny. For, whereas the *Scots* had no Laws, beſides Acts of Parliament, they entertained ſuch private Thoughts in their Breaſts, *What kind of Life they were like to live, under a Prince, whoſe Will was a Law, and whoſe Word and Promiſe were not to be believed.* This was done about the end of the Convention. At the ſame time, the Queen was very earneſt to haſten her Marriage, and yet withal ſhe deſired by any means, to procure the publick Conſent, that ſhe might ſeem to act nothing, but by the Suffrage of the Nobles. And *Bothwel* too, to credit the Marriage with the Pretence of publick Authority, deviſed this Stratagem: He invited all the Nobility of the higheſt Rank, which were then in Town (as there were many) to Supper, and when they were jocund and merry, he deſired them to ſhew that Reſpect to him for the future, which they had always done heretofore. At preſent, he only deſired, that, whereas he was a Suiter to the Queen, they would ſubſcribe to a Schedule, which he had made, about that matter, and that would be a Means to procure him Favour with the Queen, and Honour with all the People. They were all amazed at ſo ſudden and unexpected a Propoſal, and could not diſſemble their Sorrow, neither yet durſt they refuſe or deny him; Whereupon, a few, that knew the Queen's Mind, began firſt, and the reſt, not foreſeeing, that there were ſo great a number of Flatterers preſent, ſuſpected one another, and at laſt, all ſubſcribed. The Day after, when they recollected what they had done, ſome of them as ingenuouſly profeſs'd, they would never have given their conſent, unleſs they had thought the thing had been acceptable to the Queen; for, beſides that it carried no great ſhew of Honeſty, and was prejudicial to the Publick too; ſo, there was danger, if any Diſcord ſhould ariſe (as it happen'd between her and her former Husband) between her and *Bothwel*, alſo; and he were rejected, it might be laid in their Diſhes, That they had betrayed the Queen to a diſhonorable Marriage; and therefore, before they had gone too far, they reſolved to try her Mind, and to procure a Writing under her hand, to this Senſe; That ſhe did approve

Bothwil procures a Schedule from ſome of the unwary Nobility, incouraging his Marriage with the Queen,

Which ſome of them afterwards retract.

prove of what they had done, in reference to her Marriage. This Scrole was eaſily obtained, and, by the conſent of them all, given to the Earl of *Argyle* to keep. The next day, all the Biſhops in Town were called to Court, that they alſo might ſubſcribe. This care being over, there ſucceeded another, which was, How the Queen ſhould get her Son into her Power, for *Bothwel* did not think it ſafe for him, to have a young Child brought up, which, in time, might revenge his Father's Murder; neither was he willing, That any other ſhould come between his Children and the Crown. Whereupon the Queen, who could now deny him nothing, undertook the Task her ſelf, to bring the Child to *Edinburgh*; ſhe had alſo another Pretence to viſit *Sterlin*, of which I ſhall ſpeak anon; when ſhe came thither, the Earl of *Marr* ſuſpected, what was a brewing, and therefore ſhewed her the Prince; but would not let him be in her Power: The Queen, ſeeing her Fraud detected, and not able to cope with him by Force, pretended another cauſe for her Journy, and prepared to return; In her Journy, either by reaſon of her overmuch Toil; or, for Anger, that her Deſigns, which the Authors thought craftily laid, were unſucceſsful, ſhe was taken with a ſudden Illneſs, and was forced to retire into a poor Houſe about four Miles from *Sterlin*, where her Pain ſomething abating, ſhe proceeded in her Journy, and came that Night to *Linlithgo*; from thence ſhe wrote to *Bothwel* by *Paris*, what ſhe would have him to do, about her Surprize; for, before ſhe departed from *Edinburgh*, ſhe had agreed with him, that, at the Bridg of *Almon*, he ſhould ſurprize her in her Return, and carry her, whither he would, as 'twere againſt her Will. The common People put this Interpretation on the matter; That ſhe could not altogether conceal her Familiarity with *Bothwel*, nor yet could well want It; nor could ſhe openly injoy it, as ſhe deſired, without the loſs of her Reputation: It was too tedious to expect his Divorce from his former Wife; and ſhe was willing to conſult her Honour, which, ſhe pretended, to have a great regard to, yet ſhe would provide for her Luſt, too; of which ſhe was very impatient, and therefore the device was thought to be very pretty, That *Bothwel* ſhould redeem the Queen's Infamy, with his own great Crime; the Puniſhment whereof yet he did not at all fear. But there was a deeper reach in the Project, as was after underſtood. For, whereas the People did every where point at, and curſe, the King's Murderers: They, to provide for their own Security, by the Perſuaſion, as 'tis thought, of *John Leſly*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, deviſed this Attempt upon the Queen. 'Tis the manner in *Scotland*, when the King grants a Pardon for Offences, he, that ſues it out, expreſſeth his great Offence by Name, and the reſt of his Crimes are added, in general Words; accordingly, the King's Murderers determined to ask Pardon for this Surprize of the Queen by Name, and then to add in their Pardons, by way of Overplus, *All other wicked Facts*: In which clauſe, they perſuaded themſelves, That the King's Murder would be included, becauſe, 'twas not ſafe for them to name themſelves the Authors of it, in the Pardon; nor, was it creditable for the Queen ſo to grant it; neither could it well be added in the Grant of Pardon, as an Ap-

The Queen to be ſeemingly ſurprized by *Bothwel*, in order to her Marriage with him.

The Water of *Almond* divides *Mid-lothian* from *Weſt-lothian*, in *Linlithgo-ſhire*.

Appendix to a leſſer Crime: Another Offence, leſs invidious, but liable to the ſame Puniſhment, was to be deviſed, under the Shadow whereof the Kings Murder might be diſguiſed and pardoned, and no other did occur to them, but this ſimulated force put upon the Queen, whereby her Pleaſure might be ſatisfied, and *Bothwel*'s Security provided for, too; and therefore he, accompanied vvith 600 Horſe, vvaited her Coming at *Almon* Bridg, and took her, by her ovvn conſent, to *Dunbar*: There they had free Converſe one vvith another, and a Divorce vvas made betvvixt *Bothwel* and his former Wife, and that in Two Courts: Firſt, ſhe vvas cited before Judges publickly appointed to decide ſuch kind of Controverſies; and next, before the Officials, or Biſhop's Courts, though they vvere forbid, by a publick Statute, to exerciſe any part of Magiſtracy; or, to meddle vvith any publick Buſineſs; Madam *Gordon*, *Bothwel*'s Wife, vvas compelled to commence a Suit of Divorce, in a double Court, before the Queen's Judges; ſhe accuſes him of Adultery, vvhich vvas the only juſt cauſe of a Divorce amongſt them; and before the Papal Judges, vvho, though forbidden by the Lavv, yet vvere impovvered by the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, to determine the Controverſy: She alleged againſt him, that, before their Marriage, he had had too much unlavvful, or inceſtuous, Familiarity vvith her Kinſvvoman: The Witneſſes and Judges made no Delay in the Caſe. The Suit vvas commenc'd, proſecuted, adjudg'd, and ended, in ten Days.

Bothwel actually ſurprizes the Queen;

And is divorc'd from his former Wife, for Adultery.

On theſe Emergencies, a great many of the honeſt Nobles met at *Sterlin*, and ſent to the Queen; deſiring to knovv of her, Whether ſhe vvere kept, where ſhe vvas, vvillingly or againſt her Will? if this later, they would levy an Army for her Deliverance. She received the Meſſage, not without ſmiling, and anſwered them, That, 'twas true, ſhe was brought thither againſt her Will, but was ſo kindly treated ſince, that ſhe had little cauſe to complain of the former Injury. Thus was the Meſſenger eluded; but, though they made haſte to take off the Reflection of the force by a lawful Marriage, there were two *Remora's* yet in the way; One was, That if ſhe married, whilſt a Priſoner, the Marriage might not be accounted good, and ſo eaſily diſſolved. The Other, How to have the uſual Ceremonies obſerved, That the Bans ſhould be publiſh'd, three Lord's Days in the publick Congregations, 'Of a Marriage intended 'between *James Hepburn*, and *Mary Stuart*; ſo that, if any one knew 'a lawful Impediment, why they might not be joined together in 'Matrimony, they ſhould declare it, that ſo it might be decided by 'the Church. To accompliſh this, *Bothwel* gathers his Friends and Dependents together, reſolving to bring back the Queen to *Edinburgh*, that ſo, under a vain ſhew of her Liberty, he might determine of their Marriage, at his Pleaſure. His Companions were all arm'd, and, as they were on their Journy, a fear ſeiz'd on ſome of them, leſt, one time or other, it might turn to their Prejudice, to hold the Queen as yet a Priſoner; and if there were no other ground for it, yet this was enough, That they accompanied her in an arm'd Poſture, when things were otherwiſe in Peace and Quietneſs: Upon this Scruple, they threw away their Arms, and ſo, in a

ſeeming

ſeeming more peaceable Poſture, they brought her to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which was then in *Bothwel*'s Power.

The next Day, they accompanied her into the City, and into the Courts of Juſtice, where ſhe affirm'd before the Judges, that ſhe was wholly free, and under no Reſtraint at all. But as to publiſhing the Marriage in the Church, the Reader, whoſe Office it was, did wholly refuſe it: Whereupon, the elder Deacons and Eccleſiaſticks aſſembled, as not daring to reſiſt, and commanded the Reader to publiſh the Bans according to Cuſtom; he ſo far was obedient, as to tell them, That he himſelf knew a lawful Impediment, and was ready to declare it to the Queen, or to *Bothwel*, when they pleas'd to command him: Whereupon, he was ſent for to the Caſtle, and the Queen remitted him to *Bothwel*, who, neither by Fear nor Favour, could make him alter his Purpoſe, nor yet durſt he commit the Matter to a Diſpute; yet he went on to haſten the Marriage: There was none found, beſides the Biſhop of *Orkney*, to celebrate the Marriage; he alone preferr'd Court-Favour before Truth, the reſt being utterly againſt it, and producing Reaſons, Why it could be no lawful Marriage with one, that had two Wives yet living, and had lately confeſs'd his own Adultery, and had been alſo divorced from a Third; yet, though all good Men did loth it, the Commonalty curs'd it, his Kindred, by Letters, diſſuaded from it, whilſt proſecuted, and abhorr'd it, when done; There were ſome publick Ceremonies diſſemblingly performed, and Married they were. Thoſe of the Nobility, there preſent, (being very few, and thoſe *Bothwel*'s Friends, and Creatures too, the reſt being gone to their Homes) were invited to Supper; and ſo was *Crocke*, the *French* Embaſſador; but he, though he were of the *Guiſian* Faction, and, beſides, dwelt near the Place, yet peremptorily refus'd to come; he thought, it ſuited not with the Dignity of that Perſon, which he repreſented, to countenance that Marriage by his Preſence, which, he heard, the Common People did abominate and curſe; and beſides, the Queen's Kindred did, by no means, approve it, neither whilſt 'twas proſecuting, nor yet, when finiſh'd. And the King of *France*, and Queen of *England*, did, by their Embaſſadors, declare againſt the Turpitude of the thing: Though that was troubleſom to her, yet the ſilent Sadneſs of the People did ſo much the more increaſe the fierce Diſpoſition of the Queen, as things ſeen do pierce deeper, than things only heard. As they both went through the City, none ſaluted them with wonted Acclamations, only one ſaid, and that but once, *God Save the Queen*; whereupon, another Woman near her, ſpoke aloud, once or twice, ſo that the Standers-by might hear her, *Let every one have what his Deſert is:* That Matter mightily inflam'd her Mind againſt the *Edinburghers*, with whom ſhe was angry before. When ſhe ſaw, how diſaffected People were to her, both at Home and Abroad, ſhe took Advice with her Cabal, How ſhe might eſtabliſh her Power, and quell any Inſurrection for the future. Firſt of all, ſhe determined to ſend an Embaſſador into *France*, to reconcile thoſe Princes, and the *Guiſes*, to her, who, ſhe knew, were offended with her precipitate Marriage: *William*, Biſhop of *Dunblane*, was

Eccleſiaſticks backward to publiſh the *Bans*, or to celebrate the Marriage, between the Queen and *Bothwel*:

Yet, at laſt, the Biſhop of *Orkney* marries them.

The *French* Embaſſador refuſes to come to the Wedding:

Even the Vulgar diſlike the Queen's Marriage.

was choſen for that Service; his Inſtructions were given him, almoſt in theſe very Words:

Politic Inſtructions to the Biſhop of *Dunblane*, to excuſe the Queen's haſty Marriage, at the *French* Court.

'Firſt, You ſhall excuſe me to Thoſe Princes, and to my Uncle, 'That they heard of the Conſummation of my Marriage, by vulgar 'Report, before ever I had acquainted them with my purpoſe there-'in, by Meſſengers of my own. This Excuſe is built, as upon a 'Foundation, on the true Narration of his Life, and eſpecially of 'the good Offices, which the Duke of the *Orcades* hath done me, 'even to that very Day, wherein I thought good to make him my 'Husband: You ſhall begin the Declaration of that Story, as the 'Truth is, taking your Riſe from his very Youth. Aſſoon as ever 'he came to be of Age, after the Death of his Father, one of the 'prime Noblemen of the Kingdom, he wholly addicted himſelf to 'the Service of the Princes of this Land, being otherwiſe of a ve-'ry noble Family, both by reaſon of its Antiquity, and alſo the high 'Offices it held in the Kingdom, as by Hereditary Right: At that 'time, he principally addicted himſelf to the Service of my Mo-'ther, who then held the Scepter, and was ſo conſtant an Adherent 'to her, that though, in a very ſhort time, a great many of the 'Nobility, and many Towns alſo, had revolted from her, on the 'account of Religion, yet he never faultred in his Loyalty; neither 'could he be induc'd, by any Proffers, Promiſes, or Threats, nor by 'any Loſs of his particular Eſtate, to make a Defection, in the leaſt, 'from her Authority; nay, rather than neglect her Service, he ſuf-'fer'd his Houſe, the Manſion-Houſe of the Family, and all his 'Goods, which were many and precious, to be plundred, and his 'Eſtate made a Prey to his Enemies: At laſt, being deſtitute of my 'Aid, and all other beſides, an *Engliſh* Army was brought in by 'domeſtick Enemies, into the very Bowels of the Kingdom, on 'purpoſe to inforce my Husband (then Earl of *Bothwel*) to leave 'his Eſtate and Country, and to retire to *France*; where he obſer-'ved me with all Reſpect, till my Return to *Scotland*. Neither 'muſt his Military Exploits againſt the *Engliſh* be forgotten, a lit-'tle before my Return, wherein he gave ſuch Proofs of his manly 'Valour, and great Prudence too, that he was thought worthy, 'though a young Man, to command his Superiours in Age; ſo that 'he was choſen chief General of the Army of his Country-men, 'and my Lieutenant, which Office he diſcharged ſo well, That, by 'many valiant Performances, he left a noble Memorial of his Forti-'tude, both amongſt his Enemies, and alſo his own Country-men. 'After my Return, he imployed all his Endeavours for the Enlarge-'ment of my Authority; he ſpar'd no Danger in ſubduing the Re-'bels upon the Borders of *England*; where having reduc'd things to 'great Tranquillity, he reſolv'd to do the ſame in other Parts of the 'Kingdom: But, as Envy is always the Companion of Virtue, the '*Scots* ſtill deſiring Innovations, and ſome of them, willing to leſſen 'my Favour towards him, did ſo ill interpret his good Services, 'that they cauſed me to commit him to Priſon; which I did, partly 'to gratify ſome, who envied the Growth of his increaſing Great-'neſs; and partly to allay the ſeditious Commotions, which were 'then ready to break out, to the Deſtruction of the whole King-'dom.

'dom. He made his Eſcape out of Priſon, and, that he might 'yield to the Power of his Emulators, he retir'd into *France*, and 'there he abode almoſt Two years; in which time, the Authors of 'the former Seditions, forgetting my Lenity towards them, and 'their Duty towards me, took up Arms, and led an Army againſt 'me. Thereupon, I commanded him to return, I reſtor'd him to 'his Honour and Eſtate, and made him General over all my Forces, 'by whoſe Conduct my Authority was again ſo reſtor'd, that all the 'Rebels were quickly inforc'd to ſeek Shelter in *England*, until a 'great part of them, upon their own Requeſt, were again receiv'd 'by me into Favour. How perfidiouſly I was treated by thoſe Ex-'iles which returned, and by thoſe, whom I had oblig'd with grea-'ter Courteſies, than they deſerved, my Uncle is not ignorant of, 'and therefore I need ſay little of it; yet, I muſt not pretermit in 'ſilence, with how great diligence he freed me from the Hands of 'Thoſe, who held me Priſoner; and how ſpeedily, by his ſingular 'Conduct, I eſcap'd out of Priſon; and, the whole Faction of Con-'ſpirators being diſſipated, I recovered my former Authority. On 'this Head, I muſt acknowledg, that his Services were ſo grateful, that 'I could never ſuffer them to ſlip out of my Memory: Theſe things 'are Great in themſelves, yet he hath made ſuch an Acceſſion to 'them, by his anxious Sedulity and Diligence, that I could never ex-'pect greater Obſervance or Faithfulneſs in any Man, than I have 'found in him, even until after the Deceaſe of my late Husband: 'Since that time, as his Thoughts ſeemed to aim higher, ſo 'his Actions were a little more inſolent; and though the Mat-'ter was come to that paſs, that I muſt take all things in the 'beſt part, yet I was much offended with his Arrogance, in 'thinking I had ability to requite his Services no otherwiſe, 'than by giving up my ſelf to him, as their Guerdon and Re-'ward; beſides, I did diſlike his ſecret Deſigns againſt, and, at 'length, his open Contempt of Me, and the Force uſed to get me 'into his Power, leſt otherwiſe he might be fruſtrated in his Pur-'poſe. In the mean time, the whole Courſe of his Life was ſo or-'der'd, that it may be an Example, how Men, that undertake 'great Deſigns, can craftily conceal their Purpoſes, till they obtain 'their Ends. For, I thought, that his Sedulity and Diligence, in his 'ſpeedy Obedience to all my Commands, proceeded from no other 'Fountain, than his Loyal Deſire to pleaſe me; neither did I ever 'imagine, that he had any higher Wiſh or Deſign; neither did I 'think, thoſe more gracious Countenances, which I ſometimes ſhew 'towards my Nobles, to ingage them more readily to obey my 'Commands, would have exalted his Mind, to promiſe to himſelf 'the Hope of a more extraordinary Courteſy from me; yet he, 'turning even fortuitous things to his own Advantage, maintained 'Deſigns unknown to me; and, by his wonted Obſervance, nouriſh'd 'his ancient Love; as alſo by currying Favour with the Nobility, 'he was privily ambitious of a new Favour, and he was ſo ſedulous 'therein, that though I knew nothing of it, yet when the Conven-'tion of the Eſtates was celebrated, he obtain'd a *Chart* from all 'the Nobility, ſubſcrib'd with their Hands, to make it more Au-

'them'ick, wherein they declared their Assent to the Marriage be-
'twixt Me and Him, and promis'd to expose their Lives and For-
'tunes to bring it to pass, and to be Enemies to all those that should
'oppose it. And more easily to obtain the Assent of the Nobles, he
'persuaded each of them, that all these things were manag'd by
'my Consent. This Writing being once obtain'd, next, by de-
'grees, he most humbly sought for my Consent; but my Answer
'not suiting with his Desire, he began to propound such things to
'himself, which are wont to occur in such great Undertakings, as,
'the outward Demonstrations of my Good Will, the Ways by
'which my Friends, or his Enemies, might hinder his Design;
'and, lest any of those, who had subscrib'd, should withdraw their
'Assent, and many other things, which were cast in, or came free-
'ly, to hinder his Purpose. At length, he determined with him-
'self, to pursue the Favour of his present Fortune, and to cast the
'whole Business, with his Life and Hope, on the hazard of one Mo-
'ment; so that, being resolved to execute his Design to purpose,
'after he had waited 4 days, as I was returning from visiting my Dear
'Son, he watch'd a convenient Place and Time, and, on the way, sei-
'zed me, with a strong Party of Men, and carried me speedily
'to *Dunbar*. How I took the Fact, especially from him, of whom,
'amongst all my Subjects, I expected no such thing, every one
'may easily judg. There I upbraided him with my Favours to-
'wards him, and how honourably I had always spoken before of
'his Manners and Behaviour, and how ungratefully he had carried
'it towards me: Other things I spake, to free my self out of his
'Hands; his Usage, indeed, was somewhat course, but his Words
'were fair and smooth, as, that he would use me with all Honour
'and Observance, and would do his utmost not to offend me in any
'thing; but for carrying me against my Will, into one of my own
'Castles, for so bold an Attempt, he crav'd my Pardon, alleging,
'he was forc'd, by the Power of Love, so to do, forgetting the Re-
'verence and Allegiance, which, as a Subject, he ow'd to me. He
'said further, That he was compell'd to go thither for fear of his
'Life. Then he began to rehearse to me the whole Course of his
'Life, and lamented his Misfortune, that those, whom he had ne-
'ver offended, were his bitter Enemies, and whose Malice had de-
'vised all unjust ways to do him a Mischief; what envious Reflecti-
'ons were made upon him, for the King's Death, and how unable
'he was to bear up against the hidden Conspiracy of those of his
'Enemies, whom he knew not, because they pretended Good-will
'towards him both in Speech and Behaviour; neither was he able
'to prevent those Treacheries, which he did know. Their Malice
'against him was so great, that, at no Time or Place, he could live
'a quiet Life, unless he was assur'd of my unchangeable Favour to-
'wards him: And to assure that, he knew but one way, and that
'was, That I would vouchsafe to make him my Husband; withal,
'he solemnly swore, that he did not seek Preheminence therein, or
'the Top and Height of Dignity, but this *one* Thing, That he
'might be able to serve and obey me, as hitherto he had done, all
'the Days of his Life. This his Oration, he deck'd with that Elo-
'quence,

'quence, as his Cauſe required. But when he ſaw, I could not be 'wrought upon, neither by Prayers nor Promiſes, at length, he 'ſhewed me the Tranſactions of the Nobility, and all the Eſtates, 'and what they had promiſed under their Hands. This being pro- 'duced before me on a ſudden, and beyond my Expectation, I leave 'it to the King, Queen, my Uncle, and the reſt of my Friends, 'Whether it might not adminiſter a juſt Cauſe of Amazement 'to me: Whereupon, when I ſaw my ſelf in another Man's Pow- 'er, ſeparate from thoſe, who were wont to give me Counſel; 'yea, when I ſaw thoſe Perſons, on whoſe Faithfulneſs and Pru- 'dence, I had caſt my ſelf, whoſe Power muſt confirm my Autho- 'rity, that otherwiſe would be little or none at all; I ſay, when I 'ſaw ſuch Men to have devoted themſelves to gratify his Will and 'Deſire, and I left alone, as his Prey; I ponder'd many things in 'my Mind, but could not find a Way how to extricate my ſelf; nei- 'ther did he give me any long time to conſider of the matter, but 'did preſs his Purpoſe with great eagerneſs: At laſt, when I ſaw I 'had no hope to eſcape, and that there was not a Man in the King- 'dom, that would ſtir for my Deliverance, for I eaſily perceived by 'the Roll he ſhewed me, and by the great Silence of the Time, that 'All were drawn to his Party: When my Anger was a little abated, 'I applied my Mind to conſider his Requeſt; Then I began to ſet be- 'fore my Eyes his Services in former Times, and the great Hopes I 'had, he would conſtantly perſiſt in the ſame for the future; And 'again, how hardly my Subjects would endure a foreign Prince, 'who was unacquainted with their Laws, That they would not ſuf- 'fer me to be a Widow, long; That a People, prone to Tumults, 'could not be kept within the Bounds of their Duty, unleſs my Au- 'thority was upheld and exercis'd by a Man, who was able to un- 'dergo the Toil of governing the Commonwealth, and ſo to bridle 'the Inſolence of the Rebellious; that my Strength was weakned 'with the Weight of thoſe things, ever ſince I came into *Scotland*, 'and almoſt broke to nothing; inſomuch, that I could no longer bear 'the daily Tumults and Rebellions, that aroſe. Furthermore, by 'reaſon of theſe Seditions, I was forc'd to create Four, or more, 'Lieutenants, in divers Parts of the Kingdom; moſt of which, 'under colour of the Authority granted by me, caus'd my Subjects 'to take Arms againſt me. For theſe Reaſons, when I ſaw, That, 'if I would ſupport my Imperial State, I muſt incline my Heart to 'Marriage; and, that my Subjects would not bear a foreign King; 'And, that amongſt my Subjects, there was none for Splendor of 'Family, for Prudence and Valour, and other Endowments of Bo- 'dy and Mind, could exceed, or ſo much as bear a compariſon with, 'him, whom I have now married; I prevail'd with my ſelf to com- 'ply with the univerſal Decree of my Eſtates, of which I ſpake be- 'fore. After my Conſtancy was batter'd by theſe Reaſons, partly 'by Force, partly by Flattery, he obtain'd a Promiſe from me to 'marry him; which having done, I could not obtain from him, '(who fear'd, leſt my Mind ſhould change,) to put off the Cele- 'bration of it, that ſo I might have had time to communicate the 'Matter to the King and Queen of *France*, and to my other Friends

'beyond Sea; but, as he audaciously began, so, that he might ar-
'rive at the top of his Desires, he never gave over to solicite me by
'Arguments and earnest Entreaties, until at last he compell'd Me,
'not without Force, to put an end to the Matter begun, and that at
'such a Time and Way, as seem'd to him most convenient to his
'Purpose. And upon this head, I cannot dissemble, but must
'needs say, that I was treated by him otherwise, than I would,
'or than I had deserv'd of him; for he was more solicitous to satis-
'fy them, by whose Consent, tho extorted from them at the be-
'ginning, he judges himself to have accomplish'd his Desires,
'(he having deceiv'd Them, as well as my self) than to gratify Me,
'by considering, what was fit and creditable for me to do, who had
'been always brought up in the Rites and Institutions of our Re-
'ligion, from which, he, nor no Man living, shall ever divert Me.
'In this Point, I confess, tho I acknowledg my Error, yet, I much
'desire, that the King, the Queen, his Mother, my Uncle, nor o-
'ther Friends of mine, would not expostulate with him, or rub up
'old Sores. For now Matters being so compleated, that they can-
'not be undone, I take all things in the best part; and, as he is in-
'deed my Husband, I resolve now to look upon him, as one that
'hereafter I will Love and Reverence; and they who profess them-
'selves my Friends, must needs carry the same Respects to him,
'since now we are join'd in the indissoluble Bond of Matrimony.
'Tho, in some things, he hath carried himself something neg-
'ligently, and almost rashly, yet I impute it to his immoderate
'Love towards Me, and do therefore intreat the King, Queen, my
'Uncle, and other Friends, to respect him as much, as if all had
'been manag'd by their Advice, even to this very Day; and, on
'the other side, We promise, in his behalf, that he will gratify them
'in all things, which they shall desire.

This was the Remedy provided against the bad Reports of the World abroad; but against Domestick Tumults they provided, after they had fixed those, by Gifts at present, and Promises for the future, who were either Perpetrators or Partizans in the King's Murder, To make a Combination of the greater part of the Nobility; if that were done, they might undervalue the rest; or, if they remain'd obstinate, cut them off. Whereupon, they assembled many of the Nobility, and propounded to them the Heads of the Capitulations, they were to swear: The sum was, That they should maintain the Queen and *Bothwel*, and all their Actings; and on the other side, They were to Favour and Countenance the Concerns of Those of the Confederates, there present. A great many were persuaded before, and so subscribed; the rest, perceiving it was bad to conspire, and as dangerous to refuse, they subscribed, too. *Murray* was sent for, that his Authority (which was great, for his Virtue) might give some Countenance to the thing. As he was on his Journy, he was advis'd by his Friends, to consult his own Safety, and not to lie in *Seton* House, where the Queen and the chief Conspirators were, but rather to lodge in some Friends House in a Village hard by. He answer'd, That was not in his Power, but, come what would, he would never assent to any flagiti-

The Queen frames an Association for the Nobility to subscribe,

Which the Earl of *Murray* refus'd to do,

ous

ous Act, the reſt he left to God. To the Courtiers, who were appointed by the Queen, to debate with him about ſubſcribing the League, 'He anſwer'd, That he could not juſtly nor honeſtly 'make this League with the Queen, (whom in all things, elſe 'twas his Duty to obey); That he was reconcil'd to *Bothwel*, by the 'Queens Mediation: Whatever he had then promis'd, he would 'obſerve to a tittle; neither was it Equitable, or Good for the 'Commonwealth, that he ſhould make another League or Com-'bination with him, or any other Man. The Queen accoſted him more kindly than ordinary for ſome Days, and promis'd to tell him her Mind in all things, yet ſhe could not ſpeak out for Shame, and therefore try'd his Mind by her Friends; They alſo, perceiving his Conſtancy in that which was Right, openly confeſt, what 'twas they deſir'd: And ſeeing they did no good by their underhand Ways, at length *Bothwel* ſet upon him, and after much Diſcourſe, told him, That he did that Fact not willingly, nor for himſelf alone. His Countenance frown'd at that Word; whereupon *Bothwel*, having ſometimes by ſerious Diſcourſe, ſometimes by terms near to railing, driven the nail, as far as it would go, at laſt endeavour'd to caſt in Seeds of Diſcord, and to urge him to a Quarrel. He, on the contrary, anſwer'd moderately, gave no juſt occaſion for a Combate, yet kept himſelf upright, and did not depart, in the leaſt, from his Reſolution. When *Murray* was verſant in theſe ſtraits for ſome Days, he ask'd leave of the Queen, that, ſeeing there was no great need of him at Court, he might have Liberty to retire to St. *Andrews*, or into *Murray*; for he was willing to go out of the Way, That he might not be ſuſpected to be the Author of the Tumults, which, he foreſaw, would ariſe. When he could not obtain that, nor yet remain at Court without great and apparent Danger, He, at laſt, got leave to travel, but upon Condition, not to ſtay in *England*, but to paſs either through *Flanders* into *Germany*, or whither elſe he pleas'd. To go to *Flanders*, was all one as to caſt himſelf into Evident Danger, and therefore, with much adoe, he obtain'd leave to paſs thrô *England* into *France*, and from thence, whither he pleas'd himſelf. The Queen, being thus freed of a Free-hearted and popular Perſon, endeavours to remove the other Obſtacles to her Tyranny, and Thoſe were ſuch, as would not willingly ſubſcribe to her Wickedneſs; or, were not like eaſily to acquieſce in her Deſigns. But ſhe had a ſpecial hatred againſt thoſe, who, perceiving her to be no better affected towards her Son, than towards her former Husband, made an Aſſociation at *Sterlin*, for no wicked Deſign, but only to Defend the young Prince, which his Mother deſir'd to have under the Power of his Father-in-Law. As for him, every Body knew, that he would make away with the Child, as ſoon as ever he had Opportunity ſo to do, that ſo he might not Live to be a Revenger of his Fathers death, nor to prevent his Children from the Crown. The chief of that Combination, were, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Morton*, *Murr*, *Athol* and *Glencarn*; beſides others of the ſame Order, but inferior, and next in Degree, as *Patrick Linſey*, and *Robert Boyd*, with their Friends and Partners, who had adjoin'd themſelves to them.

And therefore departs the Land.

A contrary Aſſociation entred into by ſeveral of the Nobility, to preſerve the young King,

them. But *Argyle*, with the ſame Levity, that he came in to them, in a Day or Two, diſcover'd their Deſigns to the Queen; and *Boyd*, was, by large Promiſes, wrought over to the contrary Party. Next to theſe, ſhe ſuſpected the Families of the *Humes*, the *Carrs*, and the *Scots*, living by the Borders of *England*, whoſe Power ſhe ſought, by all means, to leſſen, and for that there ſeem'd a juſt occaſion to be offer'd. For, when *Bothwel* was preparing an Expedition into *Liddiſdale*, to make amends for the diſgrace, he had receiv'd there the Autumn before; and alſo, to get ſome Credit by his Arms, to take off the envy of the King's Death, all the chief of the Families in *Teviotdale* were commanded by the Queen, to come in to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, that there, for ſome ſhort time, they might be ſecure, as in free Cuſtody; upon pretence, that they might not be led into an Expedition, which did not ſeem likely to be ſucceſsfully accompliſh'd, againſt their Wills; and they alſo, if at Liberty, might diſturb the deſign, out of Envy; and, in their Abſence, ſhe might inure the Clans to the Government of others; and ſo, by degrees, wear off the Love of their old Patrons and Maſters. But they, imagining, that there was ſome deeper Project hid under that Command, went home in the Night, all except *Andrew Carr*, who was commonly thought not ignorant of the Parricide, and *Walter Carr* of *Sesford*, a Man, that, by reaſon of his Innocent Life, ſuſpected nothing. *Hume*, being often ſummon'd by *Bothwel* to come to Court, refus'd ſo to do; as knowing the King's thoughts towards him, yet notwithſtanding the deſign for the Expedition proceeds, and the Queen ſtaid at *Borthwick* Caſtle, about 8 Miles from *Edinburgh*. In the mean time, they, who had united to defend the King, being not ignorant of *Bothwels* intention towards him, thought it neceſſary to proceed to Action, not only for their own Security, but alſo, that, by demanding Juſtice upon the Author of the King's Murder, they might acquit the *Scotiſh* Name from the Infamy, under which it lay amongſt foreign Nations. And therefore, ſuppoſing the common People would follow their Motions, they privately levy'd about 2000 Horſe: So that the Queen knew nothing of what was Acted, till *Hume* came to *Borthwick* Caſtle, with part of the Army, and beſieg'd Her, and *Bothwel*, together. But the other Part of the Conſpirators, not coming in at the time appointed, and he having not force enough, to ſtop all Paſſages; and was not ſo active neither, as he might have been, becauſe the reſt had neglected their Parts; Firſt, *Bothwel*, made his eſcape, and after him, the Queen in Mans apparel, and went directly to *Dunbar*. *Athol* was the occaſion, why his Aſſociates came not in ſeaſonably enough; For he, either amaz'd at the Greatneſs of the Undertaking; or, detain'd by his own ſluggiſh Temper, kept the reſt at *Sterlin*, until the Opportunity of the Service was loſt; yet, that they might ſeem to have done ſomething, a great part of them were ſent to beſiege *Edinburgh*. *James Balfure* was Governor of the Caſtle there, put in by *Bothwel*, as being a Partner in the Parricide, and Author of, or elſe Privy to, all his Deſigns; but when he ſaw he had no Pay for his Service, and was not ſo well reſpected by the Tyrants as he

The Queen eſcapes from the aſſociated Nobles, in Mans Apparel.

 expected,

expected, for they had endeavour'd to take away the Command from him, he drove out Thoſe of the contrary Faction, and brought the Caſtle under his ſole Power; he then promis'd the publick Vindicators of the Parricide, That he would do them no hurt, and was treating of Conditions, how to deliver it up. There were then in the Town, the Principal of the Queen's Faction, *John Hamilton*, the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*; *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, and *John Leſly*, Biſhop of *Roſs*: They underſtanding, that their Enemies were receiv'd into the Town, flew to the Town-houſe, and there offer'd themſelves Captains to the Multitude, to drive them out; but very few coming in to them, they were driven back to the Caſtle; they were received into it by *Balfure*, and a few days after were ſent away ſafe, a by-way: For *Balfure*, having not yet fully agreed with the other Side, would not then cut off all his Hopes of Pardon from thoſe of his Party: The Town eaſily came into the Combination, for it had been burden'd a little before with new Taxes from the Queen; and, in the publick Neceſſity, they expected no Moderation from her Party, and were unanimouſly offended with her Tyranny; yea, as oft as they had Liberty to expreſs their Sentiments, they curſed the Court-Wickedneſs with moſt grievous Execrations.

Matters being thus ſlowly carried by the Faction of the Nobles at *Borthwick*, the Queen and *Bothwel*, by the neglect of the Guards, eſcaped by Night, and with a ſmall Retinue came to *Dunbar*, where they had a well-fortify'd Caſtle to ſecure themſelves in; Thereupon, there followed ſo great a change of things, that they, who were lately in great Deſpair, now, by the flocking in of thoſe to them, who either were Partners in their Evils, or elſe followed the Shadow of the Royal Name, grew ſtrong enough, as they thought, to cope with and ſubdue their Adverſaries. On the other ſide, the Vindicators of Liberty were driven to great Straits; for, to their great Diſappointment, there were but a few came in to ſo renown'd an Undertaking; the Heat of the Vulgar, as is uſual, quickly abating, and a great part of the Nobility being very averſe, or at leaſt ſtanding aloof off, expecting the Iſſue of the others Danger; beſides, though they were ſuperior in Number, yet they wanted Artillery to take in Caſtles: Seeing then no Iſſue of their Counſels at preſent, Neceſſity in a manner compelling them, they thought to return without effecting any thing: But the Queen decided their Doubts, for ſhe, taking Courage from the Numbers ſhe had, reſolv'd with them to march for *Leith*, to try her Fortune neer at hand, imagining alſo, That at her Coming, greater Concourſe would have been made to her; and That her Boldneſs would ſtrike Terror into her Enemies; Beſides, the Succeſs of former times had ſo elated her Spirit, That ſhe thought now hardly any Man would ſtand to look her in the Face. This her Confidence was much heighten'd by her Flatterers, and eſpecially by *Edmond Hayes*, a Lawyer; he told her, That all things were pervious to her Valour, That her Enemies wanted Force, and were at their Wits end, and, at the very Noiſe of her Coming, would be packing away: Whereas, indeed, the matter was far otherwiſe, and in the preſent

And arms againſt them.

preſent Circumſtances, nothing had been better for her, than Delay; for, if ſhe had kept her ſelf in the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, but three Days longer, the Vindicators of Liberty, being deſtitute of all Preparation for War, as having attempted their Liberty in vain, muſt have been forc'd to depart every one to his own Houſe. However, ſhe march'd from *Dunbar*, being excited by bad Counſel, and by vain hopes; yet ſhe march'd ſlowly, becauſe ſhe diſtributed Arms to the Country-men, that ſhe gathered up by the way. At length a little before Night, they came to *Seton*, and becauſe they could not be quarter'd there, they divided their Number into two Neighbouring Villages, both called *Preſton*: From thence a fearful Alarm was brought to *Edinburgh* before Midnight, and preſently the Word was given, *To your Arms*; They roſe out of their Beds, and made all the haſte they could into the Fields adjoining, and there having gathered a good Body together by Sun-riſing, they ſet them in Battel-array; thence they march'd to *Muſſelburgh*, to paſs the River *Esk*, before the Bridg and Ford were poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, (that Village is but two Miles from *Preſton*) but meeting no body, and perceiving no Noiſe at all, they placed Guards and Sentinels, and went to refreſh themſelves with Food. In the mean time, the Scouts which were ſent for Eſpial, ſeeing a few Horſe-Men, drove them into the Village, but did not dare to follow them further, for fear of an Ambuſh; ſo that, they brought back no certain News of the Army, only that the Enemy was a marching: Whereupon the Vindicators of Liberty, marching out of *Muſſelburgh*, ſaw the Enemy ſtanding in Battel-array, upon the brow of an Hill over againſt them, and that they kept their Ground. The Hill being ſo ſteep, that they could not come at them, without Prejudice, they drew a little to the right, both to have the Sun on their Backs, as alſo to gain an eaſier Aſcent, and to fight upon a more advantagious Ground; that Deſign of theirs deceived the Queen, for ſhe thought, they had fled, and were marching to *Dalkeith*, a Neighbour-Town of the Earl of *Morton*'s; ſhe was fully perſuaded, that the Terror of her Royal Name was ſo great, that they durſt not ſtand; but ſhe quickly found, That *Authority, as 'tis gotten by good Arts, ſo may be quickly loſt by bad; and that Majeſty deſtitute of Virtue, is ſoon brought to nothing.* In their March, the *Dalkeithians* brought them forth all manner of Proviſions in Abundance. When they had refreſh'd themſelves, and quench'd their Thirſt, which much annoy'd them before, as ſoon as ever they got a convenient place, they divided their Army into two Bodies, *Morton* commanded the firſt, aſſiſted by *Alexander Hume* and his Vaſſals: The ſecond was led on by the Earls of *Glencarn*, *Marr*, and *Athol*; when they were thus ready to charge, *Crock* the *French* Embaſſador came to them, he prefaced to them, by an Interpreter, how he had always ſtudied the Good and Tranquillity of the *Scots*, and that he was now of the ſame Mind, and therefore he earneſtly deſired, if poſſible, that the Controverſy might be decided to the Satisfaction of both Parties, without Force or Bloodſhed, wherein he offered his Service, alleging, That the Queen alſo was not averſe from Peace; and, to incline them to believe it, he told them, ſhe would

A State Maxim, irrefragably true.

Both Armies ready to ingage.

Monſieur *Crock*, the *French* Embaſſador mediates for a Peace.

would give a preſent Pardon, and Oblivion of what was done, and ſhe faithfully promiſed, That they ſhould all be indemnified, for taking up Arms againſt the Supream Magiſtrate. When Mr. *Crock*'s Interpreter had thus ſpoken, *Morton* anſwered, 'They had not 'took up Arms againſt the Queen, but againſt the Murderer of the 'late King, whom, if ſhe would deliver up to Puniſhment, or ſever 'her ſelf from him, then ſhe ſhould underſtand, They and their 'Fellow-Subjects deſired nothing more, than to perſiſt in their Du-'ty to Her: Otherwiſe, no Agreement could be made. *Glencarn* added, 'That they came not thither to receive Pardon for taking 'up Arms, but to give it. *Crock*, ſeeing their Reſolution, and knowing well, That what they ſpake was true, and what they deſired was juſt, crav'd leave to depart, and ſo went to *Edinburgh*. In the mean time, the Queen's Army kept it ſelf within the ancient Camp-Bounds of the *Engliſh*; it was a Place naturally higher than the reſt; and beſides, fortified with a Work and Ditch; from whence *Bothwel* ſhewed himſelf, mounted on a brave Steed, and proclaim'd, by an Herald, that he was ready to fight a Duel with any one of the adverſe Party. *James Murray*, a noble Young Man, offer'd himſelf from the other Army; he had done the ſame before by a *Chartel*, but ſuppreſs'd his Name; (as I ſaid before,) *Bothwel* refus'd him, alleging, That he was not a fit Match for him, neither in Dignity nor Eſtate; Then came forth *William Murray*, *James*'s elder Brother, affirming, that if Mony-Matters were ſubducted, he was as powerful as *Bothwel*, but in Antiquity of Family and Integrity of Repute, his Superior: He alſo was refuſed, as being but lately made a Knight, and of the ſecond Rank; many of the firſt Rank offered themſelves, eſpecially *Patrick Lindſy*, he deſired it as the only Reward of all his Labours, which he had undergone to maintain the Honour of *Scotland*, that he might be permitted to fight with *Bothwel*: *Bothwel* excepted againſt him, too; and not knowing how creditably to come off, the Queen interpoſed her Authority, and, forbidding him to fight, ended the Controverſy: Then marching through the Army on Horſe-back, ſhe tried how they all ſtood affected. *Bothwel*'s Kindred and Friends deſired to fight; but the reſt told her, that there were many brave Souldiers in the adverſe Army, who being well exerciſed in Arms, the Hazard of a Fight was dangerous; As for themſelves, they were ready, but the Commonalty, of which they had a great many, were averſe from the Cauſe; and therefore 'twas much fitter, that *Bothwel* himſelf ſhould maintain his own Cauſe in a Duel, than that he ſhould expoſe ſo many brave Men, and eſpecially the Queen her ſelf, to ſo great Hazard; but if ſhe were fully reſolved to fight, yet 'twas beſt to defer it, till to Morrow: For, 'twas ſaid, that the *Hamiltons* were a coming with 500 Horſe, and that they were not far off; with the Conjunction of their Forces, they might then more ſafely adviſe about the main; for at that time, the Earl of *Huntly*, and *John Hamilton*, Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, had gather'd their Clans together to *Hamilton*, and the day after were coming to the Queen; whereupon ſhe gnaſh'd her Teeth, and fell a Weeping, caſting out many Reproaches againſt the Nobles, and, by a Meſ-

But not prevailing, he withdraws himſelf.

Bothwel's daring Challenge anſwered:

But the Queen forbids the Duel.

The Queen's Army refuſes to fight;

ſenger, deſires of the contrary Army, that they would ſend *William Kircade* of * *Grange* to Her, that ſhe would ſpeak with him, about Conditions of Peace, in the Interim the Army ſhould not advance; neither did the Army of the Vindicators proceed, but they ſtood near, and in a low place, ſo that the Enemies Ordnance might not annoy them. Whilſt the Queen was conferring with *Kircade*, *Bothwel* was bid to ſhift for himſelf, (for that was it which ſhe aim'd at, by pretending a Conference) who made ſuch fearful haſte to *Dunbar*, that he commanded two Horſe-Men, that accompanied him, to return back again. Such a Load of Guilt lay upon his Mind, that he could hardly truſt his own Friends. The Queen, when ſhe thought he was out of Danger, articled with *Kircade*, that the reſt of her Army ſhould paſs quietly home, and ſo ſhe came with him to the Nobles, cloth'd only with a Tunicle, and that a mean and thread-bare one too, reaching but a little below her Knees: Of the Van of the Army, ſhe was receiv'd, not without Demonſtration of their former Reverence; but when ſhe deſir'd, that they would diſmiſs her to meet the *Hamiltons*, who were ſaid to be coming on, promiſing to return again, and commanded *Morton* to undertake for her, (for ſhe hoped, by fair Promiſes, to do what ſhe would) when ſhe could not obtain it, ſhe brake forth into Bitterneſs of Language, and upbraided the Commanders with what ſhe had done for them; they alſo heard her with Silence: But when ſhe came to the ſecond Body, there was an unanimous Cry from them all; *Burn the Whore, burn the Parricide.* King *Henry* was painted in one of the Banners, dead, and his little Son by him, craving Vengeance of God for the Murder; that Banner two Souldiers ſtretch'd out betwixt two Pikes, and ſet before her Eyes, whitherſoever ſhe went; at this Sight ſhe ſwooned; and could ſcarce be kept upon her Horſe; but, recovering her ſelf, ſhe remitted nothing of her former Fierceneſs, uttering Threats and Reproaches, ſhedding Tears, and manifeſting other Appendexes to Women's Griefs. In her March, ſhe made what Delay ſhe could, expecting, if any Aid might come from elſewhere; but one of the Company cry'd out, There was no reaſon ſhe ſhould expect the *Hamiltons*, for there was not an arm'd Man, in many Miles of the place: At laſt a little before Night, ſhe entred *Edinburgh*, her Face being covered with Duſt and Tears, as if Dirt had been caſt upon it, all the People running out to ſee the Spectacle, ſhe paſt through a great part of the City in great Silence, the Multitude leaving her ſo narrow a Paſſage, that ſcarce one could go a breaſt; when ſhe was going up to her Lodging, one Woman of the Company prayed for her; but ſhe turning to the People, told them, beſides other threatning Words, That ſhe would burn the City, and quench the Fire with the Blood of the perfidious Citizens. When ſhe ſhewed her ſelf weeping out of the Window, and a great Concourſe of People was made, amongſt whom, ſome did commiſerate her ſudden change of Fortune: The former Banner was held out to her, whereupon ſhe ſhut the Window, and flung in. When ſhe had ſtaid there two days, ſhe was ſent Priſoner, by the Order of the Nobles, to a Caſtle ſcituated in *Lough-Levin*; for *Edinburgh*-Caſtle was yet held by

* In *Fiſe.*

Whereupon *Bothwel* flies, and the Queen is taken Priſoner.

by *Balfure*, who, though he favour'd the Vindicators, yet he had not made any Conditions for the Surrender of the Caſtle.

The Biſhop of *Dunblane* chouzed in his Embaſſy to *France*.

In the mean time, the Biſhop of *Dunblane*, who was ſent Embaſſador into *France*, to excuſe the Queen's Marriage, being ignorant of all that was done in *Scotland*, after his Departure, came to that Court, at the time, whilſt theſe laſt Tranſactions were on foot, and obtain'd a Day for Audience. The very ſame day, there came 2 Letters to the King and his Mother, one from *Crock*, his Embaſſador, another from *Ninian Cockerburn*, a *Scot*, who had ſerv'd, as Captain of Horſe, ſome years in *France*; both of them diſcover'd the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*. The *Scots* Embaſſador, being admitted to the King's Preſence, made a long & accurate Speech, partly to excuſe the Queen's Marriage, without the Advice of her Friends; partly, to commend *Bothwel* to the Skies, beyond all Right and Reaſon. The Queen of *France* interrupted the vain Man, and ſhew'd him the Letters ſhe had receiv'd from *Scotland*; how that the Queen was a Priſoner, and *Bothwel* was fled; whereupon, he was aſtoniſh'd at the ſudden ill News, and held his Peace: They who were preſent, did partly jeer, and partly ſmile at, this unlook'd-for Accident; there were none of them all, but thought, ſhe ſuffer'd deſervedly.

Wondrous Diſcoveries concerning the King's Murder, in *Bothwel's* Cabinet of Letters.

About the ſame time, *Bothwel* ſent one of his faithfulleſt Servants into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to bring him a ſilver Cabinet, which had been ſometimes *Francis*'s, King of *France*, as appear'd by the Cyphres on the outſide, wherein were Letters writ, almoſt all, with the Queen's own Hand, in which the King's Murder, and the things vvhich followed, vvere clearly diſcover'd, and 'twas vvritten in almoſt all of them, that, as ſoon as he had read them, he ſhould burn them. But *Bothwel*, knowing the Queen's Inconſtancy, as having had many evident Examples of it in a few Years, had preſerv'd the Letters; that ſo, if any Difference ſhould ariſe betwixt him & her, he might uſe them as a Teſtimony for himſelf, and thereby declare, That he vvas not the Author, but only a Party, in the King's Murder. *Balfure* deliver'd this Cabinet to *Bothwel*'s Servant, but vvithal, he inform'd the Chiefs of the adverſe Party, What he had ſent, Whither, and by Whom; vvhereupon, they took him, and found, in the Letters, great and mighty Matters contain'd, which, though before ſhrewdly ſuſpected, yet could never ſo clearly be made forth; but here the vvhole vvicked Plot vvas viſibly expoſed to vievv: *Bothwel*, not ſpeeding in any of his Affairs, and being deſtitute of all Help or Hope to recover the Kingdom, fled, firſt to the *Orcades*, then to the *Schetland* Iſles; and there, being driven to great Want, he exercis'd Piracy. In the Interim, many dealt vvith, and deſir'd, the Queen to ſeparate her Cauſe from *Bothwel*'s; (for, if he was puniſh'd, ſhe might eaſily be reſtor'd with the Good-Will of all her Subjects:) But the fierce Woman, bearing, as yet, the Spirit of her former Fortune, and inrag'd vvith her preſent Troubles, anſwer'd, *That ſhe would rather live with him in the utmoſt Adverſity, than without him in the Royaleſt Condition.* But amongſt the Nobles, there were great Thoughts of Heart; the Revengers of the Parricide hoped, that at the noiſe of ſo famous a

Buſineſs, the Approbation of the Better Part, if not All, would have concurr'd with them; but it fell out far otherwiſe, for popular Envy, being abated, partly by ſpace of Time, and partly by the conſideration of the Uncertainty of human Affairs, was turn'd into Commiſeration; yea, ſome of the Nobility, did then no leſs bewail the Queen's Calamity, than heretofore they had execrated her Cruelty; Both which they did, rather by Inconſtancy of Mind, than by any propenſe Affection to either ſide: So that it evidently appear'd, that, in ſuch troubled Waters, they did not ſeek the Publick Peace, but rather fiſh for their own private Advantage; many alſo deſir'd Quietneſs, and they weighed within themſelves, which Party was ſtrongeſt, and ſo were inclin'd to ſide with the moſt Powerful. Their Faction was thought to be the ſtrongeſt, who, either conſented to the Murder, or, when the thing was done, in obſequiouſneſs to the Queen, ſubſcrib'd to that ſceleratious Fact: The chief of them came in to *Hamilton*, and being very ſtrong, would receive neither Letters, nor Meſſengers, from the contrary Party, in order to a Settlement; neither did they ſpare to reproach them with all kind of calumniating Language; and they were ſo much the more inrag'd, becauſe the greateſt part of the Nobles, who reſpected rather the Blaſts of Fortune, than the Equity of the Cauſe, did not come in to the Vindicators; for they that were not *againſt* them, they concluded were *for* them. Moreover, they eſteem'd it a piece of Vain-Glory, that the Vindicators ſhould enter before them into the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and from thence ſend for them, who were the greater Number, and more powerful. The other Party, though they had not imperiouſly commanded them, but only humbly deſir'd; yet, to preſcinde any Shew of imputable Arrogance, they prevail'd with the Miniſters of the Churches, to write jointly to them all, and ſeverally to each in particular, That, in ſo dangerous a time, they ſhould not be wanting to the Publick Peace; but, ſetting aſide private Animoſities, they ſhould conſult, What was moſt expedient for the Publick Good. Theſe Letters did no more Good with the contrary Faction, than Thoſe of the Nobles before; they all making the ſame Excuſes, as if it had been ſo agreed purpoſely between them. Afterwards, the Queen's Faction met together in diverſe Places, and, finding no means to accompliſh their Deſigns, they all ſlipp'd off, and diſpers'd ſeveral ways. In the Interim, the Vindicators of the publick Parricide dealt with the Queen, (whom they could not ſeparate from the Concerns of the Murderers) to reſign up her Government, upon pretence of Sickneſs, or any other ſpecious Allegation, and to commit the Care of her Son, and the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, to which of the Nobles, ſhe pleas'd. At laſt, with much ado, ſhe appointed, as Governours to the Child, *James*, Earl of *Murray*, if, upon his Return home, he did not refuſe the Charge; *James*, Duke of *Caſtleherault*; *Matthew*, Earl of *Lennox*; *Gileſpy*, Earl of *Argyle*; *John*, Earl of *Athol*; *James*, Earl of *Morton*; *Alexander*, Earl of *Glencarn*; and *John*, Earl of *Marr*. Moreover, they ſent Proxies to ſee the King plac'd in his Royal Throne, and ſo to enter on the Government, either at *Sterlin*, or any other Place, if they thought fit.

The Queen pitied in her Diſtreſs.

The *Hamiltons* ſtir in her behalf.

Governours appointed for the young King, by the Queen her ſelf.

Theſe

These things were acted, *July* the 25*th*, in the Year of our Lord, 1567. A little before, *James*, Earl of *Murray*, hearing how Matters went at home, returned through *France*, and was pretty nobly entertain'd at Court; yet so, that *Hamilton* (whose Faction, the *Guises* knew, were more intimately affected towards them) was far better receiv'd, which was occasion'd chiefly by the *Guises*, who were averse to all *Murray*'s Designs. After he was dismiss'd, the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, who called himself the Queen of *Scots* Embassador, told the Court, That *James*, though absent, yet was the Chief of the Faction; and, as in former times, all things were acted by his Influence, so now he was sent for, as an Head to the Body of them. Hereupon, some were sent after to bring him back; but he, being forewarned by his Friends, had set Sail from the Haven of *Deip*, where he was, before the King's Letters came, and arriving in *England*, was honourably entertain'd by all Orders of Men, and so sent home. There he was receiv'd with the high Gratulation and Joy of all the People, especially of the Vindicators; and they all earnestly desir'd him to undertake the Government, whilst the King, his Sister's Son, was yet a Child: for he alone was able to manage that great Trust, with the least Envy, because of his Propinquity in Blood, his known Valour in many Dangers, his great Popularity grounded on his Deserts; and moreover, the Queen desir'd it, too. He, tho knowing, what they had spoke was true, yet, desir'd a few Days of Deliberation, before he gave in his Answer. In the mean time, he writes earnestly to the Heads of the other Faction, and chiefly to *Argyle*, as being his Kinsman, and one, whom, by reason of ancient Acquaintance, he was loth to offend; he told him, in what posture things were, and what the Infant-King's Party did desire of him, and therefore he intreated him, by their Nearness of Blood, by their ancient Friendship, and by the common Safety of their Country, that he would give him opportunity to speak with him, that so, by his Assistance, himself and their Country might be deliver'd out of the present Difficulties. He also wrote to the rest, according to every ones Place and Interest; and, in general, he desir'd of them all, that, seeing Matters were in such Confusion, there was no likelihood of a Settlement, without a chief Magistrate; That they should all agree, to meet together, as soon as might be, in a Place they should judg most convenient, and so, by common Consent, to settle Matters. At length, being not able to obtain a Meeting from the One Faction, nor any longer delay of a Convention from the Other, with the unanimous Consent of all, there present, he was elected REGENT.

The Earl of *Murray* returns from Travel.

And is chosen Regent.

JAMES

JAMES the VIth, *the* CVIIIth *King.*

John Knox preaches a Sermon at the Coronation of K. *James* the 6th.

The Coronation-Oath taken by Proxies, by reason of the King's Minority.

ON the 29th of *August*, after an excellent Sermon made by *John Knox*, *James*, the Sixth of that Name, began his Reign; *James*, Earl of *Morton*, and *Alexander Hume*, took the Oath for him, that he would observe the Laws; they also promised, in his Name, that he would observe that Doctrine, and those Rites of Religion, which were then publickly taught and practised, and oppose the contrary. A few days after, *Hamilton*'s Partisans murmured, That a few Persons, and those none of the powerfullest neither, had, without their Consent, and contrary to their Expectation, grasp'd all things into their own Hands: When they had tried all the Nobility one by one, they found few of their Opinion, besides those who first came in to them, for many were rather Spectators than Actors of what was done. At length, they wrote to the Royalists, That *Argyle* was ready to give a Meeting, to confer with the Earl of *Murray*. These Letters being directed to the Earl of *Murray*, without any other Title of Honour, were, by the Council's Advice, rejected, and the Messenger dismissed, in effect, without an Answer. But *Argyle*, knowing what had offended in superscribing his Letters, and, trusting to the Faithfulness of the Regent, with a few of the chief of his Faction, came to *Edinburgh*, where having receiv'd Satisfaction, That 'twas not out of any slighting of those Nobles that were absent, but mere Necessity so requiring, that had caused them to make such haste, in setling a chief Magistrate: A few Days after, he came to the publick Convention of the Estates.

The

The Nineteenth BOOK.

WHEN the King was ſet up, and the Power of the Regent almoſt ſettled, there was Quietneſs from Force and Arms, but the Peace was but Tickliſh, Mens minds were yet in a Fermentation, and their Indignation, which they could not hide, did ſeem to portend ſome ſudden Miſchief. In this great uncertainty of Affairs, all Mens thoughts and Eyes were fixt upon, what the inſuing Parliament would do; The time of its Sitting was the 25*th* of *Auguſt*, where the Aſſembly was ſo Numerous, that no Man, ever before, remember'd the like Concourſe. Therein the Authority of the Regent was confirm'd; but, about the Queen, they differ'd in their Opinions; for, it appearing by many Teſtimonies and Proofs, eſpecially by her own Letters to *Bothwel*, that the whole Plot of the bloody Fact was laid by Her; Some being moved with the Heinouſneſs of the thing, and Others being afterwards made acquainted therewith by Her, leſt They themſelves ſhould be puniſhed, as Acceſſories to ſo odious a Crime, to remove her Teſtimony out of the way, Voted, That ſhe ſhould ſuffer the utmoſt extremity of the Law; but the Major part Sentenced Her only to be kept in Priſon. After the Parliament roſe, The Winter was ſpent in ſettling Judicatories, and puniſhing Delinquents. The Embaſſadors of the *French* and *Engliſh* had Audience, they Both deſir'd to ſee the Queen; but, ſhe being a Priſoner on a publique Account, 'twas deny'd them: None but *Bothwel* was then in Arms; Whereupon ſome were ſent with a Navy, to catch him as he was exerciſing Piracy near the *Orcades* and the Iſles of *Schetland*. The publick Stock was then ſo low, that they were forc'd to borrow Mony of *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, to rig and fit the Navy; ſo that his private Purſe, at that Time, bore the Burden of the publick Charge. *Bothwel* was there, in a manner, ſecure, both becauſe of the fierceneſs of Winter-Tempeſts, then raging in thoſe Seas, which made them inacceſſible for a Fleet; as alſo, becauſe he knew the Treaſury, which he himſelf had exhauſted, could not afford Mony to ſet out One; ſo that by the ſudden coming of *William Kircade*, of *Grange*, who commanded the Fleet, he was almoſt ſurpriz'd, ſome of his Company were taken, but he himſelf eſcap'd, with a few in Company, by the contrary ſide of the Iſland amongſt the Shallows and Fords, where great Ships could not follow, and ſo ſail'd to *Denmark*: Where giving no good Account, Whence he came, nor Whither he was Bound, he was put in Ward; and afterward, being known by ſome Merchants, he was clapt up cloſe Priſoner; where, after ten Years naſty Impriſonment, and other Miſeries, at laſt he grew Mad, and came to a Death, ſuitable to his baſe and wicked Life.

Bothwel flies to the Northern Iſles, and from thence to *Denmark*.

Where he is impriſoned, and dies, Diſtracted.

At the beginning of the next Spring, the Regent determin'd to make a Progreſs over the whole Kingdom, to ſettle Courts of Juſtice there, that ſo he might repair and amend what was Amiſs,

or

or elſe ſhrewdly Shaken, by the Tumults of the former Years. Which Proceeding of his was variouſly interpreted, according to Mens ſeveral Humours and Diſpoſitions; The adverſe Faction declaim'd every where againſt the Regent's Severity; or, as they phras'd it, Cruelty, which was formidable to them, who, by reaſon of the greatneſs of their Offences, could not endure to be regulated by the Law, in regard they had been us'd to Licentiouſneſs in former Times: But, if the Queen were ſet at Liberty, ſome of them had Rewards; Others, Impunity, in their Eye, by which means many were drawn in to the contrary Faction; yea, ſome of thoſe too, who had been Inſtruments in her Apprehenſion.

Maitland was as great an Enemy to *Bothwel*, (whom he look'd upon, as a vile and naughty Perſon, and one that would have cut his Throat,) as he was a Favourer of the Queen's Affairs, and becauſe he was out of hope to overthrow him, as long as the Queen was alive, therefore he inclin'd, in the Parliament, to that ſide that would have had her puniſh'd according to Law. *James Balfure* was in the like Circumſtances, as imagining *Bothwel* to be his implacable Enemy, tho neither of them was thought innocent in the matter of the King's Death. But when *Bothwel* was taken, and kept Priſoner in *Denmark*, they then apply'd their Thoughts wholly to the Deliverance of the Queen; not only, becauſe they hop'd for an impunity of their common Crime more eaſily from her; but alſo, becauſe, they thought, She, that had made away her Husband, would do but little better with her Son, whoſe Infancy and Shadow of Royal Name was That alone, which kept her from the Throne; but beſides, they judg'd it alſo for their own Security, leſt the Son ſhould come to the Kingdom to be a Revenger of his Father's Death. Moreover, they were no obſcure Conjectures, That the Queen's mind was not much abhorrent from ſuch an Attempt; For ſhe was often heard to ſay, The Child was not long-liv'd, for a skilful Aſtrologer had told her at *Paris*, that her firſt Child would not live above a Year, and (tis thought) that ſhe her Self came once to *Sterlin*, in the ſame Hope, intending to bring the Child with her to *Edinburgh*, which Suſpicion caus'd *John Erskin*, Governor of the Caſtle, not to ſuffer the Child to be taken from him; it alſo made a great part of the Nobility, then met at *Sterlin*, to aſſociate themſelves, by Oath, to maintain the ſaid young Prince in Safety.

The Queen's Party, of which the *Hamiltons* were the chief, deſign Her Deliverance, out of Durance.

Moreover, the *Hamiltons*, were, might and main, for freeing the Queen; becauſe, if her Son were remov'd, by her means, They were one degree nearer to the Crown, and after that, 'twere no hard task to take her off alſo, becauſe, ſhe was hated of all for her Crimes; and having once been ſtopp'd in her Tyranny, would afterwards let forth the Reins looſer, and more impetuouſly, to Cruelty. *Argyle* and *Huntly*, of which one had a Mother, the other a Wife, of the Family of the *Hamiltons*, did cheriſh their hopes, and wiſh'd them good Succeſs, but they had alſo proper Reaſons of their own to incline them ſo to do; becauſe, neither of them was judg'd to be wholly ignorant, or guiltleſs, of the Queen's Crimes; Beſides, *William Murray* of * *Tillibarden*, being alienated,

* In *Strathearn*.

nated, both by Reaſon of his different Opinion, in point of Religion, and bearing alſo a private Grudg againſt the Regent, tho he had been highly ſerviceable in taking the Queen; yet, did not only revolt from the Royal Party himſelf, but alſo drew a great many of his Friends along with him, upon propoſal of no ſmall Rewards to them. Theſe were the Principals in delivering the Queen, there were many others alſo that fell in with their Party, whom either domeſtick Neceſſity, private Grudges, deſire of Revenge, Hope of bett'ring their Fortune, or elſe Propinquity or Obligation to thoſe above nam'd, did draw in and engage.

In this troubleſome ſtate of Affairs, the Regent was equally unmoveable againſt the Intreaties of his Friends, and the Threats of his Enemies, tho he knew, by the publick Libels, which they poſted up and down, the Cauſe of their hatred, and their deſire of Revenge: And tho ſome Aſtrologers, not unacquainted with the Plots deſign'd againſt him, did foretel, he ſhould not live beyond ſuch a Day; yet he perſiſted in his purpoſe, often ſaying, *That he knew well enough, he muſt die one time or other; and that he could never part with his Life more nobly or creditably, than by procuring the publick Tranquillity of his Native Country.* And therefore, firſt, he ſummon'd a Convention of the Eſtates at *Glaſgow*, whither the *Lennox* Men, the *Renfroans* and the Men of *Clydſdale*, were commanded to come, and whilſt he was buſied there, in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and in the puniſhment of Offenders, the Plot, ſo long agitated, for the Deliverance of the Queen, took effect. The manner of it was This. In the Caſtle, that the Queen was kept in, in *Lough-Levin*, there was the Regent's Mother, and his 3 Brother's by another Father, with abundance of other Women; yet, none were admitted to viſit the Queen, but ſuch as were well known; or elſe, that came by the Regents Order. Of theſe domeſtick Attendants, the Queen made choice of *George Douglas*, as fitteſt for her Purpoſe; He was the Regent's youngeſt Brother, a young Man, ingenious enough, and, by reaſon of his Age, apt to be impos'd upon by female Inticements; He, being ſomething familiar with Her, on pretence to attend her in ſuch Sports, as Courts, at idle times, refreſh themſelves withal, undertook to corrupt ſome of the common Servants of the Caſtle, by Gifts and Promiſes; and She, having intruſted him therein, would not deny any thing to ſuch a Perſon, from whom ſhe expected her Liberty; *George* then, having a promiſe of Indemnity from her for himſelf, and his Partizans, and being excited with the hopes of great Wealth and Power for the future, not without the Conſent of his Mother, (as was verily thought) acted all that ever he could to bring the thing about. And tho ſome Perſons did ſmell the Deſign, and acquainted the Regent therewith, yet he put ſuch a confidence in Thoſe he had plac'd there, that he chang'd none of the old Guard, only *George* himſelf was commanded out of the Iſland; whereupon, he departed to the next Village, on the edge of the *Lough*; where, having before corrupted the Officers of the Caſtle with Mony, he had, in a manner, a freer Communication with the Queen, by Letters, than before; whereupon,

The Regent's remarkable Speech and Reſolution.

there were not only those *Scots* admitted to a partnership in the Plot, who were discontented at the present State of things, but the *French* were associated too, by *James Hamilton*, who had been Regent some Years before; and by *James Beton*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*; the *Scots* were to do the Work, and the *French* to pay the Wages.

An Embassador from *France*.

About the end of *April*, an Embassador came from *France*, and, in the Name of his King, desir'd leave to visit the Queen, which, if he did not obtain, he pretended, he would presently depart. The Regent told him, 'twas not in his Power, That the Queen was not made Prisoner by him, neither could he determine any thing in the Case, without advising with Those who had first committed Her, and with Others who had afterward confirm'd by an Act of Parliament, what was done; Nevertheless he would gratify his Sister, and the King his Ally, in what he could, and would call an Assembly of the Nobles, the 20*th* of the next Month in order to that End. With that Answer the Embassador was somewhat pacified, and the Regent went on in his Judicatories; Whereupon the Queen, having brib'd the Master of a Vessel, Her other Companions being sent about sleeveless Errands, was brought out of the *Lough*; Her escape being told to those that were then at *Dinner* in the Castle, they made a great stir, but to little purpose, for all the Boats were haled a Shore, and their Loop-holes, to put out their Oars, were all stopt up, so that no speedy Pursuit could be made. There were Horsemen expecting the Queen on the other side the *Lough*, who carried her to the several Houses of the Partizans in the Design, and the Day after, which was *May* the 3*d*, she came to *Hamilton*, a Town 8 Miles distant from *Glasgow*; when the thing was nois'd abroad, many came in to Her, some distrusting the King's Party, which they look'd upon as not very strong; Others in hope of Favour from the Queen; and some, in confidence of a Reward for their old Services, in this Tumult, discover'd their Minds; and part of them, having obtain'd Pardon for what was past, expecting the Event of Fortune, were but loose Adherents to the Regent. The Defection of others, was not so much wondred at, but the revolt of *Robert Boyd*, who, till that very Day, had obtain'd a great opinion for his Constancy, afforded matter of Discourse; He, being brought up on the ruins of a Noble Family (as I said before, in the life of King *James* the 3*d*,) parsimoniously and meanly under his Father, a valiant Man, and emulous of the ancient Frugality, follow'd the same course of Life, as the rest of his Kin did, *viz.* by applying himself to richer Families to make way to repair his own, lately flourishing, but now decaying one, to their ancient Estate and Dignity. Whereupon, his Father and He first apply'd themselves to the *Hamiltons*, who were than uppermost. And when their Regentship was laid down, and the chief Magistracy settled in the Queen Dowager; and Controversies about Religion began to arise, he join'd himself to the Reformers, to which his Father was most averse. That Faction was accounted the most potent, to That he adher'd, till the Queen's coming out of *France*; yea, he grew very renown'd for his Constancy, Fortitude,

The Queen escapes out of Prison, and gathers Forces against the Regent.

tude and Prudence; So that *Gileſpy*, Earl of *Argyle*, was ſo taken with him, that he did almoſt nothing without his Advice. But, when ſome of the Nobles had aſſociated at *Sterlin*, not for any Treaſonable Project, but only to defend the King, he, indeed, ſubſcrib'd the League too; but, with great Levity, both himſelf, and *Argyle*, who was guided by his Counſel, diſcover'd the whole Intrigue to the Queen. From that time forward, *Boyd* ſided with the Queen, in all her Deſigns againſt his old Friends, being well reputed of on that ſide; but by thoſe, he deſerted, he was accounted a Turn-coat, and an inconſtant Perſon. When the Queen was committed to Priſon, *Boyd* apply'd himſelf to *Murray* the Regent, and was ſo well reſpected by him, for his induſtrious Ingenuity, that he was admitted into his Cabinet-Council; and tho ſeveral Opinions paſt upon him by others, yet he was in high Favour with the Regent at *Glaſgow* in his Juridical Proceſſes; but when he perceiv'd it was like to come to Blows, he went off privately to the Queen, and from thence ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Morton*, by his Son, excuſing his Departure, and alleging, he might probably do the *Royaliſts* as much Service, there, as if he had ſtaid with them. His revolt, by reaſon of the good Opinion many had of his Converſation and Manners, gave great occaſion of Diſcourſe.

In the mean time, the Regent had an hot Debate in Council, Whether they ſhould ſtay, where they were, or elſe, go to the King at *Sterlin*? A great many were of opinion, that 'twas better to depart, and they urg'd Arguments for it; as, that *Hamilton* was a Town near them, full of People, and all the Clanſhips of that Family lay round about it: Beſides, the Queen had with her 500 Horſe, and it was reported, many more were making towards her from remoter Parts; whereas, with the Regent there were only a few of his own Friends, the reſt having ran away to the Queen, or gone privately home, about their own Affairs, as if all things had been quiet; and, tho the Citizens of *Glaſgow* were faithful enough, as being provok'd by the many and great Injuries they had receiv'd from the *Hamiltons*, when in Power; yet the Town it ſelf was large, not very Populous, and every way approachable. On the contrary, Others reaſon'd, That all depended on the firſt Beginning of things; That his departure would be Diſhonourable, and look like running away; That all Suſpicion of fear was *then* principally to be avoided, for they ſhould heighten their Enemies thereby, and diſcourage their Friends. On the one ſide, there were the *Cuninghams* and the *Semples*, potent Families; On the other ſide, *Lennox*, the King's peculiar Patrimony, from whence the next Neighbours might preſently come in, in a few Hours; the reſt, the next, or, at furtheſt, the Day after; In the interim, till further Aid came, they had ſtrength enough, eſpecially being aſſiſted by the Townſmen. This advice prevail'd in Council.

The *French* Embaſſador poſted betwixt both Parties, rather as a Spy, than a Peace-maker, which yet he pretended to be; for, perceiving, that there was but a ſmall Force at *Glaſgow* at firſt, and an Appearance of a great Multitude at *Hamilton*, he earneſtly excited the Queen to put it to a Battel, preſently. The Regent had gathered a party from the Neighbourbood, and expected thoſe further

The *French* Embaſſador buſy betwixt the Parties,

off from *Merth* and *Lothian*; there came in about 600 Horſe, choice and reſolute Men; he gave them one day to refreſh themſelves in, and then determined to march out to *Hamilton*, and to engage the Enemy immediately; for he believed, Delay was dangerous for him, and advantagious to the Enemy, whom the remote Parts of the Kingdom favour'd moſt. Two days after, he was inform'd, That, about the third Watch, the Enemy was drawing together from all places, where they quarter'd; they truſted to their Number, being about 6500 fighting Men, and they knew the Regent had ſcarce 4000; but they reſolved to march by *Glaſgow*, and to leave the Queen in *Dunbarton*-Caſtle, and ſo either to fight, or lengthen out the War, as they pleaſed; or, if the Regent ſhould be ſo bold as to ſtop their Paſſage, which they believed he durſt not do, they would then fight, and were confident they ſhould beat Him. But he, having determined to urge them to fight before, as ſoon as ever he could, drew out his Men into the open Field before the Town, the way that he thought the Enemy would come, and there waited for them in Battel-array, for ſome Hours: But when he ſaw their Troops paſs by the other ſide of the River, he preſently underſtood their Deſign, and commanded his Foot to paſs over the Bridg, and his Horſe to ford over the River, which they might do, it being low Water, and ſo to march to * *Langſide*, which was a Village by the River *Carth*, where the Enemies were to paſs, ſcituated in the Foot of an Hill, reſpecting the South-Weſt; on the Eaſt and North, the Paſſage was ſteep, but on the other ſide, there was a gentle Deſcent into a Plain, thither they haſtned with ſuch Speed, that the Royaliſts had neer poſſeſt the Hill, before the Enemy, who aim'd at the ſame place, underſtood their Deſign, though they march'd thither by a nearer Cut; But the Royaliſts met with Two Advantages, which was a great Diſcouragement to their Enemies; One, that *Gileſpy Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*, who commanded in chief, fell ſuddenly down from his Horſe ſick, and by his Fall, much delayed the March of his Party. The Other, that their Forces being plac'd here and there, in little Vallies, could never ſee all the Royaliſts at once, whoſe Paucity (as indeed, they were not many) made the Enemy to deſpiſe them, and the Diſadvantage of the place, too. At laſt, when the Queen's Forces drew nigh, and ſaw the Ground which they aim'd at, poſſeſt by the Enemy, they went to another little Hill over againſt them, and there divided their Party into two Bodies: Their chief Strength they plac'd in the Firſt; if they had overthrown their adverſe Party there, they knew, the reſt would be diſmaid at their Flight, and ſo they ſhould overcome them without Fighting. The King's Party alſo divided themſelves into Two Wings; *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Semple*, *Alexander Hume*, *Patrick Lindſy*, each with his Clanſhip, were placed in the Right. In the left, ſtood *John* Earl of *Marr*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, *William* Earl of *Menteith*, and the Citizens of *Glaſgow*. The Muſqueteers were in the Village and Gardens below, near the high Way. Both Armies thus placed in Battel-array, The Queens Cannoneers and Foot were driven from their Poſts by the King's Forces; on the other ſide, the King's Horſe being fewer in Number, were beat back by the Enemy;

* Two Miles South of *Glaſgow*.

A Fight between the Royaliſts and the Queen's Forces.

my; after they had performed that Service, they endeavoured alſo to break the Battalions of Foot, in order whereunto, they charg'd directly up the Hill, but were beat back by the King's Archers, and by ſome of thoſe, who after their Rout, had rallied again, and joined with the reſt of their Body: In the mean time, the left Wing of the Enemy march'd by the High-way, where there was a riſing Ground, lower down into the Vally, where, though they were galled by the King's Muſqueteers, yet paſſing by thoſe Straits, they opened and ranged their Body; there 'twas, that the two Battailions held out a thick Stand of Pikes, as a Breſt-work, before them, and fought deſperately for half an Hour, without giving Ground on either ſide; inſomuch that they, whoſe long Pikes were broke, threw Daggers, Stones, Pieces of Pikes or Lances; yea, whatſoever they could come by, into their Enemies Faces: But ſome of the hindermoſt Ranks of the King's Forces, being flying away, (whether for Fear or Treachery is uncertain) no doubt, their Flight had much diſordered thoſe who ſtood to it, unleſs the Ranks had been ſo thick, that the formoſt well knew not, what the hindmoſt did: Then they, which were in the ſecond Battailion, taking notice of the Danger, and perceiving no Enemy coming to charge them, ſent ſome whole Troops to wheel to the Right, and to join with the firſt; whereupon, the adverſe Party could not bear their Charge, but were wholly routed and put to Flight; many were ſo inrag'd with Wrath and Hatred againſt them, that there had been a notable Slaughter in the Purſuit, unleſs the Regent had ſent out Horſe ſeveral ways, to forbid the Execution: The ſecond Squadron of the Royaliſts ſtood ſo long, till they ſaw the Enemy ſcattering and flying in a diſorderly manner; then they alſo brake their Ranks and purſued. The Queen ſtood about a Mile from the Place, to behold the Fight; and, after the Diſcomfiture, fled with ſome Horſemen of her Party, who had eſcap'd out of the Battel, toward *England*; the reſt ran away as they could, each to his own home: There were but few ſlain in the Field, but more fell in the Purſuit, being wearied and wounded, all along the High-ways and Fields. The Number of the Slain, was about 300, but there were more taken Priſoners. Of the King's Forces, there were not many wounded, of the chief Commanders, none but *Alexander Hume* and *Andrew Stuart*, only one Man was ſlain; the reſt of the Army, beſides a few Horſe-men, who followed the Purſuit very far, returned joyfully into the Town; where, after giving Thanks to Almighty God, for proſpering their juſt Cauſe againſt a double Number of their Enemies, and for giving them, in a manner, an unbloody Victory, mutually gratulating one another, they went to Dinner. This Battel was fought *May* the 13*th*, eleven Days after the Queen's Eſcape out of Priſon.

Wherein the Queen is overthrown, and flies for *England*.

The *French* Embaſſador expected the Event of the Fight, and promis'd himſelf a ſure Victory on the Queen's ſide; but being thus diſappointed of his Hope, he put off his Vizard, and without taking his Leave of the Regent, to whom he pretended he was ſent, got a Party of Horſe to guide him; and, with what Speed he could, made for *England*. In the way he was robb'd by *Moſs-Troopers*;

The *French* Embaſſador ſculks away, after the Fight.

pers; but *James Douglas* Laird of *Drumlanerick*, though he knew he was of the Enemies Party, yet deferr'd ſo much to the Honour and Name of an Embaſſador, that he caus'd his Goods to be reſtored to him. The Regent ſpent the reſt of the Day of Battel, in taking a Liſt of the Priſoners; ſome he diſcharged *gratis*; others, upon Sureties; the chief Commanders were retained, eſpecially of the *Hamilton*'s Family, and ſent to Priſon. The Day after, knowing how much that Sept was envied in the Neighbourhood, he took only 500 Horſe, commanding the reſt of the Army to abide in their Quarters, and went into the Vale of *Clydiſdale*, where he found all Places naked and deſolate, the Inhabitants being run away, as rather conſcions to themſelves what they had deſerved, than confiding in the Regents Clemency, of which yet they had Experience before, he took in the Caſtles of *Hamilton* and * *Draffin*, which were naked Places, only in *Hamilton*-Caſtle, ſome of the Houſhold-Stuff of King *James* the *5th* was found. The ſame Fear and Terror drove the Queen into *England* too, either becauſe ſhe thought no Place in that Part of *Scotland* ſafe enough for her; or elſe, becauſe ſhe durſt not truſt *John Maxwel* of *Herreis*.

In *Clydſdale*.

When the Regent had ſetled all things, as well as he could at preſent, he ſummon'd an Aſſembly of the Eſtates to be held at *Edinburgh* in the Month of . . . . . The adverſe Party plotted many Ways to hinder it: Rumors were ſpread abroad of Aid from *France*, neither were they altogether without Ground: For ſome Troops were drawn down to the Sea-ſide, under the Command of the Earl of *Martigues*, a ſtout Man of the *Luxemburgh*'s Family, to be tranſported with all Speed into *Scotland*; and they had been ſo, unleſs the Civil Wars had on a ſudden broke forth in *France*. But that Aſſiſtance would not have been ſo prejudicial to the Regent, as his Enemies thought, for it would have alienated *England* from them, and engaged It to him. Moreover, *Argyle* with 600 of his Clanſhip came to *Glaſgow*, there he had a Conference with the *Hamiltonians*, and other Leaders of the Faction, to hinder the Convention, but finding no way to do it, they went every Man ſeverally home. *Huntly* alſo had gathered together a thouſand Foot, againſt the Day of the Parliaments Sitting, he came as far as *Perth*, and there perceiving that the Fords of the River *Tay*, were guarded by *William Ruven* and the Neighbouring Nobility, who remained Loyal to the King, he retired without doing any thing to Purpoſe.

Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* doth in part adopt the cauſe of the *Scots* Queen.

About the ſame time, there came alſo Letters from the Queen of *England*, obtained by the Interceſſion of the adverſe Party, to the Regent, to put off the Parliament; ſhe deſired, that Judgment might not be haſtned concerning the Rebels, till ſhe were made acquainted with the whole Cauſe; for ſhe could not well bear the Injury and Affront, which the Queen, her Neighbour, and near Kinſwoman, did pretend ſhe had received from her Subjects. Tho the Requeſt was but ſmall in it ſelf, yet, if it ſhould have been granted, at the Inſtance of the Rebels, they might have thought to have carried all; either becauſe ſuch a Trifling and Delay ſeem'd to hearten them, and weaken their Enemy, eſpecially ſeeing it might argue a Fear in the Royaliſts; and alſo, that they, in the mean

time

time, reſolv'd to Indict a Convention in the Name of the Queen. But the Regent, being ſenſible of what great Conſequence it was, to have the Parliament to ſit; yea, though all the Force of the Enemy had combin'd againſt it, reſolved to keep his Day: In that Parliament, there was a great Debate, Whether all thoſe who had took Arms againſt the King, and afterward had not obtained their Pardon, ſhould be condemn'd as Traitors, and have their Goods confiſcate. But *William Maitland*, who favoured the Rebels, but covertly, obtained, that only a few of them ſhould be condemn'd at preſent, as a Terror to the reſt; and a Door of Clemency ſhould be opened to others, if they repented. That Procedure did wonderfully incourage the Conſpirators, and increas'd their Obſtinacy, in regard, they ſaw, their Puniſhment was deferr'd, and they were verily perſuaded, that the Queen of *England* being their Queen's Neighbour and Kinſwoman, nor the *Guiſes*, who then were very powerful in the *French* Court, nor the *French* King himſelf would ſuffer ſuch an Encroachment to be made on the Royal Authority; yea, if they ſhould be deſerted by them, yet they were not ſo weak of themſelves, as not to be able to maintain their Cauſe without foreign Aid, as being ſuperior in Number and Power; ſo that nothing was wanting to the Victory, but the empty Shadow of the Royal Name, which was (ſaid they) uſurped by Force.

In the mean time, the Regent minded only the publick Peace; ſome of the Neighbouring Offenders he fined in ſmall Sums, and ſo took them into Favour; the Earl of *Rothes*, by his Friends Interceſſion, was baniſh'd for three Years; as for the reſt, he daily, by Correſpondents, ſolicited them to repent and come in; but perceiving, That many of them were obſtinate, and inclined to Revenge, he levied an Army, and march'd into *Annandale*, *Niddiſdale*, and lower *Galway*, where he took ſome Caſtles, and put Gariſons into them; others, whoſe Owners were more refractary, he demoliſh'd, and in a ſhort time, he would have ran over the whole Country, unleſs Letters from the Queen of *England* had interrupted the courſe of his Victories. She was perſuaded by the Exiles, That the Queen of *Scots* had receiv'd much Wrong; That her ill-affected Subjects had laid unjuſt Imputations on her, and That ſhe would not ſuffer the Royal Name to grow ſo cheap, or Majeſty to be ſo contumeliouſly uſed, as to be expoſed to the Wills of ſeditious Perſons. That the Wrong of this great Wickedneſs redounded only to One, but the Example to All, and therefore, ſhe deſired, they would apply ſome ſpeedy Remedy, that the Contagion of dethroning Princes might not ſpread further. Having made a great Harangue in her Letters to this purpoſe, againſt the Avengers of the King's Murder; ſhe deſired of the Regent, 'That he would ſend Commiſſio-'ners to her, to inform her in the State of the whole Matter, and 'to make Anſwer to thoſe, either Crimes or Reproaches, which 'were caſt upon, and alleged againſt himſelf. This Demand ſeemed very grievous and offenſive, That things, already judg'd, ſhould be called again in Queſtion, to a new and hazardous Trial, and that before foreign Princes, who are oft-times emulous, if not Enemies, and their Minds already prepoſſeſs'd by Adverſaries; yea, for

for a Man, as it were to plead for his own Life, before a foreign Judicature, though the Caſe was dangerous and hard, yet many Arguments induc'd him to accept of the Propoſal, though never ſo unequal. Abroad, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Queen's Uncle, rul'd all in *France*; and at home, a great part of the Nobility conſpired in behalf of the Queen; and if the Queen of *England* were diſobliged too, then he ſhould have no Force to withſtand ſo great Difficulties. Being thus reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors, he could not tell, Whom to pitch upon: The chief Nobles declining the Employment: At laſt, the Regent himſelf reſolved to go, and chuſe Companions to accompany him, amongſt whom was *William Maitland*, though much againſt his Will; but the Regent, knowing him to be a factious Man, and inclinable to the Queen's Party, did not think it ſafe to leave him behind, whilſt things were in ſuch a doubtful Poſture at home; and therefore he perſuaded him, by great Promiſes and Rewards, to accompany him, not doubting but to overcome his avaritious Mind with Largeſſes and Gifts; the reſt went willingly along: The chief were, *James Douglas*, and *Patrick Lindſy* of the Nobles; of the Clergy, the Biſhop of the *Orcades*, and the Abbat of *Dumfermlin*; of Lawyers, *James Macgil*, and *Henry Balnavey*; to whom he added a Ninth, *viz. George Buchanan*. Though theſe difficult Circumſtances did attend him, yet Two things relieved his Thoughts, One was, the Equity of his Cauſe; the Other, the laſt Letters he received from the Queen of *England*, gave him Aſſurance, that, if the Crimes objected againſt the Queen of *Scots* were true, ſhe held her unworthy to hold that Scepter any longer. The Regent was a little heartned by thoſe Letters, and with above a 100 Horſe in his Company, he began his Journy, though he had certain Intelligence brought him, that the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, at the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, watch'd to intercept him, before he got to *York*; yet *October* 4. he came to *York*, the Place appointed for the Conference, and, the ſame Day, and almoſt hour, *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, entred the City, alſo. The reaſon, why an Ambuſh was laid for the Regent, was, becauſe the Duke, by ſecret Correſpondents, was dealing with the Queen of *Scots* to marry her; and therefore, that the Suſpicion of the King's Murder might be more eaſily taken away, ſhe reſolved, if the Regent were ſlain, to return home; and alſo to take and ſuppreſs the Letters ſhe had wrote to *Bothwel*, containing a manifeſt Diſcovery of the Plot: but, becauſe the Duke was ſo near, ſhe could not ſo accompliſh it, as that he alſo might not be aſperſed with the Infamy of ſo cruel a Murder; and therefore the Plot was deferr'd till another time. Beſides *Norfolk*, there were appointed Two other Commiſſioners by the Queen of *England*, to determine the Controverſies of the *Scots*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, who inclined to *Howard*'s Party, as 'twas commonly reported, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, an indifferent and equal Perſon. Within a few days, there came Meſſengers from the Queen of *Scots*, to complain of her diſobedient Subjects, and alſo to deſire leave of the Queen of *England*, to return home, without Delay; they had their Hearing apart from the Regent, and his Attendants: Firſt, they Proteſted, that they came not before them as Judges, that had a lawful

Whereupon the Regent, with ſome others, meet the Queen of *England*'s Commiſſioners at *York*, to debate Matters.

George Buchanan accompanies the Regent into *England*.

A Plot to cut off the Regent in his Journy.

lawful Superiority over them; then they made a long Harangue, What Wrong the Queen had received from her Subjects; and after, desired of the Queen of *England*, that either she would persuade her ungrateful Subjects to admit their Prince; or, if they refused, then she would supply her with an Army, to force them so to do. After some few Hours, the Regent was heard; He stood upon the Equity of his Cause, before indifferent Judges; He pleaded, that the Royalists had done nothing, but according to the ancient Laws and Customs of their Nation, and that, in full Parliament, ratified and approved; and that he being a single Person, with those few with him, could not abrogate any thing which had been enacted by common Consent of all the Estates in Parliament. But when the *English* Commissioners told them, they could not be satisfied with those Statutes made at their Parliaments at home, and now produced, unless withal they produced the Reasons, which moved the Nobles to such a severe Judgment against the Queen: The Regent was unwilling, as much avoiding to divulge the foul Offences of the Queen, being his Sister also, and that amongst Foreigners, who were forward enough to hear them, and therefore denied to do it, unless upon these Terms, That, if he made good the Charge against the Queen, that she killed her Husband, then the Queen of *England* should stipulate and promise to defend the young King's Cause, and take him as 'twere into her Protection. But when the *English* Embassadors told them, that they had only a Commission to hear the Demands of both Sides, and so to lay the whole Matter before the Queen. The Regent again urg'd them to obtain such a Promise from their Queen, or else that they themselves should get a Commission, fully to decide the Controversy; if they would do That, he promised, that unless he did evidently make it appear, that the King was slain by his Wives Means, he would not deprecate the Punishment due to the most heinous Offence. The Commissioners wrote to the Queen to know her Mind herein; who returned Answer, 'That the *Scots* of the Royal Party should send one or 'more of their Number to her Court, who might fully acquaint her 'with the Merits of their Cause, and then she would consult, what 'was fit for her to do. Whereupon the Regent sent *William Maitland*, on whom many sinister Opinions did daily arise, and *James Macgil*, not so much to be his Assistant in publick Business, as to observe, what his Actions were. The Causes which made *Maitland* suspected were These, amongst many others: Before his Journy into *England*, though he mightily endeavoured to conceal his Designs, yet by his Words and Actions, and further, by his great Familiarity with the Men of the adverse Party; but more clearly yet, by Letters, he sent to the Queen, which were intercepted, they could not be hid. In those Letters he endeavoured to persuade the Queen, that his Service might yet be useful to her, using the Example of the Lion, as 'tis in the Fable, who, being taken in a Net, was freed by such mean Animals as Rats. And after he came to *York*, there was scarce a Night, wherein he did not meet with the chief Embassadors of the adverse Party, compared Notes with them, and acquainted them with the Designs of the Regent. The Regent

Disputes between the Commissioners of both Sides.

Upon their Disagreement, Queen *Elizabeth* avokes the Cause to *London*.

Commissioners sent to *London* by the Regent.

Maitland not true to the Regent.

did not forbid those Meetings, knowing, he should do no Good thereby, only then they would meet more secretly. Though these were manifest Evidences of his Treachery, yet casually there happen'd an undeniable Demonstration thereof. *Norfolk*, and He, went abroad, pretendedly to hunt, where they had much Discourse concerning the whole Affair, and came to this Agreement amongst themselves, to spin out the matter, if 'twas possible, and so to delay it, that, at last, nothing might be done, and yet the Cause not seem wholly deserted, neither. For, by this means, the Regent must depart, without effecting what he came for; or else, some Commotion at home would inforce him so to do, and then other Remedies might emerge, in time: For *Norfolk* was then designing a Civil War, how to take off the *One* Queen, and to marry the *Other*. *Maitland* inform'd *John Lesly*, Bishop of *Ross*, herewith, one intimately acquainted with all the Queen's Affairs, who accordingly inform'd his Mistress, by Letter, how the Duke would have her write to Court, what Course to steer for the future; and tho her Cause went but slowly on, yet that Delay should not hinder her from expecting a good Issue thereof. The Queen having read those Letters, laid them by, as loose Papers, so that they came to be read by diverse others; and, from hand to hand, were, at last, brought to the Regent, who, by them, discovered the main of his Adversaries Design against him; as for *Maitland*, he had experimented his Perfidiousness many times before.

The Regent himself comes to *London*.

When the Embassadors, before-mentioned, came to the Queen at *London*, She, and her Council, thought it best, that the Regent himself should come up, and so dispute the Controversy, by word of Mouth: Whereupon, he dismiss'd part of his Retinue, and, with the rest, went to *London*; but there he met with the same Difficulty as he had done at *York*; for he refus'd to enter upon the Accusation of the Queen, and his Sister too, unless, if he prov'd her Guilty, the Queen of *England* would take the *Scots* King's Party into her Protection; if she would do That, he would begin the Accusation immediately, upon the same Terms, as he had propounded to the Delegates at *York*. Whilst these things were acting in *London*, the Queen of *Scots*, by means of *James Balfure*, endeavoured to raise Commotions in *Scotland*; and that she might more easily accomplish her Designs, she wrote Letters to all the Exiles, and to *Bothwel*'s Friends, to contribute all their Endeavours to infest the contrary Faction by Force of Arms: And, besides, she created Lieutenants through all the Kingdom, to whom she gave even Kingly Power. And moreover, she caus'd Rumours to be spread abroad, That the Regent, and his Companions, were committed Prisoners to the Tower of *London*; and foreseeing, that Lie could not be long believed, she devis'd another, (*i. e.*) That the Regent had promis'd to subject *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*; and, That he was to give up the King, as a Pledg thereof. 'Tis thought, her Design herein, was, That, whereas she had promis'd the same things by her Commissioners; and the *English* look'd upon it, as a Vanity in her, seeing She had no power to perform it; yet she was willing to possess the Minds of the Vulgar with an Untruth, and so to raise

The Queen of *Scots* endeavours to raise Commotions in *Scotland*, in the Regent's Absence.

up

up Envy againſt the Regent; and, if ſhe could not avert the whole Reproach from her ſelf, yet, at leaſt, ſhe would have her Adverſaries bear a Part with her, therein.

When the Regent ſaw himſelf in theſe Straits, he reſolv'd to end the Matter, as well as he could, and ſo to return home: Whereupon, at the earneſt Sollicitation of the *Engliſh*, who deſir'd to know the Cauſes of the Proceedings in *Scotland*, (without which they could determine nothing;) he alſo, being deſirous to ſatisfy the Queen of *England* at that time, whom he could not offend, without great prejudice to his Cauſe; and, being willing alſo to return home to extinguiſh the Civil War, then appearing in its firſt Riſe, neither of which he could well do, unleſs the Queen of *England* was his Friend, or, at leaſt, not his Adverſary; induc'd by theſe Motives, He firſt proteſted before the Council of *England*, That 'twas not willingly, but by the importunity of his Enemies, that he was compell'd to accuſe his Queen, and ſhe his Siſter's Son too, of ſo horrid a Crime; that he did not do it out of a wanton humour to accuſe, but out of neceſſity to clear himſelf; for he was very unwilling to diſcover thoſe things, which he wiſh'd, if poſſible, might be cover'd in perpetual Oblivion; and therefore, if any Reflection were made on what he did, the Envy ought deſervedly to light upon Thoſe, who would not ſuffer him to be like Himſelf, that is, to obey his Prince chearfully, when Good; and to reprove Him, or Her, againſt his Will, when ſhe was Evil; only he deſire one Thing, That the Queen's Proxies, who had inforced him to that Diſpute, might be preſent to hear the Crimes objected; that ſo, if they were falſe, they might diſprove them before the Council; and that he himſelf, in many weighty Matters, might alſo make uſe of their Teſtimonies. The Queen's Commiſſioners refus'd this, as putting little Confidence in their own Cauſe, and inſiſted only on this one thing, That the Queen, who was, by Force of Arms, ejected, might be reſtor'd: Whereupon, a Day was appointed for the Regent to ſhew Cauſe, why the Revengers of the King's Murder had taken up Arms, (for he himſelf was then in *France*,) and had ejected the Queen from her Government, and acted other things, as, till that time, they had done. When the Time came, he declar'd the Order of all Things, as they had been acted, and the Teſtimonies of the Partiſans of the King's Murder, made before their Deaths; and alſo the Statute of Parliament, to which many of the Regent's Accuſers had ſubſcribed: And when the Silver Cabinet was produc'd, which the Queen had given her from her former Husband *Francis*, and had beſtow'd on *Bothwel*, in which were Letters to *Bothwel*, writ in *French*, with the Queen's own Hand, and alſo a *French* Poem, not unelegantly compos'd by her; and alſo the Manner of the King's Death, and, after his Death, her Surprize, and three Contracts of Marriage with him, the *One* before the Parricide, written with her own Hand, wherein, as by a Bill, ſhe promiſes to marry him, as ſoon as ever ſhe was freed from her former Husband: The *Other* was, before the Divorce from his former Wife, writ by *Huntly*'s Hand: The *Third* was openly made, a little before the Marriage. When all this was

The Regent manages his Accuſation againſt the Queen and her Party,

produc'd, ſeen, and read before the Council: The whole Fact was ſo plainly expos'd, that now no Doubt could be made, Who was the Author of it. Though the Queen of *England* could not but believe theſe Diſcoveries, yet ſhe did fluctuate in her Mind; on the one ſide, there was Emulation, Queens mutually hating one another; there were alſo ſuch great Crimes, and ſuch evident Proofs, that the Queen thought her Kinſwoman of *Scotland* deſerv'd no Aſſiſtance to reſtore her: And, though her Mind did incline to that which was right, yet 'twas ſhaken, and did heſitate, upon the remembrance of her former State, not without a Commiſeration; and beſides, the Majeſty of Kingly Honour, and a Fear, leſt the Example of driving out Princes might creep into the Neighbour-Kingdoms, wrought much upon her: Beſides, ſhe was afraid of *France*, for the Peace with them was not very ſure or firm; and then eſpecially, the *French* Embaſſador did plead the Cauſe of the baniſh'd Queen daily. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador was deſir'd alſo to interpoſe his Mediation; but the foulneſs of the Crimes did ſo deter him, that he refus'd to meddle therewith. Whereupon, the Queen of *England*, that ſhe might leave a Door for Repentance, if Matters ſhould ſucceed amiſs in *France*, and not cut off all occaſion of gratifying them, gave a middle Anſwer, ſo tempering it, that at preſent ſhe ſaid, She ſaw no cauſe to the contrary, but that all things had been acted according to Law and Juſtice in *Scotland*; yet, as if ſhe deferr'd the compleat Deciſion till another time, ſhe deſir'd, that ſeeing inteſtine Tumults did recal the Regent, he would leave here one of his Retinue in his Place, to make Anſwer to thoſe Crimes, which might be objected againſt him in his Abſence. But the Regent, who ſaw the Matter to be ſo put off, that That Queen might take her Meaſures to give Sentence for her own Advantage, and the Event of foreign Affairs, left no Stone unturn'd, that he might have the Cauſe fully determin'd, now; and therefore he deſir'd, as moſt juſt and equitable, that if his Enemies, who had long ſtudied before-hand to accuſe him, had any thing to allege, they would now produce it, and not watch an Opportunity to calumniate him in his Abſence, ſeeing they refus'd to cope with him face to face; he was not ignorant, what Rumors his Enemies would cauſe to be ſpread amongſt the People, and what they had already ſaid to ſome of the Council, and to the *French* Embaſſador; and therefore, he earneſtly deſir'd of the Council, to command them not to mutter privately, but to declare openly, what they had to ſay; and that he would not make ſuch haſte home, but that, though it were much to his own Damage, and the Publicks, yet he would willingly purge himſelf there, in preſence. Whereupon, the Commiſſioners of the baniſh'd Queen were ſent for, and demanded, If they had any thing to allege againſt the Regent or his Companions, in reference to the King's Murder, they ſhould produce it. Their Anſwer was, They had nothing at preſent, but they would accuſe them, when they were commanded by their Queen. The Regent anſwer'd, That he was always ready to give an account of all the Actions perform'd by him; neither would he ſhun either Time or Place ſo to do; yet, ſeeing the Queen began that Accuſation of him, he deſir'd of his Accu-

To the convincement of the Queen of *England*, and her Privy-Council.

Accuſers, there preſent, That if any of them had the leaſt Objection againſt him, they would then declare it; for 'twas much more noble and handſom to produce it, before ſo illuſtrious an Aſſembly, than, in private Cabals, to nibble at his Fame, in his Abſence: They alſo refuſed This. Whereupon, the whole Council cried out upon them, and, in a manner, reproach'd them, ſo that they were compell'd, ſingly and ſeverally, to confeſs, That they knew nothing of themſelves, why *Murray*, or any of his, ſhould be accus'd of the King's Murder. Then, after a long Diſpute, *pro* and *con*, the Council was diſmiſs'd, and from that time, there was never any more mention made of accuſing the Regent, or any of his Companions.

Murray acquieted from Guilt, by the Queen of *Scots*'s Commiſſioners themſelves.

Whilſt the Regent was thus neceſſarily detain'd in *England*, on a publick Account, the Queen's Faction turn'd every Stone, both at Home and Abroad, to make Diſturbances, but without effect. *James Hamilton*, who had been Regent ſome Years before, ſeeing that Things went not according to his Mind at Home, had gone long before into *France*; there he had but a few Companions, but lay privately, with a Servant or Two, to attend him, free from the hurry of all Publick Buſineſs; but when the Queen of *Scots* was eſcap'd out of Priſon, overcome in Battel, and then fled for *England*; The *French*, knowing that *Murray* was call'd Home, into his own Country, and, in his Paſſage through *France*, not being able to work him over to their Party, in regard they could not ſend Men, or Mony, to *Scotland*, to raiſe Diſturbance there, by reaſon of their own Commotions at Home; they therefore thought it moſt adviſable, to ſet up *Hamilton*, in an emulating competition with him, eſpecially at that Time, when the Regent, with part of the Nobility, were abſent, and out of the way. He was therefore drawn out of his Privacy, and accommodated with ſome few *Piſtols*, and larger Promiſes. In his return thro' *England*, his Friends perſuaded him, That, in regard the Queen of *Scots*, with her Faction, favour'd him, and the Queen of *England* was not averſe from it, he would deal with her, to perſuade *Murray*, by her Authority, to reſign his Regency to him, in regard, that Office, by the Law, and Conſent of almoſt all Nations, and eſpecially by the Cuſtom of their own Country, was due to him, as the next in Blood and Heirſhip: Neither (ſaid he) was there any great need to make a laborious ſearch into the Records of Ancient Times, for This; wherein they might eaſily find, That Governors were always appointed to their Princes, when under Age, out of the next of Kin; as when *James* the 3*d* died, in the abſence of *James* the 1*ſt*, his Uncle *Robert* manag'd the Government, and his Son *Murdac* ſucceeded *Robert*: And of late Times, *John*, Duke of *Albany*, was made Governor to King *James* the 5*th*, whilſt he was under Age: Yea, *Hamilton* himſelf had been Regent, ſome few Years, before *Mary*, now Queen, was of Age, fit to Govern, or Marry; and how he was not excluded from that Office, by any lawful Suffrages, but unjuſtly by the Rebellious; and that which increas'd the Indignity, was, That it was done in Contempt of the Blood Royal, and a Baſtard ſet up in his Room; but if the Honour were reſtor'd to him,

James Hamilton returns from *France*, and labours to embroil things in *Scotland*, hoping thereby to get the Regency from *Murray*.

The Queen of *England* tampered with by the *Hamiltonians*, to make *Hamilton* Regent.

him, in a very ſhort Time, all Domeſtick Tumults would be quieted; and the Queen, even without Blood, would recover her Crown and Dignity, again. Whereunto the King's Embaſſadors anſwer'd, 'That *Hamilton* deſir'd a Thing, not only contrary to the 'Lavvs and Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors, but, if the conſideration 'of the Law vvere omitted, yet 'twas very unjuſt in it ſelf; for our 'Anceſtors (ſaid they) by reaſon of the Slaughters of their Prin- 'ces by their Kindred, for 1300 Years ago, did vvholly change the 'Method of their Aſſemblies in making a King: For, as before, in 'the Family of *Fergus*, our firſt King, after the King's Death, it 'was not the next of Blood, but he, that was moſt fit, was choſen 'King, by Suffrage: So, *Kenneth* the *3d*, that he might take away 'all Plots againſt Princes, by thoſe of their Blood, and alſo might 'prevent the cruel and bloody Emulations of their Kindred amongſt 'themſelves, made this Decree of Succeſſion, that now is, for the 'next of Blood to inherit. And Men, by Experience, finding, that 'in ſo great an Inconſtancy of Fortune, 'twas ſcarce poſſible, but that 'ſometimes the Right of Chief Magiſtracy ſhould fall on a Child, 'or elſe, on one unable to govern; therefore they decreed, That he, 'who preceded others in Power and Wiſdom, ſhould undergo the 'Adminiſtration of the Government, in the mean time; and our 'Anceſtors, obſerving this Courſe for almoſt 600 Years, have tranſ- 'mitted down a Kingdom ſafe to us: Thus, when *Robert Bruce* died, 'there ſucceeded Regents choſen by moſt Voices, *Thomas Randolf*, 'Earl of *Murray*; *Donald*, Earl of *Marr*; *Andrew Murray*, *John Ran- 'dolf*, *Robert Stuart*; ſometimes particular Perſons, ſometimes 'more than one, were choſen, by our publick Conventions, to that 'Office: So, when *James* the Second was a Child, *Alexander 'Levingſton* was appointed his Governour, who was no way rela- 'ted to that King in Blood, no, nor a Noble Man neither, but a 'Knight only, more eminent for his Wiſdom than his Family. And 'if any ſay, That was for want of ſome of the King's Line; the 'Excuſe will not hold; for, at that very time, there was *John 'Kennedy*, chief of his Family, his Nephew, by the Siſter of '*James* the Firſt, a Man both wiſe and virtuous; there were alſo 'his Uncles, *James Kennedy*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the emi- 'nenteſt Perſon for Virtue in the whole Kingdom; and alſo his 'Brothers, the Son of the King's Aunt, *Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*; '*Archibald* alſo, Earl of *Douglas*, was not excluded from the King's 'Line, but in Power was almoſt equal to him; to be ſure, he was 'ſuperiour to all others; yet none ever complain'd of the Injuſtice 'of our Aſſemblies in ſo doing. And not long after, *James* the 'Third had four Tutors or Guardians aſſign'd him, not taken on 'the account of Alliance, but choſen by Vote. And of late, *John*, 'Duke of *Albany*, was ſent for by the Nobility out of *France*, to go- 'vern *Scotland*, in the Minority of *James* the *4th*; and when he 'came, he was ſetled in the Regency, by a publick Statute, enacted 'in a Convention of the Eſtates, which was not done on the account 'of Proximity in Blood; for he had *Alexander*, an elder Brother, one 'perhaps inferiour to him, yet far more virtuous than *James Hamil- 'ton*, who, for a ſeaſon, affected that Dignity: But, in the Abſence

The Royaliſts anſwer their Reaſons, in a large diſcourſe.

'of

'of *James* the Fifth, *Robert*, his Uncle, manag'd the Kingdom. I 'pray, by what Right? Was he aſſum'd into that Office for Pro- 'pinquity of Blood? No: Was he elected by the People? No, nor 'that neither? How was he then created? I'le tell you, how; 'When King *Robert* the Third was neither, in Body nor Mind, fit 'to manage the Kingly Office, he ſet up *Robert*, his Brother, in his 'ſtead, and commended his Children to his Care; *David*, his el- 'deſt Son, he ſtarv'd to Death; *James*, the younger, had been al- 'ſo ſlain, unleſs he had ſaved his Life by Flight: And, being thus 'ſetled in the Poſſeſſion of the Government, his Brother dying for 'Grief, he kept it, without the Conſent of the People in Parliament, 'and deliver'd it down by Hand, to his Son *Mordacus*. How *Ro-* 'bert the King, that died laſt, ſtood affected towards his Brother, 'is very plain; for, as when he was a dying, he abominated and 'curs'd him, as the Executioner of his Children; ſo, certainly if 'he had been alive, and in Health, he would not have deſigned him 'Guardian to his Children. We are ſo put in mind of that time, 'wherein, after the Death of *James* the Fifth, he himſelf was made 'Regent; (as if any thing at all was legally acted, ſince that time.) 'When Cardinal *Beton* endeavoured, by Fraud, to invade the chief 'Magiſtracy, he crept into the vacant Office, rather out of Peoples 'Hatred to *Beton*, than Love to Him; being got into it, he ruled 'with great Cruelty and Avarice; and, not many years ago, he 'ſold that Magiſtracy, which he got by Force, and the Queen too, 'then committed to his Care; therein was manifeſted, what Affe- 'ction the People bare to him, when they preferred the Govern- 'ment of a Woman-Stranger before that bitter Slavery they ſuffer'd 'under him. You ſee then, I ſuppoſe, how this Requeſt of *Ha-* 'milton's is contrary to the Laws of our Country, and the Inſtitu- 'tions of our Anceſtors; yea, ſo contrary, that for want of Argu- 'ments to maintain it, he bolſters it up only with Lies: And if 'there were any Cuſtom of this kind, all Men ſee, how unjuſt it is: 'For what can be more unequal, than to commit the innocent and 'weak Age of the Prince to his Care, who either daily expects, or 'wiſhes for, the Death of his Pupil? All whoſe Family hath born, 'and doth bear, great and laſting Enmity with the Family of the 'King, that now reigns. What Safeguard can there be here, in 'Nearneſs of Blood, againſt ancient Hatred, griping Avarice, and 'the precipitate Force of foreſtalled Tyranny? *Laodice*, Queen of 'the *Cappadocians*, is reported to have ſlain her Sons, as they came 'to Age, thus buying out, or, as it were, redeeming a ſmall Stay 'in the Government, with the innocent Blood of her own Chil- 'dren. If a Mother deſtroy'd the Fruit of her own Womb, only 'to reign a little longer, What, ſhall we think, will old Enemies 'attempt; or rather, What will they not attempt, being inflam'd 'to Cruelty, by the Stings of Avarice, againſt a Child, who is the 'only *Remora* to their Hopes of the Kingdom? And if this Exam- 'ple ſeem old, obſcure, and far-fetch'd, I will add ſome more Illu- 'ſtrious Ones, nearer hand; Who is ignorant of what was lately 'acted, how that *Galeacius Sforza* was ſlain by his Uncle *Lewis*, 'though he was of Age, and married, and the Son-in-Law, too, of

The Cruelty of *Robert* againſt his Brother's Children.

Laodice's Unnaturalneſs towards her own Children.

Galeacius Sforza's Murder, with its Conſequents.

'of a moſt powerful Prince? Who doth not know the Calamities, 'that followed upon that cruel Parricide? The brave fertile Coun-'try of *Italy* was almoſt made a Wilderneſs, thereby; The Family 'of the *Sforza*'s, from whence ſo many valiant Men proceeded, 'was extinguiſh'd; and the Barbarians were introduc'd into the 'pleaſant Country, about the *Po*; whoſe Avarice and Cruelty 'ſpoil'd all. Beſides, who is there, of the Inhabitants of *Great* '*Britain*, that hath not heard of the Cruelty of *Richard* the 3*d*, 'King of *England*, againſt his Brother's Children? And with how 'much Blood, was that Parricide expiated? If Men that were o-'therwiſe prudent, did not fear to commit ſuch things againſt their 'neareſt in Blood, excited only by the deſire of the Crown, What 'can be expected from him, whoſe Inconſtancy is well known to 'all, and whoſe ill management of the Government hath already 'coſt us ſo much Blood? Whoſe Family, not content with the Mur-'der of this King's Great Grandfather, did always work Treache-'ry againſt his Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, as long as he 'liv'd; and, as for his Grandfather by his Father's ſide, when he 'could not kill him, he drove him, poor, out of the Kingdom; his 'Father he brought forth as a Sacrifice to be ſlain; his Mother and 'the Kingdom, when they could not enjoy it themſelves, they ſold it 'to Strangers, and after, by the Providence of God, ſhe was de-'liver'd from that Bondage, they caſt her into thoſe Straits, where-'in ſhe now is. What Judgment the Subjects made of theſe things, 'may appear by this, That Men ſeem'd to themſelves deliver'd 'from the Priſon of a moſt miſerable Bondage, and to taſt the 'ſweetneſs of Liberty, when they ſold the Government, which 'they themſelves, were not able to manage, to a Woman-Stran-'ger.

The Queen of *England* declares againſt *Hamiltons* deſign for the Regency.

Upon the hearing of this Oration, the Queen told *Hamilton*, That his Demand was unjuſt, and, That ſhe would not aſſiſt him therein; but That ſhe was deſir'd by the King's Embaſſadors, not to ſuffer him to depart, (in regard he plotted nothing but Sedition) till they likewiſe went, themſelves; which, ſhe look'd upon, as a juſt thing, and therefore had promis'd them ſo to do, and thereupon ſhe charg'd him, not to depart before that time. Moreover, the baniſh'd Queen encourag'd her Friends with the hopes of her ſpeedy Return; for ſome Letters of hers were intercepted, wherein ſhe advis'd them, to ſeize upon as many Caſtles and fortified Places as they could; and ſo to diſperſe the War abroad, as far as ever they were able: Neither need they fear the noiſe of a Truce, or Accomodation, for, if Matters were ended that way, all the Offences of former times would be cover'd, and forgiven, under the umbrage of Peace: But, if it ſhould brake forth into open War, the more Gariſons they had, the greater opportunity would be put into their Hands, to hurt the Enemy.

When the Regent had ſettled Matters, as well as he could, in *England*, and had leave to return, ſome Letters were produc'd, lately intercepted, from the Queen of *Scots*, wherein ſhe complains, That ſhe was otherwiſe treated by the Queen of *England*, than ſhe her ſelf firſt expected; or, as was promis'd her, and that was done

by

by ſome Courtiers, who were the Cauſe, That ſhe was not ſent back with an Army, as, ſhe affirm'd, the Queen of *England* had promis'd Her; but ſhe did hope, ſhortly, to obtain a good iſſue another Way, (for Meſſengers often had paſſed betwixt Her, and *Howard*, about a Marriage between them) and therefore, ſhe wiſh'd them not to be diſcouraged, but to increaſe the ſtrength of their Party, to make a general Diſturbance, and, by all the Arts they could, to hinder the Regent's return into *Scotland*. Theſe Letters, being divulg'd, did affect People, ſeverally. The Queen of *England* took it ill, That ſhe was accus'd of breach of Promiſe; as alſo, That the Conditions of the Truce, made by her means, were not kept: and therefore, being very angry and inrag'd, ſhe remitted much of her ancient Favour to the *Scot's* Queen, and was more inclin'd to Equity, than before. The *Engliſh*, who wiſh'd well to the Regent, were afraid that his Enemies would way-lay him to do him a miſchief in his Journy; for in the Countries, which he was to paſs thrô, there were either, for the moſt part, Papiſts, or elſe Thieves, inhabiting the Borders of both Kingdoms, who were all excited to hope for a ſudden Change; and 'twas plain, they were dealt with to intercept him in his Return, and therefore abundance of the *Engliſh* Courtiers offer'd him their aſſiſtance to ſecure his Paſſage; but he was contented only with his own Retinue, and about the 13*th* of *January*, began his Journy: But the Queen of *England*, judging it to be for her own Credit and Honour, that he ſhould return in Safety, had of her own accord written to the Commanders and the Warden of the Marches, That, when he came to places ſuſpected, or noted for Robbery; They ſhould take care, that he might not be circumvented; And they were very careful therein, for ſtrong Guards of Horſe and Foot were plac'd about the Way, ſo that he came ſafe to *Berwick*, and, the day after, which was the 2*d* of *February*, he was conducted home to *Edinburgh*, to the great joy of his Friends; who, in great Numbers, were there Aſſembled. His Enemies did hardly believe his coming at firſt, becauſe falſe Reports had been cauſeleſly ſpread, that he was ſhut up Priſoner in the Tower of *London*; But when it was certainly known, that he was at *Edinburgh*: Thoſe, who had beſet the High-ways to intercept Paſſengers, let go their Priſoners, and ſlipt away Home; So that, immediately from a turbulent Tempeſt, there grew a great Calm.

A Marriage deſigned between the Queens of *Scots* and *Howard*.

Buds of diſcontent between the Queens of *England*, and *Scotland*.

The Regent honourably diſmiſt from *England*, and arrives in *Scotland*.

A few Days after, the Nobles of the King's Party had a great Meeting at *Sterlin*, there the Tranſactions with the Queen of *England* were opened and highly approv'd, by the conſent of all there Preſent. About the ſame time, *James Hamilton*, chief of his Family, came out of *England*, who, by a new, and unheard of, Pretence and Arrogance, was adopted, as a Father, by the Queen of *Scots*, and made Lieutenant of the Kingdom. He declar'd his Commiſſion, and forbad the People to obey any, but Thoſe ſubſtituted by him; Whereupon, the Royaliſts diſburſt Sums of Mony to raiſe Forces, and to prepare to fight, if need were: And accordingly, at an appointed Day, they met at *Glaſgow*, but ſeeing the Country came not in to *Hamilton*, according to his Expectation, by

The Tranſactions of the Regent with the Queen of *England*, confirmed by the Nobility of *Scotland*.

Hamilton forced to ſubmit to the Regent; the Mediation of his Friends, Terms of Agreement were propounded, whereupon *Hamilton* was commanded to come to *Glaſgow*, to acknowledg the King, as chief Magiſtrate: If he did That, the reſt would be eaſily accorded; if he refus'd, it was in vain for him to come. He, by the advice of his Friends that were with him, being forſaken by his Clanſhips, and terrifi'd by the near approach of his Enemies Army, reſolv'd to comply with Neceſſity, and to promiſe all that was deſir'd; but when the Forces of the Royaliſts were disbanded, then he would conſult his Advantage, at leiſure. When they came to *Glaſgow*, a Day was appointed, wherein they and their Friends ſhould profeſs their Allegiance to the King, and ſo recover their old Eſtates and Honours; In the mean time, they were to remain in Priſon, or, to give in Hoſtages, of their Kindred, for their forth-coming. This alſo was added to the Conditions, That all of the ſame Party might come in, if they pleas'd, on the ſame

So is *Argyle*. Terms. *Argyle* and *Huntly* refus'd to ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles, either out of anger to *Hamilton*, that he had given up himſelf to his Enemies Hands, without asking their Advice; or elſe, becauſe they thought to obtain for themſelves more eaſie Terms of Peace, in regard of their Power; or elſe, being incourag'd by frequent Letters from *England*, they were eaſily inclin'd to That, they had moſt mind to. For, whilſt theſe things were acted in *Scotland*, Letters came from the exiled Queen, containing large Promiſes, and willing them not to be terrifi'd with vain Threats, for ſhe ſhould ſhortly be with them, with a great Army. Their Minds were ready to receive this News; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Queen was kept with a looſer Guard than ordinary; and there was

Hamilton's Tergiverſation; daily talk of her Marriage with *Howard*. When *Hamilton* was come to *Edinburgh*, at the Day appointed, he eluded his Promiſe, by various Poſtulations and Pretences, making many Delays; as, that the reſt of his Party ſhould come together, and ſo be all comprehended at once in one Agreement: And alſo, that they might ſend to the Queen to know her Mind; and to this end he deſir'd to defer the Matter, till the *10th* day of *May*. To this his plain Mockery, they anſwer'd, That 'twas to no purpoſe for him to expect *Argyle* and *Huntly*, for they had declar'd, they would manage their Concerns apart. As for the Queen, 'twas demanded, if ſhe did not approve the Capitulation, what they would do. Then *Hamilton* anſwer'd ingenuouſly enough, but not ſo prudently for the time, That he was compell'd to thoſe Conditions, by the Force and Terror of an Army, and that if he were left free to himſelf, he would not ſubſcribe any thing thereof; This their Baffle being open-

For which he is impriſoned. ly diſcover'd, The Regent committed *Hamilton* and *Maxwel* to *Edinburgh* Caſtle. The reſt of the Diſpute was about *Argyle* and *Huntly*. For *Argyle*, whilſt the Regent was in *England*, came to *Glaſgow*, to conſult about publick Affairs, with about 1500 Men in his Company; Thither alſo came many of the neighbour Countries of the ſame Faction; where they differ'd in their Opinions, and agreed in nothing, but only to diſturb the Publick Peace. The *Hamiltonians* deſir'd of *Argyle*, That, in regard the Inhabitants of *Lennox* were firm to the King's Cauſe, he would vex them, by

driving

driving away Preys from them, that ſo he might draw them, tho unwilling, to his Party; or elſe, might ſo impoveriſh them, that they might not much advantage their own Party. When *Argyle* had communicated the thing to the Council of his Friends, not one of them favour'd his Deſign; For they remembred, That for many Years, the *Lennoxians* had been much addicted to *Argyle*, and that there were many Alliances, between them. Moreover, ſaid they, Why are the *Argyle* Men nearer to the *Lennoxians*, than the *Hamiltonians*, ſeeing they lie in the middle betwixt them Both? why then ſhould they put a Service, ſo full of *odium*, upon him? Seeing it was their own Affair, principally; let them appear *firſt* in it, and then *Argyle* would not be wanting; He would be a Companion, not a Leader, in ſuch a plundering Expedition. When that Aſſembly had held ſome Days, it was diſſolv'd, without doing any thing, and *Argyle* return'd, thrô *Lennox*, which was his neareſt way, without doing them any hurt; which Moderation of his did indear him, even to the chief of the oppoſite Faction, and made his Pardon more eaſily obtainable.

But *Huntly* had indeavour'd to break thrô *Mern*, *Angus*, and *Strath-earn*, in the Regents abſence, having plunder'd the Country, and prey'd their Caſtle, and, ranging over the neighbour Places, had appointed *Crawford* and *Ogilby* his Lieutenants about *Dee*; Uſurping alſo all the Power of a King. That Carriage of his made his Reconciliation the more difficult. Theſe two Men, ſeeing their Concerns were ſeveral, had a Council aſſign'd, to meet at St. *Andrews*. Thither *Argyle* came firſt: He was eaſily reconcil'd; for, that Year, and the Former, he had committed no hoſtile Act; and beſides, he was the Regent's Kinſman, and, from his Childhood, his great Acquaintance, and familiar Friend; So that all he requir'd of him, was, an Oath to be Faithful to the King for the future; which if he were not, beſides the uſual puniſhment of the Law, he did not deprecate, but that he was to be accounted the baſeſt Perſon living; the reſt alſo were admitted into Favour, upon the ſame Oath, but on far different Conditions. But *Huntly*'s Caſe, before his Arrival, was long debated in Council. For, whereas in *England*, the Marriage of the Exile Queen with *Howard* was carry'd on, and their coming into *Scotland* was privately deſign'd; their Faction there did, by degrees, take heart, and incourage the Rebellious to Diſobedience: For, if Matters were put into a Confuſion, they thought, the new King would have an eaſier entrance to poſſeſs the Kingdom; Wherefore, when they knew, That the Regent would not be perſuaded to betray the King, as being his Guardian and Uncle, they endeavour'd, by all means, to abridg his Power. For, beſides Thoſe, that openly took Arms againſt the King, a great part of the Counſellors, did not now, as heretofore, favour *Huntly* in ſecret, but openly; they pleaded for him, might and main, That he ſhould be indemnified for what was paſt; for that was the readieſt and ſafeſt way to Agreement; yea, 'twas more creditable for the State, to heal civil Breaches without Violence, and not to proceed to forfeiture of Goods or loſs of Life; and, by this means, Peace might be obtain'd at Home and Renown Abroad. But if a military Courſe

Various Diſputes about admitting *Huntly* to a Reconciliation, with Arguments *Pro* and *Con*.

were taken, they muſt fight with a Man, who, by reaſon of his ancient Power, his great Alliance; and by his many Clanſhips, was very formidable; and if he were overcome, (which yet was uncertain) yet he might fly to the *Highlands* and Mountainous Deſerts, or to foreign Kings; where, out of a ſmall ſpark of Diſguſt, a mighty flame of War might, in time, be kindled. On the other ſide, 'twas alleged, That the War would not be ſo formidable, as ſome imagin'd. For his Father, tho he had the Report of a very prudent Man, even whilſt his Force was intire, was yet eaſily ſubdued; and therefore, this young Man, whoſe Power was not yet eſtabliſh'd, and beſides, was diſcourag'd by the recent calamity of his Family, was never able to bear up againſt all the Power of the Kingdom, and the Majeſty of the Kingly Name too; and, if he were overcome in fight; or, if diſtruſting his Forces, he fled to the Mountains, there were Thoſe, who, by the ſame Largeſſes, as he had firm'd them for his Service, or by greater, might be induc'd either to kill him, or to betray him to the Regent. *For the Faith of Mercenaries is changed with Fortune, they follow the Proſperous, and forſake the Afflicted.* As for foreign Kings, *They eſteem'd Men, according to their Power, neither were they concern'd for anothers Miſery, but reſpected only their own Advantage.* But if any King of another Kidney ſhould be ſo Courteous and Merciful, as to entertain a Fugitive, and a Beggar too; yet now, the Times were ſuch as did cancel that fear. For *England*, alone, of all *Europe*, was the Country, which enjoy'd a flouriſhing Peace, and That favour'd the King's Cauſe; but other neighbour Kingdoms were ſo buſied with domeſtick Diſſenſions, that they had no time to look Abroad; And if they had leiſure ſo to do, yet there was ſome ground of Hope, That Equity would prevail more with them, than Mercy towards Exiles, who were Rebels to their own Kings, and Faithleſs to the Kings of other Nations; As for the Indemnity, which, they ſay, will declare our Clemency; it will rather be an Argument of our Negligence, in regard, a juſt Combate being declin'd thrô Fear, a War is imprudently nouriſh'd under a pretence of Peace, and that an unjuſt pretence too, which would incourage the creſt-fallen Spirits of the Rebels, and weaken the chearful endeavours of the King's beſt Friends. For, how do you think, will both Parties ſtand affected; When the one ſide ſees, That all is lawful for them, without preſent puniſhment, and ſo they hope it will be for the future? And the other ſees perfidious Enemies to enjoy the Rewards of their wicked Crimes, themſelves robbed of all their Goods, and vexed with all the Calamities of War; and whereas they expected a Reward for their Faithfulneſs and Conſtancy, inſtead thereof to be puniſh'd for their Love to their King and Country; And therefore, who can doubt, but that, if Matters hereafter come to Arms, (which of neceſſity they muſt do, unleſs this Fire be now quenched, before it break forth) who, I ſay, can doubt, but that Party will be ſtrongeſt, which thrives by its Wickedneſs, and who may do all things with Impunity, rather than the other, who muſt ſuffer all injuries offer'd to them forcibly, *gratis?* And if thoſe Inconveniencies did not attend this vain ſhew of Clemency; yet, neither the Regent, nor the King himſelf,

Sententious Maximes in Policy.

could

could lawfully *ſo* Pardon, as to give away the Goods of the Robbed to their Plunderers: If they ſhould do that, They muſt lay down the Perſons of Rulers, and take upon them the habit of Spoilers, too; if ſuch a Condition ſhould be granted, it were much more Cruel, for People to be deſpoil'd of their Eſtates by Kings, *the Granters of Indemnity*, than by their very Enemies, and Toryes themſelves, that robbed them. Many things having been alternately canvas'd, and alleged, to this purpoſe, on either ſide: Thoſe which were for his Indemnity were out-voted, by a few Voices. The Regent declar'd, That, for Peace-ſake, he was very willing to Pardon the private wrongs done to himſelf and the King; but, for the Injuries offer'd to particular Perſons, he neither could, nor would, Pardon them: But if *Huntly* and thoſe Friends of his, who follow'd his Party, could make ſome Terms of Agreement with thoſe they had plunder'd, he was very willing, by the Conſent of both Parties, to appoint Arbitrators, who might adjuſt the value of the Loſſes.

Yet, at laſt the Regent pardons him, upon Terms.

Peace, as 'twas thought, being ſettled on theſe Conditions, there was another Diſpute aroſe, ſeemingly ſmall, but manag'd with greater eagerneſs, than before; The Controverſy was, Whether Pardon were to be given to all of *Huntly*'s Party, promiſcuouſly? or, Whether every Mans Cauſe and Deſert ſhould be conſider'd, apart? Some were of Opinion, that, becauſe they thought *Huntly* was dealt hardly with in being inforc'd to pay Damages to the Sufferers, that it was equitable to indulge him here, and not to preſs ſo ſeverely, as to diſoblige his Followers, alſo: On the other ſide, 'twas alleged, That the chief aim, in ſuch kind of Wars, was, to diſſolve Factions, and that could not be done eaſily, any otherwiſe, than if the judgment of Pardon or Puniſhment did reſide in the Breaſt of the Prince alone: All Men underſtand, how unjuſt it is, to impoſe an equal Fine on Thoſe, whoſe Offences are unequal; and that the adjuſting of the Puniſhment, ſhould be left to *Huntly* himſelf, was, by no means, fit, for he ('twas probable) would exact the lighteſt Mulct from the greateſt Offenders; and would lay almoſt the whole Burden upon ſuch as were leaſt Nocent; in regard, in impoſing Puniſhment, he would not weigh each Man's Merit, but rather his Propenſity to his Service; and as any Man had been more fierce and cruel in the War, ſo he would obtain from him an higher Place in his Favour. On the other ſide, the lighteſt Offenders would have the ſoreſt Puniſhment, and they, which were leſs active in Wickedneſs, ſhould be fined for their Moderation, and Favour, towards the King. Theſe Reaſons ſo prevail'd with the Council, that they decreed to weigh every Man's Caſe apart; and yet, that they might ſeem to gratify *Huntly* in ſome thing, his Domeſticks were exempted, he was to lay a Fine on them himſelf, as he pleas'd; But that which he moſt deſir'd, that the Regent ſhould not come with an Army into the North-parts, was abſolutely refus'd him.

Things being thus ſettled with *Huntly* at St. *Andrews*; the Regent, with two Bands of Souldiers, and a great Number of his Friends, went firſt to *Aberdeen*, then to *Elgin*, at laſt to *Inverneſs*:

The

The Inhabitants near the Town were commanded to appear, they obeyed the Summons, ſome paid down their Mony, impoſed as a Fine on them, others gave Sureties: *Huntly*, and the chief of his Septs and Clanſhips, put in Hoſtages. Thus having ſettled the Country towards the North, being highly gratulated by all good Men, through all his March, he return'd to St. *Johnſton*'s; there an Aſſembly of the Nobility was Indicted, by reaſon of Letters, which *Robert Boyd* had brought out of *England* to the Regent at *Elgin*; ſome of them were publick, ſome were private; the private ones were from ſome Courtiers in *England*, containing a Relation of *Howard*'s Conſpiracy, which was ſo ſtrong and cunningly laid, that they thought no Force or Policy could withſtand it, no, not if all the remaining Power of Britain were united together: Therein his Friends exhorted him not to mingle his own flouriſhing Fortune with the deſperate Eſtate of others, but to provide for himſelf and his Concerns, yet unimpair'd, apart.

Letters from *England*, declaring the Intrigues between the Q. of *Scots* and *Howard*.

The State of Affairs in *England* compels me here a little to digreſs; becauſe, at that time, the Good and Ill of both Kingdoms were ſo conjoin'd, that the one cannot well be explained without the other. The *Scots*, a few Years before, were delivered out of the Slavery of the *French* by the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, and thereupon they obſerved and ſubſcribed to the ſame Rites in Religion, in common with the *Engliſh*; that ſudden Change of things ſeemed to promiſe an univerſal Quietneſs to all *Britain*, free from all domeſtick Tumults: But preſently thereupon, the Pope of *Rome*, with the Kings of *France* and *Spain* threatned a War, and privately managed Deſigns to alter things. The Pope was not wanting, by his Exhortations and Promiſes, to ſtir up their Minds already inraged; but the Kings were not ſufficiently agreed amongſt themſelves; and their Forces were ſo exhauſted, that they rather deſired a War, than were able to make it. Beſides, there was an Emulation betwixt them, one could not well bear, that the other ſhould have ſo great an Acceſſion as *England*, if it were conquered, to his Dominions. Moreover, ſome Diſputes aroſe betwixt Them and their Subjects, which diverted their Thoughts from foreign Affairs, though the Novelty of a Woman's Reign, and ſhe a young Woman too, without an Husband, gave Encouragement thereto, (eſpecially ſince thoſe who were ill affected to her, ſaid ſhe was born to *Henry* the 8*th* in an unlawful Marriage) and alſo the former Differences about the Kingdom, and about Religion, were rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed; yea, the Sparks of Diſcontent did glow in Mens Minds, which in a ſhort time were likely to break forth into a great Flame.

In the mean time, the *Engliſh* Papiſts had made many Attempts, but in vain, for they were ſoon quell'd; and though their Deſigns never ſucceeded, yet, Foreigners ſtill feeding them only with blooming Hopes, not with real Supplies, they ſtill perſiſted in the ſame reſolute Deſign, wanting rather a Commander for their Numbers, than Power or Courage to come together. The Common People of that Sect had taken a View of all the Nobility, and they found none fit enough, to whom they might commit their Lives

and

and Fortunes; many of the moſt ſtirring, had been conſumed in the Civil Wars; many had paſt over to the other Party; ſome were ſo old, that they were unfit for publick Buſineſs; or elſe, the Vigor of their Minds, as well as the Strength of their Bodies, was ſo debilitated, that they deſired Peace, if it were but a tolerable one. There was only one Man, who for Courage and Power ſeemed fit to undertake ſo great a Buſineſs, and that was *Thomas Howard*, who though he was of himſelf inclinable to Quietneſs, yet there were ſome Cauſes which moved him to ſtudy Innovations; For his Father and Grand-father, though they had been highly eminent, both in War and Peace, yet, in the Storms of an unſtable Court, they had been ſo toſs'd, that their higheſt Glory was ballanc'd with as great Diſgrace. His Father was condemn'd for Treaſon, and publickly beheaded; and Two Queens, his Kinſwomen, had been alſo put to Death; He in thoſe Difficulties was liberally brought up, and ſo preſerved his Family from being quite extinguiſh'd, and blown up: In his very Youth, he gave a Specimen of great Prudence, and in a few Years, by the Death of his Wives, and by new Marriages, he grew ſo rich, that, next to the Queen, he was the moſt potent of the *Engliſh*; for Wealth and Prudence, the reſt of the Nobility yielded to him; but as for his Skill in Military Matters he had yet given no Proof of his Valor; but in the Controverſies of Religion, he carried himſelf ſo ſwimmingly and ambiguouſly, that, tho he favoured Popery in his Heart, yet he was ſuch a Foſterer of the contrary Party, that Many of them made ſure of him, in their Thoughts, as their Own.

Amids theſe things, the Queen of *Scots* was overcome in Battel and fled to *England*, whence ſhe wrote Letters to that Queen, concerning the cauſe of her coming; ſhe was bid by her to retire to the Houſe of the Lord *Scroop*, Warden of the Marches, till ſhe did conſider of her Demands in Council; *Scroop*'s Wife was *Howard*'s Siſter, and, by her Means, the Treaty of Marriage was ſecretly begun betwixt the Queen and *Howard*, and the Opportunity ſeemed to be offered by God himſelf, ſeeing *Howard*'s third Wife was lately dead, and he was then a Widower. The Deſign was concealed, as being intruſted but to a few, yet 'twas whiſper'd abroad among the Common People; *For narrow Spirits cannot conceal great Hopes, but Joy gives them Vent, and ſo they fly abroad.* The Matter was ſo far advanc'd, That the Fire of a Civil War ſeemed ready to break out, yea, ſome were ſo confident of Succeſs, after they had conſidered the Strength of the Parties, that they thought *Howard* might eaſily do what he pleaſed, without uſing any Force.

Queen of *Scots* confined to the Lord *Scroop*'s Houſe, in the North of *England*.

Things were in this Poſture, when the *Scots* Nobles had a great Meeting at *Perth*, to hear the Demands of both Queen's, both of them having wrote to them. The Queen of *England*'s Letters propoſed one of theſe Three Conditions. The firſt was abſolute, That the Queen might be reſtored to her Throne and Dignity, as formerly. But if that could not be granted, Then, that ſhe might reign jointly with her Son, that ſo ſhe might injoy Princely Honour in Letters and publick Acts; in the mean time, the Regency ſhould be in the Hands of the preſent Regent, till the King came to the

Letters from both Queens to the *Scots* Nobles, read and debated.

Age

Age of seventeen. If neither of those could be obtained, then the third Condition, was, (if the Queen could be perſuaded to accept of it) That ſhe ſhould live privately at home, being content with thoſe Honours, which, ſaving the Authority and Majeſty of the King, might be granted to her. This laſt Requeſt was eaſily aſſented to, if the Queen would accept it; But the other Two were peremptorily refuſed. For the better and more incorrupt Part of the Nobility were reſolute in this, That they neither could, nor ought, to determine any thing, which did diminiſh the King's Authority, eſpecially being lawfully inthron'd; but the two former Heads did take off from the King's Honour, yea, it expoſed his Life too, being a Pupil, unleſs it could be thought, that his Mother, who was known to be cruel towards her Husband, and was not well affected toward her Son neither, being exaſperated by her Baniſhment beſides, ſhould be no more kind to him, than ſhe had been ever before. Alſo the Letters from the exil'd Queen were read, wherein ſhe deſired, That ſome Judges might be appointed to conſider of her Marriage with *Bothwel*; and if 'twas found contrary to Law, that ſhe might be divorced from him. Thoſe Letters did highly incenſe the King's Party, becauſe ſhe wrote her ſelf as Queen, and commanded them as Subjects: Yea, ſome would not have had them anſwered at all, becauſe they indeavoured to abridg the King of his Power, and to inſtate the Rule in the ſole Power of an exil'd Queen; but that Part of the Council which was for the Queen, alleged, that they wondered much, why thoſe who had formerly, the laſt Year, much deſired, that ſhe would ſeparate her Cauſe from *Bothwel*'s; now when it was freely offer'd to them, ſhould hinder it as eagerly, (or rather more) as they had before earneſtly deſired it; if a Word or two in the Letters did diſpleaſe them, that Fault might eaſily be amended; yea, ſome there were, who undertook (provided the Matter of the Divorce might be handled in the mean time) to procure a Commiſſion from her, in what Expreſſions they themſelves would have it: On the contrary, the adverſe Party urg'd, That they ſaw no new Cauſe of ſuch great haſte, 60 days was but a lawful time for *Bothwel*, who was out of the Kingdom, to appear; within which time a new Commiſſion might be ſent: Neither ought that Delay to ſeem long, eſpecially to her, who had paſt over ſo great a Matter in Silence, now two Years; and now alſo ſhe had ſent Letters, which were of themſelves an Hindrance, why thoſe who were willing to gratify her, could not comply with them; but if ſhe deſired a Divorce, 'twas eaſy to be obtained; let her but write to the King of *Denmark*, deſiring him to puniſh the Murderer of her former Husband; if he were dead, though they all were unwilling, yet ſhe might marry where and whom ſhe pleaſed; but if ſhe refuſed This, then 'twas plain, ſhe ſpake not ſincerely and from her Heart, but made a counterfeit Pretence of Divorce, that, if ſhe married again, ſhe might alſo live in a diſputable and uncertain Matrimony, even with her next Husband, too: And hereof there was a ſhrewd Suſpicion, becauſe ſhe deſired ſuch Judges to determine of the Divorce, who had no Power in the Caſe. For what Power could the Regent have over Exiles, with whom

whom he had nothing at all to do, who, unleſs they themſelves pleaſed, might refuſe to ſtand to his Judgment; or, how ſhould they ſubmit to anothers Judgment, who were under the Power and Dominion of other Princes; but, ſeeing that there ſeem'd to be ſome hidden Fraud in the Caſe, a Deciſion was not to be haſtily made, but the Queen of *England* was to be acquainted therewith, in whoſe Power it was, either to promote or hinder it. Hereupon, a Young Nobleman of the Regent's Friends was ſent to the Queen of *England*, to acquaint her with the Acts of the Convention. Some may perhaps wonder, That ſeeing greater Matters were tranſacted with leſs Diſpute, there ſhould be ſuch ado made about the Divorce: But this was the cauſe of it; *Howard* had privately tranſacted by his Friends, concerning his marrying the Queen of *Scots*; and the Conſpiracy was ſo ſtrong both at home and abroad, That 'twas bruited among the Vulgar, the Deſign was, to take away both of the lawful Princes, and ſo to ſeize on the two Kingdoms, for themſelves; the Place, Time, and the Whole of the Deſign was ſo ordered, that all things ſeem'd to be ſecure againſt any Force whatſoever. The Conſpirators did moſt inſiſt on This, To remove what might hinder the Marriage: If that were done, they ſeemed ſecure, that all the reſt ſhould fall in of it ſelf. On the contrary, They which were for the King, made it their chief Buſineſs to caſt in Rubbs to delay it; for, in the Interim, many ſecret Deſigns might in time be diſcovered, and the Conſpiracy prevented by the Care of both Princes.

In this Poſture of Affairs, the Decree of the *Scots* Council was brought to the Queen of *England*; but ſhe, alleging, ſhe was not ſatisfied with that Anſwer, and the Meſſenger did not ſeem to her a fit Perſon with whom ſhe might confer, in ſo dangerous a time, and about ſuch weighty Matters, deſired to be better inform'd by the *Scots* of thoſe Matters. Whereupon there was another Aſſembly of the Nobility Indicted at *Sterlin*, where they drew up this Anſwer, 'That, as for the laſt of her Requeſts it might admit a Con-'ſultation, in order to an Agreement; but the ſecond was of that 'kind, that no Conſultation at all could be admitted, on that 'Head, without manifeſt Impiety, in regard it would not only di-'miniſh, but even extirpate, the Royal Authority: For, beſides 'that all Partnerſhip in Supream Magiſtracy is dangerous; how 'can Two be equally join'd in Government, whereof *One* was a 'Youth, ſcarce out of his Infancy; the *Other* a Woman in the 'prime of her Age, of a crafty Diſpoſition, having paſt through 'Variety of Fortunes, who, as ſoon as ever ſhe can creep into Part 'of the Government, will, by the Strength of that Faction, which, 'though ſhe was removed by a publick Decree from the Admini-'ſtration thereof, do yet labour to introduce her, not by Entreaties, 'but Threats; or elſe by corrupting the King's Enemies; or, laſtly, 'by foreign Souldiers, whom ſhe is now buſy to procure, ſoon 'derive the whole Authority to her ſelf? How will ſhe indure, that 'an Infant ſhould be equall'd with her, who would not be match'd 'even with her Husband? Beſides, if ſhe ſhould marry ſome po-'tent Man, (ſuch a Matter being now on Foot) her Strength

The *Scots* anſwer Q. *Elizabeth's* Letter.

'would be doubled, and her Husband (as of Neceſſity he muſt) 'be admitted into Part of the Government; perhaps, he would not 'willingly ſuffer, that his Children ſhould be prevented in the Succeſſion by a Son-in-Law; and then, in what a Caſe would the 'Child be? What if his Friends (as all Men are inconſtant) ſhould 'prefer a preſent Largeſs, before their future Hope, and ſo ſide with 'the ſtrongeſt? What can attend the Child, being now thruſt down 'into the ſecond, and anon into the third Place, but utter Ruin? 'As for other things, they had rather leave them to her private 'Thoughts to meditate upon, than to make a previous Conjecture, 'What an angry Woman having Power in her Hands, prompted by 'the Imperious Counſels of her Uncles, having evidenc'd her Cru'elty towards her Husband, being alſo exaſperated by her Baniſh'ment, would attempt againſt a Child, eſpecially when ſtript of 'all Aid of Nature and Providence, and expoſed as a Sacrifice to 'her Rage? And what Life would his Friends live, by whom ſhe 'thought ſhe was ſo grievouſly wrong'd? Beſides, what would the 'State of Religion be, when ſhe could vent that Rage, which in 'former time her Fear had concealed, eſpecially if an Husband, of 'known Arrogance, ſhould further excite her innate Cruelty? 'How eaſily might his Friends be deſtroyed, when the young King 'was ſlain; or elſe, how ſoon might the King be ſubverted, when 'he had loſt his Friends? For theſe Reaſons, the Queen could not be 'aſſumed into a Part of the Government, without evident De'ſtruction to the King's Affairs. Matters ſtanding thus, there was 'no need to ſpeak any thing to the firſt Head of her Demands.

Petcarn ſent Embaſſador into *England*, to ſatisfy Q. *Elizabeth*.

Robert Petcarn was ſent to carry this Anſwer into *England*, a Man of no leſs Prudence than Loyalty; and he came to that Court in the very nick of time, when the Conſpiracy to kill the Queen, and to ſeize on both Kingdoms, was diſcovered and made known. The Plot was ſo ſtrongly laid, That the Queen of *England* began to be afraid of her ſelf, and after ſhe had impriſoned *Howard* in the Tower of *London*, ſhe durſt not proceed to puniſh the Queen of *Scots*, but was conſulting to ſend her, by Sea, to the Regent of *Scotland*; but when the Storm was a little over, that Deſign did not hold.

In the mean time, the Regent, in regard the Power of the adverſe Faction did mightily increaſe, ſends for *William Maitland*, who was a great Incendiary to the Conſpiracy, from *Perth* to *Sterlin*; he, being conſcious of his Guilt, though he had experienc'd the Regent's Lenity to all his Friends, even in the greateſt Offences, yet made no great haſte to come; till having before ſifted out, by his Friends, if any Deſign were form'd againſt him; he dealt alſo with the Earl of *Athol*, to go with him, that, if need were, he might uſe him as his Interceſſor: As he was ſitting in Council at *Sterlin*, *Thomas Crawford*, a Dependant of the Earl of *Lennox*'s, accuſed him of having an hand in the King's Murder: Whereupon, he was commanded to be kept cloſe Priſoner in a Chamber in the Caſtle; whilſt others were ſent to apprehend *James Balfure*, who was abſent. The wiſer ſort would have had them both proceeded againſt according to Law, as having been the Authors of all the Tumults,

that

that had happened for ſome Years; and, as they were privy to the Murder of the laſt King, ſo they were Leaders of the Faction againſt her Son: But the Lenity of the Regent overcame all Conſideration of Publick Good; ſo that it prov'd calamitous to his Country, and fatal to Himſelf: *Balfure*, by his Friends Mediation, obtained Pardon for his Conſpiracy, though lately entred into; and *Maitland* was brought to *Edinburgh*, into a Lodging not far from the Caſtle, ſome Horſemen were appointed to guard him, under the Command of *Alexander Hume*, a Young and active Noble-Man; but *William Kircade*, Governor of the Caſtle, about ten a Clock at Night, brought counterfeit Letters to *Alexander*, (as if they had been the Hand-Writing of the Earl of *Murray*,) which commanded him to deliver *Maitland* into his Cuſtody: He, knowing in how great Favour *Kircade* was with *Murray*, readily obeyed, and thus *Maitland* was carried into the Caſtle by the Governor, who, even till then, had privily been of the Enemies Party; the Nobility much ſtorming at it; and almoſt doubting, Whether they ſhould impute ſo great an Offence to *Kircade*, or to the Regent himſelf, as one not ignorant of his Audacity; and the matter had come to a Sedition, if the Sanctity of his whole Life had not outballanc'd all Imputations of Reproach: 'Tis true, *Kircade* was a valiant Man, and accounted, till that time, a faithful Obſerver of Friendſhip, and as he had received many other Courteſies from the Regent, ſo he had been lately preferr'd by him to the Government of the Caſtle, before his other Friends and Kindred; though the Prudenter ſort did, even then, ſuſpect him; but ſuch was the Indulgence of the Regent, towards thoſe whom he once lov'd, That he could not be ſevere to them, though catch'd in the very Act of Offending. *Kircade*, the next day, was ſent for by the Regent, but refuſed to come; and 'twas an unlucky Opportunity, for then *Howard* and the Queen were daily expected; and thereupon, the Spirits of the adverſe Faction incouraged; ugly Reports were commonly ſpread abroad, That the Regent was forſaken by his intimate Friends, in ſuch a doubtful time; and ſo the Caſtle being held againſt him, he was left to his Enemies Will, others being likely to follow ſo leading an Example very ſhortly; when their Governor was taken away, the innocent King and his Favourers would be delivered up to thoſe Puniſhments, which the crueleſt Tyrants could deviſe; yet, the Regent was not moved by their Speeches, but, the next Day, went to the Caſtle, and ſpoke to the Governor with an unchang'd Countenance, as if he had been reconciled to him, and ſo returned to the Expedition, he had undertaken againſt the Robbers. In his Paſſage through *Merch*, he turned aſide, as he was wont familiarly to do, to *Alexander Hume*, the chief of that Clanſhip; there alſo (*Hume* himſelf being covetous, and having been drawn off by great Promiſes to the contrary Faction) he found no benevolous Reception from *Hume*'s Wife, but ſhe, being an arrogant Woman, did even mock at him to his Face; ſo that he departed to *Teviotdale*; coming thither with a ſmall Retinue, and little more than his ordinary Guard, the Thieves admiring his Valour and Conſtancy, in that Solitude of his Friends,

The Regent's Lenity, his own Overthrow.

The Regent deſerted by his intimate Friends.

having received the Publick Faith for their Return, came in ſuch Numbers to him, that their Multitude equalled, yea ſometimes exceeded, thoſe of his Attendants; yet he remitted nothing of his former Greatneſs of Mind, but anſwered them as became the Dignity of the Publick and his Own too; and, without doubt, he had quieted them without Force, unleſs ſome of the Neighbour-Nobility, affected to *Howard*, and now ready to take Arms, had impeded his Deſign. His Friends came in to him at the time appointed, and then he march'd into the Territory of the Thieves, though ſome of the Neighbourhood indeavoured to diſſuade him, by telling him of the Difficulty and Danger of the Expedition; he paſt with his Army through *Liddiſdale*, *Ewſdale* and *Eskdale*, and received Hoſtages, not only from them, but from thoſe beyond them; only ſome, who, by reaſon of the Greatneſs of their Offences, deſpair'd of Pardon, were outlawed by him. This Expedition procur'd him not only the Favour of the People for ſetling them in Security, but raiſed their Admiration alſo, That a Man forſaken by his intimate Friends, and extreamly unprovided of Neceſſaries, ſhould accompliſh That in a few Days, which the moſt potent of our Kings, in full Peace, and with great Forces, could hardly effect in a long time.

Howard impriſoned.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, he was made acquainted, That the *Engliſh* Conſpiracy was detected, *Howard* committed to Priſon, and the *Scots* Queen more ſtrictly guarded, than before; and that *Robert Petcarn* had performed his Embaſſy with good Succeſs, and was returned; he inform'd him, That his Proceedings were very acceptable to the Queen of *England*, That he had quieted the Borders; That he had impriſoned the Earl of *Northumberland*, one of the Conſpirators, who was fled into *Scotland*; That he was purſuing all the reſt, as Enemies; That he had ſent to the Governor of *Berwick*, to offer him Aſſiſtance freely on all Occaſions. Theſe Courteſies ſhe promiſed to remember, and that ſhe would not be wanting to him in his Dangers, but all the Force of *England* ſhould be at his Service, if need were.

The Regent receives an encouraging Meſſage from the Queen of *England*.

All the time of this Expedition, the Regent had daily Information brought him by his faithful Friends, of a great Conſpiracy againſt him, entred into at home. And, in all the Letters, the Governor of the Caſtle was ſtill accuſed; whereupon, the Regent's old Courteſies and ancient Acquaintance not being yet quite cancell'd out of his Memory, he wrote to him plainly, and ſent him a Copy of all his Accuſations. He anſwered ſo coldly to the Crimes objected, That he became now more ſuſpected, than before: He denied, that any Man could ſhew his Subſcription to any Pact, relating to that Conſpiracy.

In the mean time, the Day for *Maitland*'s Trial drew near; for, after he was carried to the Caſtle, to put a bold Face on a bad Matter, he expreſly deſired to be brought to his Trial; for he was fully perſuaded, That the Power of the Conſpirators was ſo great in *England*, and alſo in *Scotland*, (of which he was one of the chief) that nothing could be orderly or lawfully determined: For in Trials of Life and Death, there uſe to be great Flockings together of Friends and Vaſſals, according to the Faction, Favour or

Nobility of the Accus'd, as it happen'd alſo, at that time. The chief of the Faction adverſe to the King, *viz.* the Earls of *Hamilton*, *Gordon*, and *Argyle*, gather'd all their Force, againſt that Day; hoping, that if the Judgment were diſturb'd by force, (as 'twas eaſy ſo to do) that they might quietly end the Conflict at one Skirmiſh, as being Superior in Number of Men, Opportunity of the Place, and alſo better provided for War. The Regent expected not a vying in Force, but in Law, and therefore had made no preparation on the other ſide; and ſo, being unwilling to put things to the utmoſt Hazard, before he needs muſt; and alſo, leſt the Majeſty of the Government might be leſſened by contending with his Inferiors, he put off the Day of Trial, and ſo He, a Day after, about *January 1ſt*, having ſent the Earl of *Northumberland* to a Priſon in *Lough-Levin*, went to *Sterlin*.

The adverſe Faction, thus again diſappointed, and perceiving the Authority and Power of the Regent to increaſe, and that, beſides his Popularity at home, he was alſo ſupported by the *Engliſh*, being ſtirr'd up, partly by Emulation; partly by the large Promiſes from the Queen of *Scots*, who by Letters inform'd them, that the *French* and *Spaniſh* Aid would be preſently with them, proceeded to accompliſh that which they had long deſign'd, even the cuting off the Regent. As long as he was alive, they knew, their Projects could not take effect, and therefore they ſent Meſſengers, thrô all Countries to the chief of their Faction, to enter into a League to that purpoſe. To this League, the *Hamiltons* ſubſcrib'd, and Thoſe, who either themſelves, or their Children, were Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The Governour himſelf was thought to be privy to it, and That which follow'd, did increaſe the Suſpicion of him; *James Hamilton*, Son of the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s Siſter, promiſed his Aſſiſtance, and indeavour'd to find a fit Time and Place to commit the Murder. It happen'd, that, at the ſame time, ſome hopes were given to the Regent, That *Dunbarton* would be ſurrendred upon Conditions; thither he went, but return'd without his Errand. *Hamilton*, being intent on all Occaſions, his Ambuſhes not ſucceeding well firſt at *Glaſgow*, then at *Sterlin*, appoints *Linlithgo* to be the Place fitteſt to execute his Purpoſe, becauſe that Town was in the Clanſhip of the *Hamiltons*, and the Archbiſhop, his Uncle, had an houſe there, not far from the Houſe where the Regent us'd to lodge; in that Houſe, being appointed for the Murder, he ſecretly hid himſelf. The Regent was made acquainted with the Plot, both before, and alſo, that very Day, before it was light; the Diſcoverer, for more ſurety, added, that the Murderer lay hid in 3 or 4 Houſes from his Lodging; that, if he would ſend a ſmall Party with him, he would pluck him out of his hole, and ſo diſcover the whole Deſign, and Order of the ſecret Plot; yet, the Regent would not alter his former purpoſe; only he deſign'd to go out of the Town thrô the ſame Gate he enter'd in, and then turn about and proceed in his Journy; nor did he keep to this Reſolution, neither; either becauſe he did undervalue ſuch Dangers, as believing his Life to be in God's Hand, to whom he was willing to render it, when 'twas call'd for; or elſe, becauſe the Multitude of Horſe,

The Regent too negligent of his fore warned Danger.

Horſe, waiting for him, ſtopt up the way. When he was mounted on Horſeback, he thought to ride ſwiftly by the ſuſpected Places, and ſo to avoid the Danger; but, the Multitude of the People crouding in, hinder'd his Deſign, ſo that the Murderer, out of a wooden Balcony, which he had purpoſely cover'd with Linen, as if 'twere for another uſe, ſhot him with a Lead-bullet, a little below the Navil, and it came out almoſt by his Reins, and alſo kill'd the Horſe of *James Douglas*, which was beyond him; he himſelf eſcap'd, by a back Door, or Paſſage, of the Garden, which he had pluck'd down on purpoſe; and ſo mounted a ſwift Horſe, ſet on purpoſe, to carry him off, after he had committed the Fact, by *James Hamilton*, Abbat of *Aber-Brothwick*, and ſo he went to *Hamilton*, with the great Gratulation of Thoſe, who waited to hear the Event of his audacious Enterprize; when they heard, he had effected it, they commended him highly, and rewarded him as if now the Kingſhip had been actually tranſlated into their own Family.

The Regent ſhot out of a Balcony, at the Inſtigation of the *Hamiltons*,

In the mean time, at *Linlithgo*, the reſt were ſtartled at the ſuddenneſs of the Crack, and the Regent told them, he was Wounded, and, as if he had not felt it, he leap'd from his Horſe, and went, on foot, to his lodging: They, which were ſent for to Cure the Wound, at firſt ſaid, 'Twas not Mortal; but, his Pain increaſing, tho his Mind was not diſturb'd, he began ſeriouſly to think of Death. Thoſe which were about him, often told him, that This was the fruit of his own Lenity, in ſparing too many notorious Offenders; and, amongſt the reſt, his own Murderer, who had been condemn'd for Treaſon. Whereto he return'd a mild Anſwer, according to his Cuſtom, Saying, *Your importunity ſhall never make me to Repent of my Clemency.* Then, having ſettled his houſhold-Affairs, he commended the King to the Nobles there preſent, and, without ſpeaking a reproachful Word of any Man, he departed this Life before Midnight, about *January* 23, in the Year of our Salvation 1571. His Death was lamented by all Good Men, eſpecially by the Commons; who lov'd him, Alive, and lamented him, Dead, as the publick Father of his Country; For, beſides his many other noble Atchievements, they call'd to Mind, that, not a Year before, he had ſo quieted all the troubleſome Parts of the Kingdom, That a Man was as ſafe on the Road, or at his Inn, as in his own Houſe; and, Envy dying with him, They, who were diſaffected to him, when alive, did really Praiſe him, when dead. They admir'd his Valour in War, which yet was always accompanied with a great deſire of Peace; his Celerity in Buſineſs was always ſo ſucceſsful, that an eſpecial Providence of God ſeem'd to ſhine on all his Actions; beſides, his Clemency was great in moderately puniſhing; and his Equity as great in his Legal Deciſions: When he had any ſpare time from War, he would ſit, all day long in the Colledg of Judges; ſo that, his Preſence ſtruck ſuch a Reverence into them, that the *Poor* were not oppreſt by falſe Accuſations, neither were they tir'd out by long Attendances, in regard their Cauſes were not put off to gratify the *Rich*. His houſe, like an Holy Temple, was free, not only from flagitious Deeds, but even from

Of which Wound he died.

The Pious and Laudable Character of the Regent.

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wanton Words; after Dinner and Supper, he always caus'd a Chapter out of the Holy Bible to be read; and tho he had ſtill a learned Man to interpret it; yet, if there were any eminent Scholars there, (as there were oft Many, and ſuch were ſtill well reſpected by him,) he would ask their Opinions; which he did, not out of a vain Ambition, but out of a deſire to conform himſelf to the Rule thereof. He was, in a manner, too liberal; he gave to Many, and often, too; and his Alacrity in giving commended the Gift. To a great many, who were modeſt in receiving, he preſented privately with his own Hand. In a word, He was honeſt and plain-hearted to his Friends and Domeſticks; for if any of them did amiſs, he reprov'd them more ſharply, than he did Strangers. By theſe his Manners, Deportment and Innocency of Life, he was dear and venerable, not only to his Country-Men, but even to Foreigners, eſpecially to the *Engliſh*, to whom, in all the viciſſitudes of Providence, in his Life, his Virtues were more known, than to any other Nation.

The Twentieth BOOK.

ALL that Time, which immediately followed the Death of the laſt Regent, although it were free from Blood-ſhed, yet, was embroyled with the various Attempts of the Factions. Before the Murder, the *Hamiltons*, in great Numbers, had met at *Edinburgh*, under the Pretence of prevailing with the Regent, to releaſe *James Hamilton*, the Head of their Kin or Tribe, who was yet kept Priſoner in the Caſtle: But, after the Murder was perpetrated, they ſent ſome, from amongſt them, to the reſt of the *Hamiltans*, who were to diſſuade the other Clans, (for ſo they would have made People believe) from joining with, or protecting, the publick Parricides: But, as very many ſuſpected, it was to bid them, be prepared, and ready, for all Occaſions. For, the next Night after the Murder, *Walter Scot*, and *Thomas Carr* of *Farniheſt*, entring into *England*, did ravage over all Places with Fire and Sword; and that, with ſomewhat more Cruelty than was uſed in former times. Neither was it ſo much the Deſire of Prey, or Revenge, which mov'd them to this unuſual Crueltie, as, that it was long before reſolved by the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, and the reſt of the Heads of the Faction, to incenſe the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*: And, if they could provoke them, no other way, to take up Arms; then, by Injuries to draw them, tho unwillingly, into a War. The Governour of the Caſtle, although convinced by many Evidences, ſo that all Mens Eyes and Diſcourſe were upon him by way of Reflection, as yet continued in his former counterfeited Loyalty to the King; 'Twas upon his account, that *William Maitland* was delivered out of Priſon; For, when he had,

in

in many Words, pleaded his Innocency before the Council, the Nobles, then preſent, atteſting, That it did not, with any certainty, appear to them, That he was guilty of thoſe Crimes which were laid to his Charge, (for he was accuſed to have been privy to the King's and Regent's Murders, and alſo to be the Author of the Civil War that was lately raiſed in *England*) he was at laſt diſmiſſed, yet ſo, that the Matter ſeem'd to be deferred till Another time, rather than abſolutely to be decided at That: He alſo, proteſting his Innocency upon Oath, did promiſe to appear, whenſoever the King's Kindred would ſet a Day for his Trial. Afterwards, when, upon conſulting about the State of the Kingdom, they had almoſt agreed, That of thoſe, whom the Queen, before ſhe abjured her Government, had nominated Tutors to the King, he that would undertake it, provided he had not afterwards revolted to the adverſe Faction, ſhould have the chief Adminiſtration of Affairs. *Maitland*, now contriving the Diſturbance of Matters, brought it ſo about, that it ſhould be again ſignified to the abſent Lords, that they might, if they pleaſed, be preſent in the Parliament of the Regent, to be aſſembled at a ſet Day, leſt they might afterwards complain, That ſo great an Affair was haſtily raſh'd up in their Abſence. *Athol*, with a few others, conſented; neither did the reſt refuſe it, more that they would take away all occaſion of Detraction and Calumny from their Adverſaries, than that they had any Hopes, that this Delay of the Parliament would bring any Profit to the Publick.

Bandyings in *Scotland*, upon the Regent's Murder.

After theſe Things, *Thomas Randolph*, the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, had Audience; for That Queen, the Regent being yet alive, had ſent her Embaſſadors, to demand thoſe *Engliſh* Exiles, who, after *Howard*'s Conſpiracy was detected, and he puniſhed, for fear of Puniſhment, had eſcaped thither: The Regent, giving theſe Embaſſadors Audience at *Sterlin*, put them off till his Arrival at *Edinburgh*: and, after his Death, Things being in Confuſion, they departed without an Anſwer. But, when they conven'd about chooſing a Regent, *Randolph*, (who, for ſome years, had been in *Scotland*) for that he was thought to be well read in the Affairs, and in the Men, of that Nation; and that his former Embaſſies had been alſo advantagious to both Nations, was in dear Eſteem of all that were good, like himſelf. He, being introduc'd into the Council, 'having declared, How great his Queen's Good-will had always 'been towards the *Scots*; That, as ſhe had not formerly been want-'ing to them in their Diſturbances, ſo ſhe would not fail them 'now. Then he rehearſed their Incurſions into *England*, the 'Slaughters, Rapines, Burnings, of late Days committed: Ad-'ding, That ſhe knew well enough, That none of theſe Things 'were acted by the Publick Council; therefore, that, at preſent, 'her Kindneſs and Friendſhip towards them, was the ſame it ever 'was: So that, although ſhe had been grievouſly, and, without 'any Cauſe, provoked; yet ſhe did not, as ſhe might juſtly do, 'repeat Matters, nor publickly require Reparation; nor, for the 'Fault of a *Few*, ſeek Puniſhment of *All*: That indeed ſhe was not 'ignorant, what a great Diſturbance in Affairs was riſen of late; 'yet,

Randolph's (Queen *Elizabeth*'s Embaſſador,) ſober Speech to the *Scots*.

'yet, ſhe was not doubtful of the Good-will of honeſt Men to-
'wards her: That, in Favour of them, ſhe did not only free the
'Publick from any Guilt, but if, by reaſon of domeſtick Trou-
'bles, they could not compel the Diſturbers of the Peace, to reſettle
'Matters, that ſhe would join her Forces with theirs, that ſo, by
'common Conſent, they might exact Puniſhment of thoſe Viola-
'tors of Leagues and Truces: But, if they were not able to do
'That, that then ſhe would revenge their Injuries with her own
'Souldiers: That her Army ſhould paſs peaceably through the
'Country, without the leaſt Damage to it; That none, that had
'not been guilty of the Crimes, ſhould be concerned in the Puniſh-
'ment. The remaining Heads of his Embaſſy contained Admoni-
tions, ever profitable in all Legal Aſſemblies, but now, as the pre-
ſent Poſture of Affairs was, very neceſſary, *viz.* 'That they ſhould
'firſt of all, with all Care and Vigilance, have regard to Religi-
'on, which alone teaches us our Duty, both towards God, and to-
'wards Man: That, ſeeing no Common-wealth, at Diſcord with-
'in itſelf, can long ſubſiſt, they ſhould bend their chiefeſt Endea-
'vours, and ſtrive, with their utmoſt Force, that, at Home, *among*
'*Fellow-Subjects, and Country-Men*, Peace and Concord might be re-
'ligiouſly obſerved; and ſeeing God, the Framer of the Univerſe, had
'indulged Them with a Kingly Government, it was juſt for them
'to honour and obey their Kings, and to yield all Obſervance and
'Obedience to them: That Peace, Concord, and Friendſhip with all
'Men, as much as poſſible, are moſt acceptable to God, and quench,
'or, at leaſt, leſſen, the Thirſt of ſhedding human Blood, (which
'Wickedneſs God eſpecially deteſts): That they increaſe the Ri-
'ches of All in general, and render a People more formidable to
'their Enemies: That Juſtice is the Preſerver of the Publick Safe-
'ty, of which, the chief Part now to be made uſe of, is, The Pu-
'niſhment of Offenders: Seeing that Treaſon is moſt hateful to eve-
'ry lawful Government, its Abettors, to what part of the Earth
'ſoever they retreated, ſhould have neither Mercy, Favour, nor
'Indulgence, ſhewed them. Thus far *Randolph*; whoſe Advice
ſeemed both pious, wholſom, and reaſonable. But, becauſe none
was yet choſen Regent, he could not have any certain Anſwer,
and therefore was put off till the firſt of *May*. Laſt of all, *William*
and *Robert Douglas*, Brothers, by the Mother's Side, to the late
murdered Regent, petition'd, That the villanous Death of their
Brother, ſuffer'd upon no Private, but the Common-wealth's, Ac-
count, ſhould be revenged. Herein, the Opinions were various,
although all agreed, That the Murderers were to be puniſhed:
Some thought fit, That a Day ſhould be ſet for thoſe, ſuſpected of
the Murder, to appear, (and many of their Names were given in):
Others were of Opinion, That Court-Days were not to be waited
for againſt thoſe, who were now in Arms, to maintain, by Force,
that Fact, which they had wickedly committed: And, that it was
fit, not only to take up Arms forthwith againſt them, but likewiſe
againſt all thoſe, who were ſentenced by the laſt Parliament. To
this Opinion the * Knights of Shires were moſt inclined, yet they
could not obtain their Purpoſe, by the diſſuaſion chiefly of *Athol*,

The *Douglaſſes* Petition againſt the Murderers of the Regent, which occaſi-ons ſeveral De-bates.

* Or, Commiſ-ſioners.

who ſaid, They ought to expect a more numerous Aſſembly of Nobles; and of *Morton*, who thought, That, ſhould they join more Crimes together, the Revenge of the Regent's Death would miſcarry, and a Civil War break out; becauſe all thoſe, who dreaded the Peace, would join with the Murderers. Therefore, that their Crimes ſhould be ſeparated, and Affairs, if poſſible, acted by Law, and nothing innovated, before the firſt of *May*, (which was the Day appointed for their Meeting.) And ſo that Seſſion was diſſolved; moſt part of the People condemning this Delay of the Nobility, becauſe (ſaid they) all things are acted, as the King's Enemies pleaſe, who had occaſion'd theſe Delays purpoſely, that, in length of Time, the *Odium* of the Murder might diminiſh, and the oppoſite Faction, that while, gain Strength. This Opinion of the Peoples was confirmed, not only by ſome preceding Accidents, but alſo by very many, which followed: For preſently, when the Regent's Murder was yet hardly divulged, *James Hamilton*, upon a Mortgage of his Lands, procures Mony of *John Somerval*, of * *Camnethen*, which, together with another Sum, borrowed of his Friends, he ſent to his Complices to hire Souldiers with, having warned them before, to be ready for all Eſſays, becauſe of the ſudden Alteration which had happen'd, upon their having rid themſelves of their capital Enemy. And after that, the Queen's Party ceaſed not to have Meetings, in many and diſtant Places. About the 15*th* of *February*, almoſt all the Chiefs of the Rebellious Faction met together at *Glaſgow*; whence *Argyle* and *Boyd* wrote to *Morton*, That they, becauſe, as yet, they knew not Who were the Actors in, or privy to, the Regent's Murder, would willingly communicate their Counſel with the reſt of the Nobility, as well for the Diſcovery, as Puniſhment, of that Murder; but, that they would not come to *Edinburgh*; but if the King's Party would be perſuaded to meet them at *Linlithgo*, at *Falkirk*, or at *Sterlin*, they would, without Delay, come thither. This Buſineſs, being communicated to *Maitland* by *Morton*, (for ſo the Letter requeſted) came to nothing. About the ſame time, *Thomas Car* wrote to his Father-in-Law, the Governour of the Caſtle, from *Linlithgo*, That, if the Queen of *England* would be prevailed withal, to lay by her Reſentment of the late Incurſions, he would endeavour, that, for the future, the Borders ſhould be quieted, and kept in due Order; but that, if ſhe ſhould refuſe theſe Offers, he would continue in the Deſign he had begun; not doubting, but that his honeſt Country-men, who yet retained their Fealty to their Queen, would join with him, and that the *French* Auxiliaries would ſpeedily come, alſo.

* A Barony on the Eaſt-ſide of *Clyde*.

About the third of *March*, the *Hamiltons*, with *Argyle* and *Boyd*, met at *Linlithgo*; but the killing of one common Souldier, begetting a Tumult, diſturbed all their Counſels; which made the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* carry home the *Hamiltons* with him. The reſt of the Rebels, chiefly *Huntly*, *Athol*, *Crawford*, *Ogilby*; alſo, of thoſe on this ſide *Forth*, *Hume*, *Seton* and *Maitland*, met at *Edinburgh*; in which City *Morton* was, accompanied but with few, till the Earls of *Glencarn* and *Marr*, with their Followers, came to him.

him. About the fourth of *March*, the Heads of the Factions met to conſult about the Main, but this Conſultation went but ſlowly on, by reaſon of *Argyle*'s Abſence, whoſe Power and Authority was then very great. *Huntly* goes to him, undertaking to perſuade him to join with the reſt of the Faction, but returns without Succeſs, by the Treachery of *Maitland*, (as moſt Men thought) who deſired to drill on Affairs, that, amidſt the Confuſions of the Kingdom, he might have the fitter Opportunity for Innovations. *Argyle* alſo, in all his Undertakings, had another Impediment, which hindred, That his Power was not now ſo great, as it was found to be formerly, which was, That, though he himſelf was a moſt eager Favourer of the Queen's Cauſe, yet his Friends and Clients, no, nor his very Brother, could not be prevailed with to follow him againſt the King. The Night following, a ſudden Terror, without any apparent Cauſe, did ſo ſeize upon all the Factious, that they watch'd in their Armour, till it was Day-light; and, in the Morning, they as fearfully departed from *Edinburgh*. All the Time of this Convention, the chief Thing controverted, was, By what Authority the *Scots* might, at that time, chooſe a Regent? Some, according to the Queen's Letters-Patents, by which ſhe had deſigned Eight of the Nobility, that, out of them, one, or more, as ſhould be thought fit, might be nominated as Tutors to her Son, would have *one* of that number placed at the Helm. Others were of Opinion, That thoſe Letters were now uſeleſs, ſince that a Regent was already choſen, according to their Appointment; and that all Thoughts of them ſhould be laid aſide, as being not made to be always in Force, but for that one Juncture of Time, only. Some there were, who would have the whole Affair deferred, until the General Convention of the Nobility, but Theſe were moſtly of *Maitland*'s Faction, which expected, That a great Diſtraction in Affairs would follow, which, in a great Multitude, without a Governour, is eaſily rais'd, but not ſo eaſily laid. The Third Opinion condemned both the Others: The Firſt, for that now there ought leſs Account to be made of the Queen's Letters-Patent, ſince (if the Matter of Law were conſidered) they were, from their beginning, of little or no force: The Other, for that a Prorogation would both draw much Danger along with it,& alſo a greater Delay, than the preſent Condition of Affairs could well permit; and therefore they would have all thoſe to meet, who, at firſt, had adviſed the King to enter upon the Government, and had conſtantly adhered to him, ever ſince: Theſe, according to the ſenſe of this Party, were to take the beſt Care they could for the Publick-Weal, and ſpeedily appoint ſuch a Regent, who was both able and willing to provide for the Safety of King and Kingdom, both. But this Opinion was rejected alſo, and ſo, before any thing was concluded upon, the Convention was broke up.

A Convention of the Nobles, with various Opinions about chooſing a Regent;

But is diſſolved, *re infecta*.

So many Meetings having been tried in vain, the Rebels again return to the old Seminary of the *Engliſh* War, thereby to draw the Populacy to their Faction; and ſend out the ſame Captains of the Freebooters, which were ſent before, who left nothing of Cruelty uncommitted, even to the utmoſt extremity. And, in the

mean time, the Heads of their Faction beſpatter the Queen of *England* with all manner of Reproaches: And alſo, they maliciouſly accuſe the *Scotiſh* Nobles, as Penſioners to the *Engliſh*, commonly giving out, in a way of Threatning, That if their Adverſaries did call in the *Engliſh* to their Aid, they would have recourſe to the *French* and *Spaniſh* Succours. About this time, Mr. *Le Verac*, one of the King of *France*'s Bed-Chamber-Men, came from *France* to *Dumbritton*, who, with his large Promiſes, ſomewhat raiſed up their Courages. Hereupon, the *Hamiltons* appointed a Meeting of their People, to be held the *9th* of *April*, at *Linlithgo*; Where, when the Queen's Faction was gathered together in great Numbers, They began openly to treat of That, which they had long before medirated in their private Cabals, That, if a War againſt the *Engliſh* could be made, thereby private Injuries and Actions, either about the King's or Regent's Murder, in that univerſal Diſturbance of Affairs, would either grow out of Remembrance, or, at leaſt, the Reſentment of them much abate. Theſe Things having been tranſacted at *Linlithgo*, by the Aſſociates of the Conſpiracy only, who having not yet plainly unmasked their Intentions, that they might have more Shew of Authority, they determine to meet at *Edinburgh*, on the *11th* of *April*, and thereby, beſides the other Conveniencies which the Place would afford them, draw the Citizens, of whom they always made great account, either way, to their Party. This ſeemed no hard Matter, ſince they had already gained *William Kircady*, the Governour both of the City and Caſtle, to their Side: But, becauſe they underſtood, that Watch and Ward was kept there, and that the Common People were more inclined to their Adverſaries, they thought fit to ſend to the Citizens, firſt, to know, Whether or no it was their Pleaſure, they ſhould meet there? The Citizens Anſwer was, That they would exclude no Perſon, that was deſirous of the Publick Peace, and obedient to the King; but that they would admit neither the *Engliſh* Exiles, nor the *Hamiltons*, into their City, leſt they ſhould either highly diſpleaſe the Queen of *England*, in whoſe Kingdom they had great Traffick, or ſeem to join in Counſel with thoſe that were guilty of that horrid Murder; nor likewiſe, would they endure the Propoſal of any New Edicts, which might tend to the leſſening of the Regal Authority; or, that their Souldiery ſhould be forc'd (as the Cuſtom was) to run to their Arms by ſound of Drum. Upon theſe Conditions, how hard ſoever they ſeemed, they notwithſtanding came into the City, in hopes, by degrees, to gain upon the unwary Multitude, and, by ſoothing them up with fair Speeches, at laſt, to bring them all to their beck; but, for all this, they could not prevail with the Citizens to deliver up their Keys to them, or to ceaſe their uſual Watch, though *Kircady*, Governour of the Caſtle and City, join'd his utmoſt Endeavours with them, that they ſhould do ſo.

The *Hamiltons*, and others of the Queen's Party, meet at *Edinburgh*.

The *Edinburghers* much courted to ſide with them, but in vain.

All that time, they viſited *Maitland* (who (if he did not diſſemble deeply,) was troubled with the Gout) every day, and in ſuch Numbers, that his Houſe was commonly named a School, and he a Schoolmaſter: *Athol*, the whilſt, inceſſantly paſſing from one

Place

Place to another, that he might draw thoſe of the contrary Faction to this Meeting at *Edinburgh*; but they all, with one accord, refuſed to come before *May* 1. (which was the Day generally agreed on by all) unleſs they were ſatisfied of the neceſſity of coming, before; if any thing of moment had happen'd, which would admit of no Delay, they would have them acquaint the Earl of *Morton* with it, who was at his Houſe but four Miles off, and he would tell the reſt of it. *Athol*, at laſt, appoints a Day, on which, ſome of either Faction ſhould meet at *Morton*-Hall, which is in *Dalkeith*; but this Place did not pleaſe the Queen's Faction, not that they dreaded any Treachery, but out of a Conceit, That it would be an undervaluing to their Authority, if they ſhould come to *Morton*, rather than He come to Them. Therefore, after many Attempts, and that nothing proceeded to their Satisfaction, they were forc'd to break up the Meeting; for ſeeing, that, being deſirous to rid the City of their Adverſaries, they could not prevail with the Citizens to join with them; in order to it, they reſolved to call in a greater Number of their Friends dwelling neareſt, that, in ſpite of the Inhabitants, they might get all Things into their own Power. The Governour of the Caſtle facilitated This very much, who ſet at Liberty thoſe Perſons whom he had iu Cuſtody, (and they were well nigh All the Heads of the Queen's Faction.) But a ſudden Rumour, That the *Engliſh* Army was come to *Berwick*, ſtartled all their Reſolutions: *Alexander Hume*, and *John Maxwel*, lately let out of Priſon, without any Publick Authority, betook themſelves to their own Homes, to look to their own Concerns: And *Hume* had part of the Mony (gathered for raiſing of Souldiers) given him, to fortify his own Caſtle, *Hume*. *Thomas Carr*, and *Walter Scot*, who, by the Inſtigation chiefly of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, had made Incurſions into *England*, foreſeeing, That, from this beginning, a War would be kindled between the Two Kingdoms, being deſerted by their Neighbours, and doubtful of their own Strength, ſend to the Heads of their Faction for Aid; or, if that could not be done, that, at leaſt, they would come as far as *Lauder*, (a neighbouring Town), and from thence make a Shew of War. Therefore, when they could neither obtain their Requeſt in This, nor yet the leaſt Portion of their common Stock, for the Publick Advantage; and, being highly incenſed to be thus betrayed and forſaken by thoſe very Men, that had put them upon the War, every one of them betakes himſelf to take care for his own Safety, their Hopes, for the time to come, being all blaſted: So that, ſo many croſs Accidents, unexpectedly falling out at one and the ſame time, quite and clean diſturbed all their Plots and Machinations; but the ſudden Approach of the *Engliſh* Army, was It, which moſt ſurprized them; and therefore, to ſee if they could put a ſtop to it, they make uſe of two Embaſſies into *England*; the One to *Thomas*, Earl of *Suſſex*, to deſire a Truce, till ſuch time, as they had laid open the State of their Affairs to the Queen of *England*: The Other Embaſſador carried Letters to the Queen, containing many things, as well for their own Cauſe, as againſt the King's Faction; eſpecially, by making their Brags of greater Forces than they had in reality, and vilifying Thoſe

An Engliſh Army coming into Scotland, puts the Queen's Faction to a ſtand.

Thoſe of their Adverſaries, thereby covertly threatning the *Engliſh* with a War: For *Maitland* had made them believe, That that Queen, a Woman naturally timorous, would do any thing rather than be brought to a War, at a time when both the *French* and *Spaniard* were, for many Reaſons, at Emmity with her, and her own Affairs at home were ſcarce ſetled; The Rebels deſired, that, by the *Engliſh* Queens Arbitrement, all the Ordinances of the laſt Two Years ſhould be called in, although many amongſt them had ſubſcribed them; and that all things, being, as it were, acted *de novo*, a new Ordinance ſhould, by a general Conſent, be made: And that they might better ſet forth the Potency of their Faction, their Letter had all the great Mens Names, that were of their Party, ſubſcribed to It; and alſo, for the greater Oſtentation of their Multitude, they ſet to it the Names of Many as well of the adverſe Faction, as of thoſe that were Neuters; in Hopes, that the *Engliſh* (by Reaſon of the great Diſtance, and their Ignorance of things done ſo far off; and that their Letters to the Queen, would be expoſed to the View but of few Perſons) would hardly be able to detect their Fraud.

The Queen's Party ſend Embaſſadors into *England*.

About that time, an Accident happened, as they thought, very advantagious to their Affairs, as hoping, that it would both make the *Engliſh* leſs forward, and alſo terrify the *Scotch* Populacie; *viz.* the Arrival of a certain *French*-Man, however of a mean Condition, who, as being *Lanſack*'s Menial Servant, was, for his Maſter's ſake, entertained at that Court. This Man brought a great many Letters, all of the ſame Purport, from the *French* King, not only to the Heads of the Queen's Faction, but likewiſe to Many, who had not declared themſelves for either Faction, in which great Thanks were given to every one of them, for their having hitherto taken the Queen's Part; the King deſiring them conſtantly to perſiſt in ſo doing, and he would ſend them Aid, even greater than they had deſired of him, as ſoon as ever he could do it with Conveniencie. He alſo that brought the Letters, adds, as from himſelf, 'That all things were now at quiet in *France*, *Jaſpar Colligny* and 'the other Rebels being reduced to ſuch Terms, as to promiſe to de-'part from *France*, leſt their Preſence ſhould be a Hindrance to the 'Publick Peace: And that he doubted not, but that the Souldiers 'which were to be ſent to aſſiſt them, would all be raiſed, before 'his Return. The Wiſer ſort, although they knew, that theſe things were moſtly nothing but vain Reports, yet permitted the common Sort to be deluded by them. When therefore the Minds of many People became, by theſe Means, to be erected, their Joy was leſſened by the unſucceſsful Return of their Embaſſadors: For *Suſſex* could not, by any Conditions they could offer him, be induced, to think it to be for the *Engliſh* Intereſt, either to maintain an Army only to idle their Time away in Truces; or, wholly to deſiſt from the War. And the Queen having, after Peruſal, cauſed their Letter to be ſealed up again, and ſent back to the King's Party in *Scotland*; which was done, that the Expectation of an Anſwer from her ſhould cauſe Delay in Affairs, and thereby their Fraud be eaſily found out. And, for that their Letter contained nothing

St. *Lewis* de *Galais*, Ld. of *Lanſack* in *France*.

An Embaſſador from *France* to the Queen's Party.

Q. *Elizabeth* rejects the Embaſſy of the Queen's Party in *Scotland*.

nothing but vain Boasting, and that the *English* were not ignorant of any thing that had been transacted in *Scotland*, their Embassadors, grievously abashed with Reproaches, were forced to return. Therefore being disappointed of that Hope, and affrightned by the so sudden drawing near of the *English* Army to their very Borders, and those who were to have assisted them, being gone to defend their own Homes; having also small Confidence in the Citizens, and knowing, that their Enemies would come to *Edinburgh* on the first of *May:* They therefore departed thence, and went to *Linlithgo*, holding that Place to be very commodious for the sending for those of their Party from the most distant Places of the Kingdom; as also for the hindring the Journies of the others that were going to the Assembly; and for bringing about of those other things, which were lately discussed at their Consultations. From this Place, the *Hamiltons*, with their Friends and Vassals, made the whole Road leading to *Edinburgh*, very unsafe for Passengers; and knowing, that *John Erskin*, Earl of *Marr*, was to come that Way, they placed themselves on the Neighbouring Hills to hinder his Journy; but he, knowing how the Way was beset, passed the River, about two Miles above; and so *April* 29, in the Evening, he came safe to *Edinburgh*. After that Day, the King's Party abode at *Edinburgh*, and the Queen's at *Linlithgo*, mutually charging and criminating one another, as the Causes and Rise of these Civil Combustions. But those at *Edinburgh* informed their Contrariants, That they were willing to come to an easy Agreement upon other Heads, as, that if they had done any Man wrong, they would give him just Satisfaction, as indifferent Arbitrators should award; provided always, That this King's Authority might be secured, and that both Parties might join to revenge the Murder of the last King, and of the Regent. To this Proposal, they at *Linlithgo* gave no satisfactory Answer, but, instead thereof, made an Edict, That all Subjects should obey the Queen's Commissioners; and the three Earls, of *Arran*, *Argyle* and *Huntly*, Indicted an Assembly to be held at *Linlithgo*, *August* 3. Whereupon the other Party sent *Robert Petcarn* their Embassador to the Queen of *England*, to treat with her about suppressing the Common Enemy; and to shew, how well-affected the *Scots* stood towards her, he was to inform her, That they would chuse such a Regent, as she should please to recommend, or approve.

The Queen's Party at *Linlithgo*, the King's at *Edinburgh*.

Petcarn, an Embassador from the Royalists in *Scotland* to Q. *Elizabeth*.

Thus, whilst each Party was crossing one another's Design, the *English* enter *Teviotdale*, and spoil the Towns and Villages belonging to the Families of the *Cars*, and of the *Scots*, (who had violated the Peace, by making Excursions into *England*, and giving Harbour to such *English* Fugitives, as fled to them for Shelter) wasting and burning their Country. The Earl of *Sussex*, their General, besieged *Hume*-Castle, where the Owner of it had laid up much Provision, and all the Neighbourhood had brought in their best Goods to that Fort, as into a Place of Safety. It was valiantly defended by the Garison within, and the *English*, the next day after, were about to raise the Siege; when, lo! Letters were brought to the Garison-Souldiers, written a while before by *Alexander*, Owner of the Castle,

The *English* Army under *Sussex*, ravage over a great Part of *Scotland*.

Caſtle, which diſturbed all their Meaſures. For therein he commanded them to obey the Orders of *William Drury*, an *Engliſh* Knight, and to do what he commanded them, without any Diſpute. *Drury* acquainted *Suſſex* herewith, whereupon the Caſtle was ſurrendred and plundered, and *Suſſex* placing a Gariſon of *Engliſh* therein, with a great Booty, returned to *Berwick*. Thus *Hume*, who was ſo far from being afraid of the *Engliſh*, that rather he thought them his very Friends, as knowing that *Drury* and *Suſſex* Both did ſecretly favour *Howard*'s Affairs, did almoſt undo himſelf by his own Credulity; for, at laſt, being forſaken of all his Friends and Kindred, who were moſtly Royaliſts, he came with One or Two in his Company to *Edinburgh*, and ſhut up himſelf, as a Recluſe, in the Caſtle there.

Lord *Scroop* enters *Scotland* with another *Engliſh* Army.

On the other Side of the Borders, *Scroop*, an *Engliſh* Commander, entred *Annandale*, and ranſack'd the Lands of one *Johnſton*, (who alſo had made Incurſions into *England*) but *Johnſton* himſelf, with a few of his Companions, being well acquainted with the Paſſes of the Country, made a Shift to eſcape from the Horſe, that purſued him. *John Maxwel*, who had gathered together 3000 Men, out of the Neighbourhood, yet durſt not adventure to come in to his Aid, but only ſtood upon his own Guard. A while after, the *Engliſh* that were at *Berwick*, having received Hoſtages, and thinking that Matters would have been carried with Fidelity towards them, ſent in 300 Horſe, and a 1000 Foot, under the Command of *Drury* againſt the common Enemy. Upon the Bruit of their March, the *Hamiltonians* went to *Glaſgow*, reſolving to demoliſh the Caſtle of the Arch-biſhop there, that it might not be a Receptacle to the Earl of *Lennox*, then returned out of *England*, and ſo that Country be made the Seat of War. They knew, that it was kept but by a few raw Souldiers; that the Governor was abſent; and that it was unprovided of Neceſſaries, ſo that they thought to ſurprize it by their ſudden Approach; for they flew into the Town in ſuch Haſte, that they ſhut out a good part of the Gariſon-Souldiers from entring the Caſtle; but, being diſappointed of their Hope, they began to batter and ſtorm violently, and were as valiantly repulſed, for the Gariſon Souldiers (which were but 24) did ſo warmly receive them for ſeveral Days, that they ſlew more of the Aſſailants, than they themſelves were; and the reſt they beat off, ſorely wounded: of their Own, they loſt but one Man, and none of the reſt received ſo much as a Wound. But the *Hamiltonians*, hearing, that the *Engliſh* were already at *Edinburgh*, and that *John Erskin* was come to *Sterlin*, with a Deſign ſpeedily to relieve the Caſtle, though they had received ſome additional Force, even from the remote Parts of the Kingdom; yet, toward Evening, they raiſed their Seige, and in great fear pack'd away: *Hamilton* and *Argyle* himſelf poſted into *Argyle*'s Country: *Huntly* went home, over the, almoſt, impaſſable Mountains; the reſt ſhifted for themſelves, and ran ſeveral Ways, to ſave their Lives.

The *Hamiltonians* depart from *Glaſgow*.

But the *Engliſh*, two Days after they came to *Edinburgh*, went to *Glaſgow*, and, in their Paſſage through *Clydſdale*, they waſted all the Lands of the *Hamiltons*, and any others that had conſented to

 the

the Death of the Regent; as alſo of thoſe, who had harbour'd the *Engliſh* Fugitives, and drove great Preys from them, making havock in all the Country; when the Engines to beat down the Caſtle, that was ſcituated near a Village called *Hamilton*, were bringing to *Sterlin*. *Drury*, who privately favoured the *Engliſh* Rebels, had almoſt rendred the whole Expedition fruitleſs; for he was ſo far from quieting the *Engliſh*, who mutinied, becauſe their Pay was not paid them at the Day; (whereupon, they threatned immediately to lay down their Arms) That, 'twas thought by many, he himſelf was the Author of the Mutiny: But the Souldiers were appeaſed, upon the receiving their Pay down upon the nail; and the great Guns being planted, and playing againſt it, the Caſtle was ſurrendred in a few Hours. Amongſt the Booty, ſome there were, that knew the Apparel, and other Houſhold-ſtuff of King *James* the 5*th*; that the Owner of the Caſtle, when he reſign'd up his Regency, had ſo ſolemnly ſworn, he had none of. The Caſtle was left half demoliſh'd; and the Town, together with the ſtately Manſion of the *Hamiltons* therein, the wild common Souldiers burnt to the Ground, againſt the Will of their Commanders. Whereupon the Army march'd back, the *Engliſh* to *Berwick*, and the *Scots* each to their own home; *Drury* interceded for the Gariſon, that they ſhould march away in Safety, who, being diſmiſs'd, took *Robert Semple* Priſoner, the chief of his Family, out of the Houſe of his Son-in-Law, who was quietly returning home, as if the Service had been ended; which Paſſage greatly increas'd the Suſpicion on *Drury*.

Hamilton-Caſtle taken.

Theſe Matters were ſcarce finiſh'd, before *Petcarn* return'd from his Embaſſy out of *England*, and brought this Anſwer, 'That the 'Queen wonder'd, they never made her acquainted with the State 'of their Affairs, till now, four Months after the Death of the 'Regent; and, by reaſon of this delay, ſhe was uncertain in her 'Hopes, concerning them; In the mean time, that ſhe had been 'often ſolicited by the Importunity of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Em-'baſſadors in the Name of their Kings, and that ſhe was even ti-'red out with the daily complaints of the *Scots* Queen, that ſhe had 'promis'd them Audience, but upon Condition, that the Queen of '*Scots* ſhould write to her Party for a Ceſſation of Arms, till the 'Conference was ended; That thoſe Innovations, which they had 'attempted by their publick Edicts, they ſhould revoke by other 'Edicts contrary to the former, and ſo ſuffer things to ſtand as they 'were, when the Regent was ſlain; That the *Engliſh* Exiles ſhould 'be given up without fraud; and if, upon the Conference, Matters 'were accorded betwixt them, Hoſtages and other Pledges ſhould 'be given on Both ſides, for the faithful performance of Agreements. 'Upon theſe Conditions, a Conference was promiſed, and having 'oblig'd her ſelf in ſuch Circumſtances, ſhe could not join with 'them in their Deſign in making a new Regent, leſt ſhe might 'ſeem to condemn their Queen, without hearing Her; But in ge-'neral, ſhe ſaid, That ſhe had a great Affection for them, and their 'Affairs. In the mean time, She deſir'd, that they would abſtain 'from Arms, and from making a Regent, and ſhe would take care,

Petcarn's Anſwer from the Q. of *England*:

'that such a small delay should be no damage to them. This Answer, being reported to the *Scots*, did variously affect them. On the one hand, the Necessity of the time requir'd them to steer their Counsels, so as they might be pleasing to the Queen of *England*; And on the other, they knew of what Concernment it was to the Publick, That one chief Magistrate should be set up, to whom all Complaints might be made; and, for want of creating One some Months already past, the Enemy had improv'd the delay to gather Forces, to make new Courts of Justice, daily to set forth new Edicts, and to usurp all the Offices of a King. On the other side, the Royalists were dejected, and a Multitude, without one certain Person, whom to obey, could not be long kept in Obedience. After the Embassadors Return, News came, That there was a new Insurrection in *England*, and that, in *London*, the Popes Bull was fastned on the Church Doors, to exhort the *English*, partly to cast off the unjust Yoke of the Queen's Government, and partly, to return to the Popish Religion; and it was thought, that the Hand of the Queen of *Scots* was in all This.

These things, tho kept private, yet came to be known by Letters from the Earl of *Sussex*; and also, the same *Thomas Randolph* had, in presence, confirm'd it, yet they could hardly be restrain'd from chusing a Regent. But at last, a middle Way prevail'd, That they might have an appearance of a chief Magistrate, to set up an Inferior Regent, or Deputy-Governour, to continue till the 12*th* of *July*, in which time, they might be further inform'd of the Queen of *England's* Mind; they judg'd, That she was not averse from their Undertaking, especially upon This ground, That she had put it into the Articles of Capitulation, That the Rebels should give up all the exil'd *English*: If that were done, they might easily understand, that the Spirits of all the Papists about *England* were alienated from the Queen of *Scots*: If it were denied, then the Conference, or Treaty, would break off, and the Suspicions, which made the Commonalty averse, would daily increase. For, they saw, that other things would not easily be agreed upon, when a greater Danger was imminent over the *English*, than the *Scots*, upon the Deliverance of their Queen; and if other things were accorded, yet the Queen of *England* would never let her go, without giving Hostages; neither was she able to give any such, who could make a sufficient Warranty. These Considerations gave them some Encouragement, so that they proceeded to create *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, the King's Grandfather, to be Vice-Gerent, for the time.

Matthew Stuart, Earl of *Lennox*, created *Vice-Roy*; and then, Regent.

Whilst this new Vice-Roy, by the advice of his Council, was busied in rectifying things, which had been disorder'd in the late Tumults; Letters came opportunely from the Queen of *England*, *July* the 10*th*, wherein she spake much of her Affection to the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*, and freely offer'd them her Assistance; withal, she deprecated the naming of a Regent, which was a Title invidious of it self, and of no good Example to them; only, if they ask'd her Advice, she thought, none was to be preferr'd to that high Office, before the King's Grandfather; none being of greater Faithfulness to the King, yet a Pupil; and, who now for the same

Reasons

Reaſons was made Deputy-Governour of the Kingdom. Theſe Letters incourag'd them, by the joint Suffrages of all the Eſtates, of a Vice-Roy to make him Regent. Aſſoon as ever he was created Regent, and had taken an Oath (according to Cuſtom) to obſerve the Laws and Cuſtoms of his Country; Firſt of all, he commanded, that All, which were able to bear Arms, ſhould appear at *Linlithgo*, *Auguſt* the 2*d*, to hinder the Convention, which the Seditious had there Indicted in the Name of the Queen; then, he himſelf ſummon'd a Parliament, in the Name of the King, to be held the 10*th* day of *October*; he alſo ſent to the Governour of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, (who, as yet, pretended great Friendſhip to the King's Party, tho his Words and Actions did very much diſagree) to ſend him ſome Braſs-Guns, Carriages, and other *Apparatus* for the managing of them; This he did, rather to try them, than in hopes to obtain his deſires. He promis'd very fair at firſt, but when the Day was coming on, that the Parliament was to Meet, when he was deſir'd to perform his Promiſe, he peremptorily refus'd, alleging, That his Service ſhould be always ready to make up an Agreement between, but not to ſhed the Blood of, his Country-Men. Nevertheleſs, the Regent came at the Day appointed to *Linlithgo* with 5000 arm'd Men in his Company; but hearing, that the Enemy did not ſtir, only that *Huntly* had placed 160 Souldiers at *Brechin*, and had ſent out an Order, commanding the *Brechinians*, to get in Proviſion for ſome Thouſands of Men by the 2*d* of *Auguſt*. The Gariſon, there plac'd by him, did rob not only the Inhabitants, but all Travellers alſo, when they were wearied with their Journy. Whereupon, the Regent, by the advice of his Council, reſolv'd to march thither, and to ſeize on the Place, which would be of great advantage to him, before *Huntly*'s coming; and, if occaſion were offer'd, there to fight him, before his Partners came up with their Force, and ſo to overthrow that Party of Musqueteers, which was All he had; and, by that means, he might catch ſome of the Leaders of the Faction, as the Earl of *Crawford*, *James Ogilby*, and *James Bálfure*, who, he heard, were there. Whereupon, he commanded *Patrick Lindſy*, and *William Ruven*, chief Officers, and *James Haliburton*, Governour of *Dundee*, to take what Souldiers they could raiſe at *Dundee*, and St. *Johnſtons*, and to make haſte thither to prevent the News of their coming: They made all the ſpeed that ever they were able, the next Night horſing their Foot for greater Expedition; yet, as they drew near the Place, they march'd ſlowly, that they might get ſome Refreſhment, before they charg'd the Enemy: ſo that, the Alarum was taken at *Brechin*, that the Enemy was a coming; whereupon *Ogilby* and *Balfure*, who chanc'd to be there, got the Souldiers preſently together; and incouraging them, as well as they could for the time, They told them, that They and *Huntly* would return again in 3 Days; and ſo they got an Horſeback, and made haſte away, over the Mountains; The Souldiers, that were left, catch'd up what was next at hand, and about 20 of them got to the Tower of a Church, that was near: The reſt fled into the Houſe of the Earl of *Marr*, which was ſeated on a Hill near thereto, it was like a Caſtle, and commanded the Town.

Huntly gariſons *Brechin*,

James Douglas, Earl of *Morton*, with 800 Horſe, went a further March about, and came not in, till the Day after; The Regent ſent home the *Lennoxians* and the *Renfroans*, to guard their own Country, if *Argyle* ſhould attempt any thing againſt it; But he himſelf, in 3 Days, overtook thoſe, whom he had ſent before to *Brechin*. At the noiſe of his coming, the neighbour Nobility came in, ſo that now he muſter'd 7000 Men, effective: Whereupon they, who were in the Church Tower, preſently ſurrendred themſelves. The reſt, having ſtoutly defended themſelves for a few Days, Killing and Wounding ſome, who were unwary in their Approaches, at laſt hearing, That Braſs-Guns were planted againſt them, and that *Huntly* had forſaken them, ſurrendred alſo at Mercy to the Regent. He hang'd up 30 of the obſtinateſt of them, many of them, having been taken and releas'd before; the reſt, being very feeble, he diſmiſt. *Huntly* was then about 20 Miles off, endeavouring to gather more Force, but in vain, (for moſt Men, when they had free liberty to declare themſelves, did abhor ſo foul a Cauſe); Whereupon he was forc'd, in fear, to provide for his Safety, and with a ſmall Party retired into the remote Countries.

Which is taken by the Regent.

Whereupon, the Regent return'd to *Edinburgh*, to be preſent at the Parliament there Summon'd; and, by the advice thereof, to ſettle the preſent Diſturbances. The Rebels perceiving, that, by the Agreement of all the Eſtates, there was no Hope left them; eſpecially They, who were Guilty of the King's Murder, and of the Death of the Regent, dealt with the Queen of *England*, that, becauſe ſhe had promis'd the *French* and *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors, that ſhe would hear both Parties, and compoſe Things, if ſhe could, that therefore no new Decree ſhould be made, in the mean time. This Delay being obtain'd, (for nothing was done, in that Aſſembly, only the Election of the Regent was confirm'd) the Rebels never ceas'd to ſolicite the *French* and *Spaniard*, to ſend Aid into *Britain*, to reſtore the Queen; and becauſe they affirm'd, That the Reſtitution of the Popes, or the old, Religion, depended on Her, therefore they made means to the Pope alſo, that, tho he were far remote, yet he might help them with Mony. Whereupon he ſent an Agent into *Scotland*, to enquire into the preſent State of things there, who giving him an Account, that the *Popiſh* Party there was very weak; and that all the Rebels, neither, were not unanimous in the reſtoring of Popery, he refus'd to intermeddle in the Buſineſs; but, in the mean time, he endeavour'd to raiſe up ſome Commotion in *England*, by his Execrations and Curſes hung upon Church doors by Night; by his Indulgences; and by his promiſe of Indemnity for what was paſt; for there, he thought, his Faction was the ſtrongeſt. The Regent, having appointed the Parliament to be held the 25*th* of *January*, (for, within that time, he hoped to ſatisfy all foreign Embaſſadors) to compoſe things Legally and Judicially, as well as he could, return'd to *Edinburgh*. The Rebels, having renew'd the Truce, by means of the Queen of *England*, till the Embaſſadors of both Parties had been heard, before her; yet, contrary to the Peace deſir'd by themſelves, were very buſy to attempt Alterations,

Queen *Elizabeth* made Arbiter betwixt both Parties in *Scotland*.

terations, encourag'd (as 'tis thought) by the favour of the Earl of *Suſſex*, who then commanded the Army of the *Engliſh* in *Northumberland*. For he, either not altogether deſpairing of the Buſineſs of the Duke of *Norfolk*; or elſe, induc'd by the Promiſes of the Exiled Queen, of whoſe Return he had ſome Hopes, was ſomewhat inclinable to the Rebels; which the *Scots* taking notice of, were more ſparing in communicating Counſels with him. The Winter being thus ſpent in the reviving of the Truce; the Parliament Summon'd on the 25*th* of *January*, was deferr'd till *May*. In the mean time, the *Hamiltons*, having, in vain, ſuborn'd many Men to kill the Regent, at laſt ſeiz'd upon the Tower of *Paſley*, driving out the Gariſon-Souldiers therein, thinking they might do ſuch a thing with Impunity, whilſt Mens Minds were imploy'd in greater Matters. The Regent appointed the Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Petcarn*, and *James Macgil*, his Embaſſadors to *England*, to reaſon the Matter with the Embaſſadors of other Princes, and ſent them away *February* the 5*th*, and he himſelf march'd to *Paſley*, where he ſummon'd in the neighbour-Nobility, that were of his Party, and attempted the Caſtle. The Beſieg'd, he having cut off their Water, were forc'd to a Surrender. Afterwards, when *Gilbert Kennedy* infeſted the Royaliſts with his plundering Incurſions in *Carrick*, he went to *Aire*; and aſſoon as *Kennedy* heard of the Approach of a few Troops, being alſo afraid of his Clanſhips, who had been always Loyal to the King and his Party, he gave in his only Brother for an Hoſtage, and appointed a Day to come to *Sterlin*, and ſubſcribe to the Capitulation, agreed on. *Hugh Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglington*, and *Robert Boyd*, follow'd his Example; and ſurrendring themſelves to the Regent, were by him receiv'd into Favour. During all this time, that the Regent was quelling the Seditious, and *Morton* was abſent in his Embaſſy in *England*; They that hold *Edinburgh* Caſtle; being freed from the fear of their Enemies near at hand, ceas'd not to liſt Souldiers, to put Gariſons in the moſt convenient Places of the City, to take away Proviſions, which Merchants had brought to *Leith*, and to provide all things neceſſary to endure a Siege, till their expected Relief, from foreign Parts, might come.

The Regent ſends Embaſſadors into *England*.

The Regent was ſorely bruis'd by a fall from his Horſe, and therefore return'd to *Glaſgow*, where a common Souldier came to him, and gave him ſome hopes of ſurprizing *Dunbarton*; he had been a Gariſon-Souldier in the Caſtle there, and his Wife coming often to viſit him, had been accus'd, and whipt for Theft, by *Flemming* the Governour. Her Husband, being an uxorious Man, and judging his Wife to have been wrongfully puniſh'd, departed from the Caſtle; and from that Day forward, imploy'd all his thoughts, how he might do *Flemming* a miſchief: Whereupon, he breaks the buſineſs to *Robert Douglas*, Kinſman to the Regent; and promiſes him, That if he would aſſign a ſmall Party to follow him, he would ſhortly make him Maſter of that Caſtle. *Robert* acquainted *John Cuningham* with the Deſign, who was to enquire diligently of him, How ſo great an Attempt could be accompliſh'd? He, being a blunt rude Souldier, perceiving, that they boggled at him,

The Regent hurt by a Fall from his Horſe.

A notable Deſign of the Regents, to ſurprize *Dunbarton* Caſtle, with the occaſion of it, and the manner of carrying it on.

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him, becauſe he could not well make out, How to accompliſh, what he had promiſed. Since, ſaid he, you do not believe my Words; 'I'le go on my ſelf, the firſt Man in the Service; if you will fol-'low me, I will make you Maſters of the Place; but, if you be Da-'ſtards and Scoundrels, then let it alone. When his Speech was told to the Regent, though the thing it ſelf, being great, had ſomewhat excited their Minds, and made them willing enough to have it done, yet the Author (though they judg'd him faithful) ſeem'd not a fit Inſtrument to effect ſo great a Matter: Whereupon *Thomas Crawford*, a valiant Man, and a good Souldier, was made acquainted with the Project, and 'twas agreed betwixt them, rather to try the Hazard of ſo great and caſual a Proffer, than ſlothfully to neglect ſuch an Opportunity. Whereupon, a few Days were allotted to provide Ladders, and other Neceſſaries, and the Plot was to be executed on the firſt of *April*, for then the Truce granted to the Rebels, by the Mediation of the Queen of *England*, would expire. In the mean time, no Talk at all was to be made about it.

The Scituation of the Caſtle, and Town, of *Dunbarton*, deſcribed punctually by our Author, who was born there.

Before I declare the Event of this Piece of Service, give me leave to tell you the Nature and Situation of the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*. From the Confluence of the Rivers *Clyde* and *Levin*, there is a plain Champaign of about a Mile, extended to the Foot of the adjoining Mountains; and in the very *Angle*, where the two Rivers meet, there ſtands a Rock with Two Cops or Heads. The one Branch, or Cop, which is the higheſt, reſpects the Weſt; and in the very Top of it there is a Watch-Tower, from whence there is a large Proſpect to all Parts thereabouts. The other Cop is lower, and looks towards the Eaſt; between the two Cops, that Side that turns towards the North and the Fields, hath Stairs aſcending obliquely by the Rock, cut out by Mens Hands, where hardly a ſingle Man can go up at once. For the Rock is very hard, and ſcarce malleable by any Iron-Tool; but if any Part of it be broken off by Force, or falls down of it ſelf, it emits a Smell far and near, like *Sulphur*. In the upper Part of the Caſtle, there is an huge Stony Rock, of the Nature of a Load-ſtone, but ſo cloſely cemented, and faſtned to the reſt of the Rock, that no Joint at all, or Commiſſure, doth appear; Where the River *Clyde* runs by to the South, the Rock (naturally ſteep in other Parts,) is ſomewhat bending; and ſtretching out its Arms on both Sides, takes in ſome firm Land, which is ſo incloſed, partly by the Nature of the Place, and partly by human Induſtry, that, in the overthwart or tranſverſe Sides thereof, it affords Place for many Houſes; and alſo, in the River, a Road for Ships, very ſafe for the Inhabitants, by playing Braſs-Guns from thence; but unſafe for an Enemy; and ſmall Boats therein may come up, almoſt to the very Caſtle Gate. The middle Part of the Rock, by which you go up, being full of Buildings, makes, as it were, another Caſtle, diſtinct and ſecluded from the higher one: Beſides the Natural Fortification of the Rock, the two Rivers, *Levin* to the Weſt, and *Clyde* to the South, make a kind of Graff and Trench about it; on the Eaſt Side, when the Tide is in, the Sea waſhes the very Foot of the Rock; when 'tis out,

out, that Place is not ſandy (as uſually Shores are) but muddy; the fat Soil being diſſolv'd into Dirt. This Strand is alſo intercepted and cut by many Torrents of Water, which tumble down from the Mountain, adjacent. The other ſide turns towards a plain Field, full of Graſs. The Caſtle hath three Fountains in it, always running; beſides Springs of freſh Water in many other Places. The ancient *Britains*, as *Bede* ſays, call'd the Place *Alcuith*; but the *Scots*, which were heretofore ſever'd from the *Britains* by the River *Levin*, becauſe that Fort was built on the Borders of the *Britains*, call'd it *Dumbritton*, now *Dunbarton*. There is a little Town hard by, of the ſame Name, upon the Bank of the River of *Levin*, about a Mile diſtant from the meeting of the Rivers.

Dumbritton, why ſo called.

This Caſtle was accounted impregnable, and, in all foreign and civil Wars, was of great Advantage to them that held it, and as prejudicial to their Enemy. At that time, *John Flemming* was Governor of it, by Commiſſion from the baniſh'd Queen; he, though he conſented not to the King's Murder; yet, having not a Force ſufficient to defend himſelf againſt the Royaliſts, ſided with the Parricides, and for four Years laſt paſt, had kept up the Gariſon at the Charge of the King of *France*, (whom he had perſuaded, That almoſt all the *Scots* had ſecretly confederated with the Queen of *England*;) yea, he had made a Boaſt to him, like a *Bragadochio* as he was, That he did, as it were, hold the Fetters of *Scotland* in his own Hands; and when ever the *French* had leiſure from other Wars, if they would but ſend him a little Aſſiſtance, he would eaſily clap them on, and bring all *Scotland* under their Power: And the *French* King was as vain, in feeding his ſenſeleſs Humor, for he ſent him ſome Military Proviſions by one *Monſieur Verack*, whom he commanded to ſtay there, and to give him an Account of all *Scotiſh* Affairs. Beſides, the Inſolencie of the Governor was increas'd by the Treachery of the Gariſon-Souldiers of *Edinburgh*-Caſtle, who had lately revolted from the King; and alſo, he was ſomewhat animated by the Sickneſs of the Regent, who was almoſt kill'd with a Fall from his Horſe, and had now the Gout alſo; and moreover he was incouraged by the Truce, which the Queen of *England* had obtained for them till the End of *March*. Theſe things made him and his Gariſon-Souldiers ſo ſecure and negligent, that they went often to be merry into the Town, and would lie there all Night, as if they had been lull'd in the very Boſom of Peace.

John Fleming, Governor of *Dunbarton*.

Matters ſtanding in this Poſture, and Preparation being made for the Expedition, as much as the preſent Haſte would permit; *John Cuningham* was ſent before with ſome Horſe, to ſtop all Paſſengers; that ſo the Enemy might have no Intelligence of their Coming. *Thomas Crawford* followed after with the Foot; they were appointed to meet together at * *Dumbeck*, an Hill about a Mile or two from the Caſtle, about Midnight. At that Place *Crawford* (as he was commanded) told the Souldiers, What the Deſign was, they were to go upon, and How they were to effect it; he ſhew'd them, who was to lead them on, and had promiſed to ſcale the Walls, firſt; and then he, and thoſe Commanders that would be noticed for their Valour,

* In *Lennox*.

Valour, were to follow. The Souldiers were easily perſuaded to follow their Leaders; whereupon the Ladders were carried, and other things, to ſtorm the Caſtle; and the Foot, a little before Day, march'd on towards it. The Horſe were commanded to ſtay in the ſame Place, to expect the Iſſue, whether good or bad. As they were approaching the Caſtle, they met with two Rubs or Checks; One was, That the Bridg over the Brook, that runs between the Fields, was broken; and Next, A Fire, appearing ſuddenly near it, occaſioned a Suſpicion, leſt the Bridg was broken on Purpoſe to ſtop the Enemy; and the Fire kindled by the Gariſon-Souldiers, to diſcover and prevent the Enemies Approach: But this Fear was ſoon diſpell'd, by their repairing the Bridg, as well as they could, in ſuch haſte, and making it paſſable for the Foot; and alſo the Scouts were ſent out to the Place, where the Fire was ſeen, and they could find no Sign of any Fire at all; ſo that the Fire was of a Meteorous Nature, like thoſe Fires which are bred in the Air, and ſometimes pitch on the Ground, and preſently vaniſh away; but they had a greater Cauſe of Fear, leſt the Heaven which was all beſpangled with Stars, and the Approach of the Day, ſhould diſcover them to the Sentinels, that watch'd above; but, behold! on a ſudden, a thick Miſt covered the Heavens, yet ſo that it reach'd not beyond the middle Rock of the Caſtle, but the upper Part of it was ſo dark, that the Guards in the Caſtle could ſee nothing of what was done below. But as the Miſt came ſeaſonably, ſo there was another Misfortune, which fell out very unluckily, and had almoſt marr'd the whole Buſineſs: For, many Ladders being required to get up that high Rock, and the firſt were unmanageable, by reaſon of their Length; they, being over-loaden with the Weight of thoſe who went haſtily up, and being not well faſtned at Foot in a ſlippery Soil, fell ſuddenly down with thoſe that were upon them: That Accident caſt them into a great Conſternation at preſent; but when they found, that no Body was hurt in the Fall, they recollected their Spirits, which were almoſt deſponding; and, as if God Almighty had favoured their Deſign, they went on, upon that dangerous Service, with greater Alacrity, ſo that they ſet the Ladders up again, more cautiouſly; and when they came to the middle of the Rock, there was a Place reaſonably convenient, where they might ſtand, and there they found an Aſh Shrub, caſually growing amongſt the Stones, which did them great Service, for they tied Ropes to it, and let them down; by which means, they lifted up their Fellows, that were left below; ſo that, at one and the ſame time, ſome were drawn up by the Ropes to the middle of the Rock; and others, by ſetting other Ladders, got up to the Top thereof. There alſo they met with a new and unexpected Misfortune, which had almoſt ſpoiled all their Meaſures; for one of the Souldiers, as he was in the middle of the Ladder, was ſuddenly taken with a kind of Fit of an Apoplexy, ſo that he ſtuck faſt to the Ladder, and could not be pluck'd therefrom, but ſtopp'd the Way to thoſe that would aſcend. This Danger was alſo overcome by the Diligence and Alacrity of the Souldiers, for they bound him to the Ladder, ſo that when he recovered out of his Fit, he could not fall;

Ignis Fatuus; Country People call it, *Jack with a Lanthorn*, or *Will with a Wiſp*.

and

and then in great Silence, turning the Ladder, the reſt eaſily aſcended; when they came to the Top of the Rock, there was a Wall built by Hand, to which they were to put their third Ladders, to get over it. *Alexander Ramſy*, with two Files of Muſqueteers, got upon it; the Sentinel preſently ſpied him, gave the Alarm, and caſt down Stones upon him, and his Men; *Alexander* being aſſaulted with this unuſual kind of Fight, as having neither Stones to throw again, nor an Helmet to defend him, yet leap'd down from the Wall into the Caſtle, and there was ſet upon by Three of the Guard; he fought it out valiantly with them, till his Fellow-Souldiers, being more ſolicitous for his Danger, than their own, leapt down after him, and preſently diſpatch'd the three Sentinels. In the mean time, the reſt made what haſte they could, ſo that the Wall being old, looſe, and overcharged with the Weight of thoſe who made haſte to get over it, fell down to the Ground; and by its Fall, as there was a Breach made for the reſt to enter, ſo the Ruins made the Deſcent more eaſy through the Rock, that was very high and rugged within the Caſtle; whereupon, they entred in a Body, crying out with a great Noiſe; *For God and the King*; and often proclaiming the Name of the Regent alſo; ſo that the Guards were amazed, and forgot to fight, but fled every one to ſhift for himſelf, as well as he could; ſome kept themſelves within Doors, till the firſt brunt of the Souldiers Fury was over. *Flemming* eſcaped the Danger, by ſlipping down through the oblique Rock, having but one in his Company, who was knock'd down, and fell, but he, deſcending a by-way, was let out at the Gate, and ſo got into a Veſſel on the River, which, by reaſon of the Tides being in, came up to the Walls of the Caſtle, and ſo fled into *Argyle*. The Sentinels of the lower Caſtle, and twenty five more of the Gariſon-Souldiers, who had been Drinking and Whoring in the Town all Night, taking the Alarum, never offered to fight, but fled every one which way he could. There were taken in the Caſtle *John Hamilton* Arch-biſhop of S. *Andrews*; *John Flemming* of *Bogal*; a young *Engliſh* Gentleman, that had fled from the laſt Inſurrection in *England*; *Verac* the *French* Man, who, a good while before, had been ſent to them with ſome Warlike Furniture and Proviſions, and ſtaid there in the Name of his King, to acquaint the *French* King with the State of *Scotiſh* Affairs: *Alexander*, the Son of *William Levingſton*, endeavoured to eſcape by changing his Habit, but was diſcovered, and brought back. The Regent being inform'd of the taking the Caſtle, before Noon came thither: *1ſt.* He highly commended the Souldiers, then he comforted *Flemming*'s Wife, and gave her not only her own Furniture, Plate, and all her Houſhold-ſtuff, and Utenſils, but alſo aſſigned an Eſtate, part of her Husband's, which had long before been forfeited into the King's Exchequer, to maintain her Self and Children: The reſt of the Booty was allowed the Souldiers. Having ſetled things thus, he had Leiſure to take a View of the Caſtle; and coming to the Rock, by which the Souldiers got up, it ſeem'd ſo difficult an Aſcent to them all, that the Souldiers themſelves confeſs'd, if they had foreſeen the Danger of the Service, no Reward whatſoever ſhould have hired them to undertake

Dumbarton-Caſtle taken by Surprize.

The Regent's Clemency to Flemming the Governor's Wife.

take it. *Verac* was accuſed by the Merchants, that, whereas they came intothe Bay of *Clyde*, he had robb'd them in an Hoſtile Manner: Whereupon, many of the Council were of Opinion, he ſhould have been Indicted as a Pirate or Robber; but the empty Name of an Embaſſador prevailed more with the Regent, which yet he himſelf had violated by his flagitious Actions: Wherefore, that the deſpoil'd Perſons might be kept in ſome Hope (at leaſt) of Satisfaction from him; he was kept ſeemingly for a Trial, and lodg'd in an Houſe at St. *Andrews*, whoſe Owner was inclined to the Rebels; whence he was taken away, as 'twere by Force, which was the thing aim'd at, and ſo he ſpeedily departed. The *Engliſh*-Man, though many Suſpicions were fix'd upon him; and beſides, the Commendatory Letters of *John Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſs* to *Flemming*, which were found after the Caſtle was taken, did convict him, yet he was ſent home; but, after he was gone, 'twas found, that he was ſuborn'd by the *Norfolkians* to poiſon the King of *Scots*: *Bogal* was kept Priſoner. There was one Priſoner more, which the Governour moſt deſired to have puniſh'd, That was the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*: He, in former times, while his Brother was Regent, had adviſed him to many cruel and avaricious Practices; and under the Queen alſo, he bore the Blame of all Miſcarriages. The Regent feared, if he ſhould delay his Puniſhment, the Queen of *England* would intercede for him, and the Arch-biſhop's Friends were in great Hopes of it; and, leſt Straitneſs of time ſhould prevent them, the Arch-biſhop earneſtly deſired, he might be tried by the Legal Way of the Country, for that would occaſion ſome, though not much Delay. But theſe Interpoſals were over-ruled, it being alleged, That there was no need of any new Proceſs, in the Arch-Biſhops caſe, for it had been already judg'd in the Parliament. Wherefore he, being plainly convicted as guilty of the King's Murder, and of the laſt Regents alſo, was hang'd at *Sterlin*. There was then new Evidence brought in againſt him, for, the greateſt Part thereof had been diſcovered, but lately. The Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, who lodg'd in the next Houſe, when the Propoſition of killing the King was made to him, willingly undertook it, both by Reaſon of old Feuds between their Families, and alſo an Hope thereby to bring the Kingdom nearer to his Family; whereupon, he chuſes out ſix or eight of the moſt flagitious of his Vaſſals, and commended the Matter to them, giving them the Keyes of the King's Lodgings; they then enter very ſilently into his Chamber, and ſtrangle him, when he was aſleep; and when they had ſo done, they carried out his Body through a little Gate, (of which I ſpake before) into an Orchard adjoining to the Walls; and then a Sign was given to blow up the Houſe. The Diſcovery of this Wickedneſs was made by *John Hamilton*, who was a chief Actor therein, upon this Occaſion: He was much troubled in his Mind, Day and Night, his Conſcience tormenting him for the Guilt of the Fact, and not only ſo, but, as if the Contagion reach'd to his Body too, That alſo was miſerably pained and conſumed by degrees; endeavouring all ways to eaſe himſelf, at laſt he remembred, That there was a School-Maſter at *Paſley*, no bad Man, who was yet a Papiſt; to him he confeſſes

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* executed as guilty of the King's and Regent's Murders, with Evidences proving the ſame.

* the

the whole Plot, and the Names of thoſe who joined with him in perpetrating the Murder: The Prieſt comforted him, what he could, and put him in mind of the Mercy of God; yet, becauſe the Diſeaſe had taken deeper root, than to be expiable by ſuch ſlight Remedies, within a few days, he was overwhelmed with Grief, and died. The Prieſt was not ſo ſilent in the thing, but that ſome inkling of it came to the King's Friends. They, many Months after the Murder was committed, when *Matthew*, Earl of *Lennox*, was Regent, and when *Dunbarton* was taken, and the Biſhop brought to *Sterlin*, cauſed the Prieſt to be ſent for, thither: He then juſtified, what he had ſpoken before, about the King's Murder; whereupon, being ask'd by *Hamilton*, How he came to know it? Whether 'twere revealed to him in Auricular Confeſſion? He told him, Yes; then ſaid *Hamilton*, You are not ignorant of the Puniſhment due to thoſe, who reveal the Secrets of Confeſſions, and made no other Anſwer to the Crime. After fifteen Months or more, the ſame Prieſt was taken, ſaying Maſs the third time; and, as the Law appointed, was led out to ſuffer; then alſo he publickly declared all, that he had before affirm'd in the thing, in plainer and fuller words, which were ſo openly divulged, that now *Hamilton*'s Vaſſals fell out amongſt themſelves, and one of them charged another with the King's Death.

John Hamilton, an Actor in the King's Murder, in trouble of Conſcience, accuſes himſelf, and the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, of that horrid Crime.

In the mean while, the Rebels had procured ſome ſmall matter of Mony from *France*, by means of the Brother of him, who commanded *Edinburgh*-Caſtle. And moreover, *Morton* was returned from his *Engliſh* Embaſſy, and, in a Convention of the Nobles held at *Sterlin*, declar'd the Effect thereof, in theſe Words;

The Regent's Embaſſadors, *Morton*, &c. return from *England*, with an ample account of their Negotiations there, and the grounds alledged by them, to juſtify the late Actions in *Scotland*, againſt their Queen.

'When we came to *London*, *February* 20. we were put over to 'a Council, choſen out for that purpoſe; who, after much Diſ-'pute betwixt us, at laſt, inſiſted upon two Points, Firſt, That 'we would produce the cleareſt and beſt Arguments we had, to 'evidence the Juſtneſs of thoſe Actions, which had paſs'd in *Scot-'land*, both formerly and now, that ſo the Queen might be ſatisfied 'in the Equity of them, and thereby know how to anſwer thoſe, 'who demanded a Reaſon for them: If we could not do That, yet 'the Queen would omit nothing which might conduce to our Safe-'ty. In Anſwer to which, we gave in a Memorial to Them, to this 'effect; The Crimes, wherewith, at firſt, our King's Mother 'alleged, that ſhe was falſly charged with, have been ſo clearly 'prov'd by the Earl of *Murray*, and his Aſſociates in that Embaſ-'ſy, That both the Queen her ſelf, and thoſe, who were delegated 'by her, to hear the Cauſe, could not be ignorant of the Author of 'the King's Murder, which was the Source of all our other Miſe-'ries: To repeat them again before the Queen, who, we doubt 'not, is therein ſufficiently ſatisfied already, we think it not neceſ-'ſary; and beſides, we our ſelves are unwillingly drawn into the 'Task of repeating the Memory of ſo great a Wickedneſs. But 'they, who cannot deny, that this Fact was cruelly and flagitiouſly 'perpetrated, yet do calumniate the Reſignation of the Kingdom, 'and the Tranſlation of the Government from the Mother to the 'Son, to be a new and grievous thing, extorted from her by mere

take it. *Verac* was accuſed by the Merchants, that, whereas they came intothe Bay of *Clyde*, he had robb'd them in an Hoſtile Manner: Whereupon, many of the Council were of Opinion, he ſhould have been Indicted as a Pirate or Robber; but the empty Name of an Embaſſador prevailed more with the Regent, which yet he himſelf had violated by his flagitious Actions: Wherefore, that the deſpoil'd Perſons might be kept in ſome Hope (at leaſt) of Satisfaction from him; he was kept ſeemingly for a Trial, and lodg'd in an Houſe at St. *Andrews*, whoſe Owner was inclined to the Rebels; whence he was taken away, as 'twere by Force, which was the thing aim'd at, and ſo he ſpeedily departed. The *Engliſh*-Man, though many Suſpicions were fix'd upon him; and beſides, the Commendatory Letters of *John Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſs* to *Flemming*, which were found after the Caſtle was taken, did convict him, yet he was ſent home; but, after he was gone, 'twas found, that he was ſuborn'd by the *Norfolkians* to poiſon the King of *Scots*: *Bogal* was kept Priſoner. There was one Priſoner more, which the Governour moſt deſired to have puniſh'd, That was the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*: He, in former times, while his Brother was Regent, had adviſed him to many cruel and avaricious Practices; and under the Queen alſo, he bore the Blame of all Miſcarriages. The Regent feared, if he ſhould delay his Puniſhment, the Queen of *England* would intercede for him, and the Arch-biſhop's Friends were in great Hopes of it; and, leſt Straitneſs of time ſhould prevent them, the Arch-biſhop earneſtly deſired, he might be tried by the Legal Way of the Country, for that would occaſion ſome, though not much Delay. But theſe Interpoſals were over-ruled, it being alleged, That there was no need of any new Proceſs, in the Arch-Biſhops caſe, for it had been already judg'd in the Parliament. Wherefore he, being plainly convicted as guilty of the King's Murder, and of the laſt Regents alſo, was hang'd at *Sterlin*. There was then new Evidence brought in againſt him, for, the greateſt Part thereof had been diſcovered, but lately. The Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, who lodg'd in the next Houſe, when the Propoſition of killing the King was made to him, willingly undertook it, both by Reaſon of old Feuds between their Families, and alſo an Hope thereby to bring the Kingdom nearer to his Family; whereupon, he chuſes out ſix or eight of the moſt flagitious of his Vaſſals, and commended the Matter to them, giving them the Keyes of the King's Lodgings; they then enter very ſilently into his Chamber, and ſtrangle him, when he was aſleep; and when they had ſo done, they carried out his Body through a little Gate, (of which I ſpake before) into an Orchard adjoining to the Walls; and then a Sign was given to blow up the Houſe. The Diſcovery of this Wickedneſs was made by *John Hamilton*, who was a chief Actor therein, upon this Occaſion: He was much troubled in his Mind, Day and Night, his Conſcience tormenting him for the Guilt of the Fact, and not only ſo, but, as if the Contagion reach'd to his Body too, That alſo was miſerably pained and conſumed by degrees; endeavouring all ways to eaſe himſelf, at laſt he remembred, That there was a School-Maſter at *Paſley*, no bad Man, who was yet a Papiſt; to him he confeſſes

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* executed as guilty of the King's and Regent's Murders, with Evidences proving the ſame.

the

the whole Plot, and the Names of thoſe who joined with him in perpetrating the Murder: The Prieſt comforted him, what he could, and put him in mind of the Mercy of God; yet, becauſe the Diſeaſe had taken deeper root, than to be expiable by ſuch ſlight Remedies, within a few days, he was overwhelmed with Grief, and died. The Prieſt was not ſo ſilent in the thing, but that ſome inkling of it came to the King's Friends. They, many Months after the Murder was committed, when *Matthew*, Earl of *Lennox*, was Regent, and when *Dunbarton* was taken, and the Biſhop brought to *Sterlin*, cauſed the Prieſt to be ſent for, thither: He then juſtified, what he had ſpoken before, about the King's Murder; whereupon, being ask'd by *Hamilton*, How he came to know it? Whether 'twere revealed to him in Auricular Confeſſion? He told him, Yes; then ſaid *Hamilton*, You are not ignorant of the Puniſhment due to thoſe, who reveal the Secrets of Confeſſions, and made no other Anſwer to the Crime. After fifteen Months or more, the ſame Prieſt was taken, ſaying Maſs the third time; and, as the Law appointed, was led out to ſuffer; then alſo he publickly declared all, that he had before affirm'd in the thing, in plainer and fuller words, which were ſo openly divulged, that now *Hamilton*'s Vaſſals fell out amongſt themſelves, and one of them charged another with the King's Death.

John Hamilton, an Actor in the King's Murder, in trouble of Conſcience, accuſes himſelf, and the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, of that horrid Crime.

In the mean while, the Rebels had procured ſome ſmall matter of Mony from *France*, by means of the Brother of him, who commanded *Edinburgh*-Caſtle. And moreover, *Morton* was returned from his *Engliſh* Embaſſy, and, in a Convention of the Nobles held at *Sterlin*, declar'd the Effect thereof, in theſe Words;

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'Force. First, as for the Matter of Fact, in punishing our Princes, 'the old Custom of our Ancestors will not suffer it to be called '*new*; neither can the Moderateness of the Punishment make it in-'vidious: 'Tis not needful for us to reckon up the many Kings, 'whom our Forefathers have chastis'd by Imprisonment, Ba-'nishment, yea, Death it self; much less need we confirm our 'Practice by foreign Examples, of which there are abundance in 'old Histories. The Nation of the *Scots* being at first free, by the 'common Suffrage of the People, set up Kings over them, conditi-'onally, That, if need were, they might take away the Govern-'ment by the same Suffrages that gave it: The Footsteps of this Law 'remain to this very Day, for, in the circumjacent Islands, and in 'many Places of the Continent too, which have retained the anci-'ent Speech and Customs of our Fore-fathers to this Day; the 'same Course is yet observed, in creating their Magistrates. More-'over, those Ceremonies, which are used in the Inauguration of 'our Kings themselves, have an express Representation of this 'Law, by which it easily appears, That Kingly Government is 'nothing else, but a mutual Stipulation betwixt King and People; 'and the same is most clearly evidenced by the inoffensive Tenor of 'the Old Law, which hath been observed ever since there was a 'King in *Scotland*, even unto this present time, no Man having 'ever attempted to abrogate, abate, or diminish this Law, in the 'least. 'Tis too long to enumerate, How many Kings our Ance-'stors have put by their Kingdoms, have banish'd, have impriso'n'd, 'have put to Death; neither is there the least mention made of the 'Severity of this Law, or the abrogating thereof, and that on good 'Grounds: For 'tis not of the Nature of such Sanctions, which are 'subject to the Mutations of Time; but, in the very Original of 'Mankind, 'twas ingraven in Mens Hearts, approv'd by the mu-'tual Consent of almost all Nations, and, together with Nature it 'self, was to remain inviolate and sempiternal; so that these Laws 'are not subject to the Empire of any Men, but all Men subject to 'the Dominion and Power of Them. This Law prescribes to us 'in all our Actions, 'tis always before our Eyes and Minds, whe-'ther we will or no; it dwells in us: Our Ancestors followed it, in 'repressing the Violence of Tyrants by armed Force. 'Tis a Law, 'not proper to the *Scots* only, but common to all Nations and Peo-'ple in well-instituted Governments. To pass by the famous Ci-'ties of *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Rome*, *Venice*, who never suffer'd this Right 'to be taken from them, but with their Liberty it self: Even in 'those Times, wherein Oppression and Tyranny were most tri-'umphant in the *Roman* Government, if any good Man were cho-'sen Emperour, he counted it his Glory, to confess himself inferi-'our to the whole Body of the People, and to be subject to the 'Law. For *Trajan*, when he delivered a Sword to the Governour 'of a certain City, (according to Custom) is reported to say, *Use 'it either for me, or against me, as I deserve*: Yea, *Theodosius*, a good 'Emperour in bad Times, would have it left recorded amongst his 'Sanctions and Laws, as a Speech worthy of an Emperour, yea, 'greater than his Empire it self, to confess, *That he was inferiour to*

'*the*

The Original of Kingly Government in *Scotland*.

Kingly Government, What?

Trajan and *Theodosius*, their memorable Speeches.

'*the Laws*: Yea, the moſt barbarous Nations, ſuch as were moſt 'remote from all Civility, had a Senſe and Knowledg hereof, as the 'Hiſtory of all Nations, and common Obſervation, ſhews. But, 'not to inſiſt on obſolete Examples, I will produce Two in our own 'Memory; Of late, *Chriſtiern* of *Denmark*, for his Cruelty, was dri- *Chriſtiern, of Denmark, depoſed.*
'ven out of the Kingdom, with all his Lineage, a greater Puniſh- 'ment than ever our People exacted from any of their Kings, for they 'never puniſh'd the Sins of the Fathers upon their Children. As for 'him, he was deſervedly puniſh'd, after a ſingular manner, as the 'Monſter of his Age, for all kind of Wickedneſs. But what did 'the Mother of the Emperour, *Charles* the Fifth, do, as to de- 'ſerve perpetual Impriſonment? She was a Woman in her flouriſh- 'ing Age, and her Husband died young, even in the Prime of his 'Age; it was reported, She had a mind to marry again, ſhe was 'not accus'd for any Wickedneſs, but for a certain allowable Intem- 'perance, (as the ſevere *Cato*'s of the Age ſpeak); and, as the pub- 'lick Manners now are, of an honeſt Copulation, approved by 'God's and Man's Law, both. If the Calamity of our Queen be 'compared with *Chriſtiern*'s of *Denmark*, ſhe is not leſs an Offender, '(to ſay no more,) but ſhe hath been more moderately proceeded 'againſt and puniſh'd: But, if ſhe be compared with *Joan* of *Au- 'ſtria*, *Charles* his Mother, what did that poor Lady do, but deſire, 'as far as lawfully ſhe might, a Pleaſure allowed by the Law, and a 'Remedy neceſſary for her Age? Yet, being an innocent Woman, 'ſhe ſuffer'd that Puniſhment, of which our Queen, convict of the 'higheſt Wickedneſs, doth now complain: The Murder of her 'lawful Husband, and her unlawful Marriage with a publick Par- 'ricide, have now thoſe ſame Deprecators, who, in killing the 'King, did inflict the Puniſhment, due to wicked Men, on the In- 'nocent. But here they remember not, what the Examples of 'their Anceſtors do prompt them to do; neither are they mindful 'of that eternal Law, which our noble Progenitors, even from the 'firſt beginnings of Kingdoms, having followed, have thereby re- 'ſtrain'd the Violence of Tyrants. And, in our preſent Caſe, 'what have we done more, than trod in the Steps of ſo many 'Kingdoms and free Nations, and ſo bridled that Arbitrarineſs, 'which claim'd a Power above Law? And yet, we have not done 'it with that Severity neither, as our Anceſtors have us'd in the 'like kind; for they would never have ſuffer'd any one, who had 'been found guilty of ſuch a notorious Crime, to eſcape the Puniſh- 'ment of the Law. If we had imitated Them, we had been free 'from fear of Danger, and alſo from the Trouble of Calumniators; 'and, that may be eaſily known by the Poſtulations of our Adver- 'ſaries. How often have they criminated and arraigned us before 'our Neighbour-Princes? What Nations do they not ſolicite, and 'ſtir up againſt us? What do they deſire by this Importunity? Is 'it only, That the Controverſy may be decided by Law and Equi- 'ty? We never refuſed That Condition; and they would never ac- 'cept of It, though 'twere often offer'd them. What then do they 'deſire? Even This, That we ſhould arm Tyrants, by Publick Au- 'thority, who are manifeſtly guilty of the moſt notorious Wicked-

'neſs,

'neſs, who are ſtuff'd with the Spoils of their Subjects, beſmear'd 'with the Blood of Kings, and aim at the Deſtruction of all good 'Men? Shall we ſet them up over our Lives, who are found 'Actors in the Parricide, and ſhrewdly ſuſpected to be the Deſign-'ers of it, without acquitting themſelves in a Judiciary way? And 'yet, we have gratified their Requeſt, more than the Cuſtom of our 'Country, the Severity of the Law, or the Diſtribution of equal 'Juſtice would allow. There is nothing more frequently celebra-'ted, nor more diligently handled, by the Writers of our Hiſtory, 'than our Puniſhment of evil Kings. And amongſt ſo many pec-'cant Governours, who ever felt the like Lenity of angry Subjects, 'in inflicting Puniſhment, as we have uſed in puniſhing our King's 'Mother, though evidently guilty of a moſt atrocious Crime? 'What Ruler, ſtanding convict of Murder, had ever power given 'to ſubſtitute a Son, or Kinſman in his, or her, place: To whom, in 'ſuch Circumſtances, alſo was the Liberty ever granted, to appoint 'what Guardians they pleas'd, to the ſucceeding King? And in the 'very Abjuration of the Kingdom, Who can complain of any hard 'Uſage? A young Woman, unable to undergo the Burden, and 'toſs'd by the Storms of unſettled Affairs, ſent Letters to the No-'bility, to free her from That Government, which was as burden-'ſom to her, as it was honourable: It was granted her: She deſir'd 'the Government might be transferr'd from her to her Son; her 'Requeſt was aſſented to: She alſo deſir'd to have the Naming of 'the Guardians, who might manage the Government, till her Son 'came to be of Age; it was done, as ſhe deſir'd: And, that the 'thing might have more Authority, the whole Matter was referr'd 'to the Eſtates in Parliament, who Voted, That all was rightly 'done, and in good order, and they confirm'd it by an Act, than 'which there cannot be a more ſacred and a firmer Obligation. But '"'tis alleged, What was done in Priſon, is to be taken, not as done 'willingly, but forc'd by Durance, for fear of Death; and ſo many 'other things, which Men are inforc'd to do for fear, are wont, as 'they ought, to go for Nothing. Indeed, this Excuſe of Fear, as 'ſometimes it is, not without reaſon, admitted by the Judges, ſo it 'doth not always infer a juſt Cauſe for aboliſhing a publick Act, 'once made, in a Suit of Law; if a Man ſtrike a Fear into his Ad-'verſary for ones own Advantage, and ſo the Plaintiff extorts more 'from the Defendant, than he could ever obtain by the Equity of the 'Law: Thoſe Remedies are moſt rightfully and deſervedly provi-'ded againſt ſuch, as are either terrified by Compulſion, or inforc'd 'by Fear, to do what is prejudicial to themſelves. But 'tis other-'wiſe, If a guilty Conſcience creates a Fear to it ſelf, out of an 'Expectation of a deſerved Puniſhment, to avoid which, he aſſents 'to ſome certain Conditions: This Fear carries with it no juſt 'Cauſe to reſcind publick Acts; for otherwiſe, the wickeder a 'Perſon is, ſo much the eaſier Retreat he might have to the Sanctu-'ary of the Law; and then, the Remedies found out for the Relief 'of the Innocent, would be transferred to indemnify the Nocent. 'And the Laws themſelves, the Avengers of Wrongs, would not 'be a Refuge to good Men, when vex'd by the Improbity of the 'Bad;

'Bad; but an unjuſt Shelter to the Evil, when they fear deſerv'd 'Puniſhment. But that Fear, let it be what it will, wherein hath 'it made the Condition of the Queen, the worſe? The Title of 'Kingly Dignity, and the Power of Government, was long ſince 'taken from Her by Parliament; and being reduc'd to her Privacy, 'ſhe liv'd a precarious Life, upon the account of the Peoples Mer-'cy, not her own Innocency; When therefore ſhe was put by the 'Kingdom, what did ſhe loſe by her fear? Her Dominion was 'ended before, ſhe only caſt away the empty Name of *Ruler*, and 'that which might lawfully have been extorted from her againſt her 'Will, ſhe parted with of her own accord, and ſo redeem'd the reſi-'due of her Life, the Sentiment of her Infamy, the perpetual Fear of 'imminent Death, which is worſe than Death it ſelf, only by the 'laying down the Shadow of a mere Title and Name. And there-'fore, I wonder, that, on this Head, no Body diſcovers the Prevari-'cation of the Queen's Delegates, and of her Embaſſadors. For they, 'who deſire, That what was done in Priſon, by the Queen, may be 'undone, ask this alſo, That ſhe may be reſtor'd to that Place, from 'which, ſhe complains, ſhe was ejected, through Fear. And what 'is that Place, to which they ſo earneſtly deſire, ſhe ſhould be re-'ſtor'd? She was remov'd from governing the Kingdom before, all 'publick Adminiſtration was taken away from her, and ſhe was 'left to the Puniſhment of the Law. Now theſe goodly Advocates, 'forſooth, would have her reſtor'd to that Place, as to plead for her 'ſelf in a Cauſe which is as manifeſt, as 'tis foul and deteſtable; or, 'rather, it being already prov'd, that ſhe ſhould ſuffer juſt Puniſh-'ment for the ſame. And whereas, now ſhe injoys ſome eaſe in the 'Compaſſion of her Kindred, and, in ſo foul an Offence, is not in 'any of the worſt Caſes, they would again caſt her into the tem-'peſtuous Hurry of a new Judgment; She having no better hope of 'her Safety, than ſhe can gather from the Condemnation of ſo 'many former Kings, who have been called before Judges to an-'ſwer for themſelves. But, becauſe our Adverſaries do ſeditiouſly 'boaſt, to trouble the Minds of the ſimpler Sort, That the Majeſty 'of good Kings is impair'd and their Authority almoſt viliſi'd, if 'Tyrants be puniſh'd, let us ſee, what Weight there is in this Pre-'tence. We may rather contrarily judge, That there is nothing more 'honourable for the Societies and Aſſemblies of the *Good*, than if 'they are freed from the Contagion of the *Bad*. Who ever thought, 'that the Senate of *Rome* incurr'd any Guilt, by the Puniſhment of '*Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, or *Catiline*: And *Valerius Aſiaticus*, when the 'Souldiers Mutined for the Slaughter of *Caligula*, and cry'd out, to 'know, *Who was the Author of ſo audacious a Fact.* He anſwer'd from 'an high and lofty Place, where he ſtood, *I wiſh, I could truely ſay, I 'did it*; So much Majeſty there was in that free Speech of one pri-'vate Man, That the wild common Souldiers were preſently diſſi-'pated and quieted thereby. When *Junius Brutus* overthrew the 'Conſpiracy, made for bringing back Kings into the City, he did 'not think that his Family was ſtained by a nefarious Slaughter; but 'that, by the Blood of his Children, the ſtain was rather wiped 'away from the Roman Nobility. Did the Impriſonment of

Valerius Aſiaticus, his bold and confident Speech.

He is ſaid to have ſlain his own Sons; Who would have brought back Kingly Government into *Rome*.

'*Chriſtiern*

'*Chriſtiern* of *Denmark* detract any thing from the Commendation of '*Chriſtiern*, the next King? What hindred, but that he might have 'been accounted the beſt of Kings, in his time; For a noble Mind, 'that is ſupported by his own Virtue, doth neither increaſe by the 'Glory, nor is leſſened by the Infamy, of another. But to let theſe 'things paſs, let us return to the Proof of the Crime. I think, we 'have abundantly ſatisfi'd the Queen's Requeſt; her deſire was, That 'we ſhould ſhew her ſuch ſtrengthning and convincing Proofs, for 'what we have done, that ſhe might be ſatisfied in the juſtneſs of 'our Cauſe; and alſo, be able to inform Others, who deſir'd to 'hear, what we could ſay for our Selves. As for the King's Mur-'der; the Author, the Method, and the Cauſes thereof, have been ſo 'fully declar'd by the Earl of *Murray* and his Fellows in that Em-'baſſy, that they muſt needs be clear to the exact Judgments of the 'Queen, and thoſe Others, delegated by her to hear that Affair. 'As for what is objected to us, as blame-worthy, after that time, 'we have ſhewn, That 'tis conſentaneous to the Divine Law, and 'alſo to the Law of Nature, which too is, in a ſort, Divine; More-'over, 'tis conſonant to our own Country-Laws and Cuſtoms; 'Neither is it different from the Uſage of other Nations, who have 'the Face of any Good and juſt Government amongſt them; Seeing 'then, that our Cauſe is juſtifi'd by all the Interpreters of Divine 'and Human Laws; ſeeing the Examples of ſo many Ages, the 'Judgments of ſo many People, and the Puniſhments of Tyrants 'do confirm it, we ſee no ſuch Novelty (not to ſay, Injuſtice) in 'our Cauſe, but that the Queen her ſelf might readily ſubſcribe to 'it; yea, and perſuade others, that, in this Matter, they ſhould be no 'otherwiſe opinionated of us, but that we have carried our Selves 'like good Subjects and Chriſtians, too.

Theſe were the Allegations, which, we thought fit, to make to juſtify our Cauſe, which we committed to writing, and read them the laſt day of *February*, before thoſe grave and learned Perſons, whom the Queen had appointed to confer with us, on this Subject; and the next Day, which was *March* the firſt, We again went, in the Morning, to Court, to learn, how ſhe reliſh'd our Anſwer, and what Judgment ſhe made of the whole Cauſe; but, becauſe ſhe, that Day, was going to her Country-Houſe, called *Greenwich*, about three Miles below *London*, we had no Opportunity to ſpeak with her; What was Next to that, we went to the Chief of the Council, who, at firſt, were appointed to hear and tranſact with us; 'They told us, That the Queen (though ſhe had very little ſpare 'time, in regard of the Journy, and other Buſineſs, yet) had read 'our Memorial: But ſhe was not yet ſo fully perſuaded, that our 'Cauſe was ſo juſt, that She could approve it without Scruple; and 'therefore, ſhe deſired us to go to the Second thing, at firſt propoſed 'by us, which was, To find out ſome Way, whereby this Diſpute 'might be ended, upon ſome moderate or handſom Conditions. Whereunto we replied, 'That we were not ſent from home with 'an unbounded Commiſſion, but One circumſcribed within certain 'Limits; ſo that we had no Freedom to enter into any Debate at 'all, of what might in the leaſt diminiſh the Authority of our

King;

'King; and if ſuch a Liberty had been offered us, yet we ſhould 'have been unwilling to accept it; or to make uſe of it, if accepted.

Matters ſtanding thus; the Queen being at *Greenwich*, and we at '*London*, we ſent ſome of our Number to her, to know, Whether 'ſhe had any thing more to ſay to us? if not, that we might have 'Liberty to depart home, there to conſult, what we could, the Good 'of our Country, and our own private Concerns: And if there 'were any thing, we might gratify her Majeſty in; We were willing 'to ſhew our Obſequiouſneſs and Reſpect therein; yea, we ſhould 'take more Opportunity to ſhew it at home, than we could have 'now in anothers Dominions. This Demand procur'd us a Sum-'mons to appear at Court, the 5*th* of *March*: When we were come 'into her Preſence, ſhe mightily blam'd our ſtifneſs in maintaining 'our conceiv'd Opinion, and that we did ſo pertinaciouſly ſhun 'a Diſpute, or rather a Conſultation, about a Matter ſo much con-'cerning our Security; She alſo added a large Declaration of her 'Mind and Will anent the King, and Thoſe who maintain'd his 'Cauſe. We urg'd, that the Juſtneſs of our Cauſe had been clearly 'enough declar'd, before. She anſwer'd, that ſhe was not ſatisfi'd in 'her Mind, with the Examples and Arguments produc'd by us; 'neither, ſaid ſhe, am I wholly ignorant of ſuch Diſputes, as ha-'ving ſpent ſome of my former time in the Study of the Law: But, 'ſays ſhe, if you be fully determin'd to make no other Propoſal for 'your King's Safety, and your Own; yet, I would have you, at 'leaſt, enter upon another Conference, with the Chief of my Coun-'cil, who treated with you about theſe things, before. We anſwer'd, 'That we were not at all ſo ſtiffly wedded to our own Opinions, as 'not to be willing to hear any good Expedient, that might be offer'd 'by her, or her Counſellors; always with this Proviſo, That no 'Alteration be made in the preſent State of the Kingdom; nor any 'Diminution at all of the King's Authority: For, upon thoſe Two 'Heads, we neither could, or would, admit the leaſt Conſultation 'or Debate. The Day after, we went down again to the Queen's 'Palace, (as we agreed) and entred into a Conference with her 'Counſellors, where many Propoſals were made by them to decide 'the Controverſy, between Mother and Son, concerning the Title 'to the Government; We, becauſe the Reaſons were many, and 'concerning Matters of ſuch great Moment on both ſides, deſir'd, 'That we might have them given to us in writing, and Time allow-'ed us, to conſider of Things of ſuch great Conſequence. They were 'very ready to do it, having firſt conſulted the Queen. When we 'had ran Them all over in order, the Matters propos'd ſeem'd ſo 'difficult to us, and alſo ſo derogatory to the Power of the King; 'and withal, ſo exceeding the Bounds of our Embaſſy and Com-'miſſion, that we neither would, could, nor durſt, touch upon 'them. The Day after, *Robert Petcarn* was ſent to Court with this 'Anſwer, That ſuch Matters did belong to the Deciſion of all the E-'ſtates, and were not to be diſputed by ſo ſmall a Number of Per-'ſons as we were. He alſo carried our Anſwer to Them, who the Day before, *viz.* the 4*th* of *March*, had deſir'd to have all in writing. 'Further, he earneſtly deſir'd the Queen, that, ſeeing they had exe-

'cuted all the points within the Bounds of their Commiſſion; They 'might have leave to return home. Ten Days after, we had liberty 'to attend the Queen: The Delegates of the Council, who, from 'our firſt coming, were appointed to treat with us, were very ur-'gent, That we would yet treat with them, about finding out ſome 'Remedies, to compoſe Things; They us'd many Arguments to 'that purpoſe, telling us, That if War from abroad ſhould be added 'to our Troubles at home, our Labours, Dangers and Difficulties 'would be doubled, eſpecially, being not able to extricate our ſelves 'by our own Forces. But we perſiſted in our Reſolution, and would 'hearken to no Model of Accommodation, which leſſened the King's 'Authority, and ſo that Day ended. The next Day, which was the 20*th* of *March*, we were ſent for again to Court, and being commanded to come to the Queen, ſhe ſpake to us to this purpoſe; 'That ſhe, and her Council, had weigh'd our Anſwers, by which 'ſhe underſtood, That none but a Supream Council, or Parliament 'of *Scotland*, conſiſting of all the Eſtates, could give a certain 'Anſwer to her Demands; and thereupon, ſhe had found out a Way, 'how to leave the matter intire, as ſhe found it, and with an ho-'neſt Pretence too. She was inform'd, that there was ſhortly to be 'a Convention of all the Eſtates in *Scotland*, thither we ſhould go, 'and God ſpeed us well, and therein we ſhould endeavour, that an 'equal Number of both Factions ſhould be choſen to examine the 'Grounds of the Difference betwixt them; and that ſhe alſo would 'ſend her Embaſſadors thither, which ſhould join Endeavours with 'Thoſe, to promote a Peace; In the mean time, ſhe deſir'd, That the 'Pacification might be renew'd, till the Matter was brought to 'ſome Iſſue. She ſaid alſo, That ſhe would confer with the Queen 'of *Scots* Embaſſadors, and perſuade them, if ſhe could, to the 'ſame. But when 'twas mov'd to Them, they excus'd themſelves, 'ſaying, That they could determine nothing on that head, without 'conſulting the Queen; but, that they would write to her to know 'her Pleaſure in the Caſe. Yet we preſt hard to have our Convoy to 'return, as was promiſed us, but were deſir'd to have a little Pati-'ence, till an Anſwer was return'd from the *Scots* Queen to the Bi-'ſhop of *Roſs*, and the reſt of her Embaſſadors, and then we ſhould 'have our Diſmiſſion. We urg'd our Return ſtill, but without ef-'fect, though we told her, we had nothing to do with the Biſhop 'of *Roſs*, neither was our Embaſſy to him, we had ended what we 'came for, and did much wonder, why the Biſhop of *Roſs* ſhould 'retard our Journy, eſpecially, ſince ſo many Tumults were rais'd 'in our Abſence, to the great Inconvenience of the King's Party: 'But though our Importunity was almoſt Shameleſs, yet we could 'not prevail, for the Matter was deferr'd from Day to Day, till the 'laſt of *March*, and then the Queen return'd to *London*. The Things which were acted in Parliament, for 3 Days after, did ſo take up the Queen, that ſhe had no leiſure to debate foreign Matters. 'But the '4*th* of *April*, ſhe ſent for us, and excus'd the Delay; She told us, 'That our King's Mother had by her Letters grievouſly chid her 'Embaſſadors for their Preſumptuous Confidence in deſcending to de-'bate her Cauſe after that Faſhion, and therefore, ſay's the Queen, 'ſeeing

'ſeeing they are ſo averſe from the Way of Concord, which I pro-
'poſe, I will detain you no longer; but if ſhe hereafter repent of
'her preſent Sentiment, (of which I have ſome hope) and take the
'Courſe chalkt out by me, I do not doubt, but you, for your part,
'will perform your Duty. Thus we were lovingly and kindly Diſ-
miſt, and, the 8th Day of *April*, began our Journy towards our own Country.

This Account was given at *Sterlin* by the Embaſſadors before the Convention of the Eſtates. Whereupon, the Care and Diligence of the Embaſſadors were unanimouſly approv'd. Other Matters they referr'd to the *firſt* of *May*, a Parliament being ſummon'd againſt that time. In the mean time, both Parties beſtir themſelves, one to promote, the other to hinder, the Aſſembling thereof. The wiſeſt Senators were of opinion, That the Queen of *England* would never let the *Scot's* Queen depart; as foreſeeing, how dangerous her Deliverance would be to all *Britain*. In the interim, Mention was made by ſome, of demanding the *Scot's* King, as an Hoſtage for his Mother, rather in hopes to hinder a Concord, than to eſtabliſh it; for ſhe was well aſſur'd, that the *Scots* would never yield to it; but there were ſome potent Men in her Council, who did ſecretly favour the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Faction; Theſe were deſirous, that the Queen of *Scots* ſhould be deliver'd, and thereby the adverſe Faction might, in tract of time, be broken and diminiſh'd, that ſo, they might obtain that Point from her by Neceſſity, which, they ſaw, they could not otherwiſe do; neither did they doubt, but the Matter would come to that Paſs, if the Rebels were aſſiſted with Mony and other Furniture for War from *France*, and the Royaliſts had their Eye only on the Queen of *England*; who had, at the beginning, largely promis'd them, upon underſtanding the flagitious Act of the Queen, that ſhe would take a ſpecial care of the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*. Neither could the *French* King well compaſs his Deſigns. He was willing, the *Scot's* Queen ſhould be deliver'd, but not that the King ſhould be put into *Engliſh* Hands; and hearing, how ſtrong the *Norfolk* Faction was, which was all for Innovations, he did not deſpair, but that the *Scot's* Queen might, in time, eſcape out of Priſon privately, or be deliver'd by his Means. Thus ſtood the State of *Britain*, at that time.

Some of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Counſellors deſire the *Scots* King to be ſent into *England*.

Morton, having given a laudable Account of his Embaſſy to the Convention at *Sterlin*, return'd to his own Houſe about 4 Miles from *Edinburgh*; he had a Company of 100 Foot, and a few Horſe to guard his Houſe, and to defend himſelf, if the Townſmen ſhould attempt to make any Excurſion, till more Forces might come in. In the mean time, the Queen's Faction were Maſters of the Town, and ſet Guards in all convenient Places; and levell'd all their Deſigns to exclude the Regent, and to hinder the Parliament, which was Indicted to be held at *Edinburgh*. Whereupon *Morton* was commanded, by the Regent, with 20 Horſe and about 70 Foot (for the reſt had Paſſes to go abroad for Forage) to march to *Leith*; who was to make a publick Proclamation there, (for they had gariſon'd *Edinburgh* already) That no Man ſhould aſſiſt the Rebels by Land or Sea, either with Proviſion, Arms, or any other warlike

The Queen's Faction gariſoned *Edinburgh*.

Furniture; they that did ſo, were to undergo the ſame Puniſhment with them. They, knowing themſelves to be inferior to the Town-Souldiers, ſent their Foot another Way about, which was cover'd by an Hill from the Sight of the City, (commonly call'd *Arthur's* Seat) and the Horſe paſt near the Walls and Gates of the City, not a Man of the Enemy ſtiring out. When they had done, what they were commanded to do at *Leith*, they had not the ſame Fortune at their Return, for the Foot refus'd to march back the ſame Way that they came, but return'd, againſt the will of the Horſe, near the Gates of the City, and ſo paſs'd with them, under the Walls, with an intent to try, what Metal themſelves were made of, and their Enemies, too; when, lo, on a ſudden, a Sally was made out againſt them from Two of the Gates. At firſt, they fought Manfully, ſo that the Oppidans were driven back in diſorder into the Town, with no great loſs, 'tis true, yet, it eaſily appear'd, that they were Inferior in Valour, though Superior in Number. The Regent, having nothing in readineſs to aſſault the Town, and having no time neither, by reaſon of the ſudden Sitting of the Parliament, to bring any great Guns thither, thought it better to deſiſt from Force, and to hold the Parliament without the Gate of *Edinburgh*; For that City being ſtretch'd out moſtly in Length, they, who firſt compaſſed it with a Wall, left a great Part of it in the Suburbs; yet ſo, that the Inhabitants of that Part had the full privileds of Citizens, as well as thoſe within the Walls. There the Convention was held, for the Lawyers gave their Opinions, That 'twas no great Matter, in what Part ſoever of the City, it met. In this Parliament, Theſe were declar'd Traitors, *viz.* The chief of Them who held out the Caſtle, eſpecially thoſe, who, out of Conſciouſneſs of their guilt of the King's and Regent's Murders, had avoided Tryal. The Rebels being thus condemn'd by an Act of Parliament (The Judgment of which Court is of very great Authority,) leſt the Commonalty, which ordinarily is at the beck of the Nobility, ſhould be alienated from them, They alſo, of the Number which they had there, made up a Convention, ſuch as it was. Few appear'd there, who had any lawful right to Vote; and of them, ſome came not into the Aſſembly at all; ſome preſented themſelves, but as Spectators only, abſtaining from all Judiciary Actings; ſo that they, having neither a juſt Number of Voices, nor were they aſſembled, either in due Time, or according to ancient Cuſtom; yet, that they might make ſhew of a lawful ſufficient Number, Two Biſhops, and ſome Others which were abſent (a thing never heard of before) ſent in their Votes, in writing, at hap-hazard, as being doubtful of the Event of that Aſſembly. At this time, the Caſtle continually plaid with great Guns upon the Place, where the Nobles were Aſſembled, and though the Bullets often fell amongſt crouds of People, yet they neither hurt, nor kill'd, ſo much as one Man. There were but few condemn'd in either Convention; and both Parties appointed another Convention to be held in *Auguſt*, one at *Sterlin*, the other at *Edinburgh*. When the Aſſembly was diſmiſt, neither Party iſſued out one upon other, ſo that there was a kind of Truce between them. Thereupon the greateſt part of the Souldi-

Morton comes to *Leith*, and publiſhes a Proclamation againſt Them.

The Gariſon of *Edinburgh* ſallies out upon him in his retreat.

Edinburgh, How ſeated?

A Convention of the Eſtates held at one end of the City of *Edinburgh*, becauſe the Enemy poſſeſſed the Caſtle.

The Caſtle plays upon the Conventioners with Cannon, but does them no hurt.

Two Anti-Aſſemblies Indicted.

ers, that were with *Morton*, being preſs'd Men, ſlipt away to their own homes. They, who kept the Town, knew, That *Morton* had but a ſmall Party for his Guard, and being willing alſo to cry quits for their former ignominious Repulſe, they ſent out 220 Muſqueteers, and a 100 Horſe; they carried two Braſs Field-Pieces along with them, intending either to burn the Town of *Dalkeith*, where *Morton* then was; or, if That ſucceeded not, to frighten the Enemy, and keep him within the Town; and if they could thus put him into a Fright, they intended to make their Braggs thereof all over the Country. They ſhewed themſelves, well accoutred, on an Hill over againſt *Dalkeith*; Whereupon, they at *Dalkeith*, being alarm'd, cry'd preſently, *Arm, Arm.* The *Mortonians* drew out immediately, being 200 Foot, and about 60 Horſe, and mounted a little an oppoſite Hill, and then again deſcending into the Vally and Plain, they ſtood over againſt them, ready to fight: Some Archers picquered and skirmiſhed on both Sides, and there was a light Onſet; but the Rebels, who expected to find their Enemies unprepared, being diſappointed of their Hope, march'd back, in as entire a Body as they could, to recover the City; and thus ſome preſſing upon Others, in the Eagerneſs of their Retreat, they came to *Cragmiller*-Caſtle, ſcituate almoſt in the Mid-way between *Edinburgh* and *Dalkeith*. There a few of *Morton*'s Foot, which paſt by the Caſtle privately on the other ſide, roſe from their Ambuſh, and aſſaulted the Enemies Body, in the ſtrait Paſſage of the Way, which was between them, and ſo diſorder'd their Ranks, and put them to Flight: They, who kept Gariſon in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, perceiving from the higher Ground, that their Men were flying toward them, ſent out 80 Horſe, and 30 Foot, to relieve them; with this Supply, they charg'd again, and the King's Horſe, being fewer in Number by half, and not able to indure the brunt, fled back in as much haſte as they had purſued before. The Foot was in a manner uſeleſs on both ſides, becauſe of a great Shower that fell ſuddenly from the Clouds. In the Purſuit of the *Mortonians*, there were but Two ſlain, more were wounded, and about 26 taken Priſoners: Of the Rebels, there were more ſlain, but fewer Priſoners taken. But one Accident did almoſt equal the Loſs of both Parties: They which came from *Edinburgh*, brought with them a Barrel of Gun-powder, and as the Souldiers, in haſte and careleſly, went to take out ſome Powder, a Spark of Fire light into it, and blew it up, inſomuch that the Horſe which carried it, *James Melvil*, the Commander of the Foot, and many other Souldiers, were ſo ſcorch'd and burnt, that the moſt Part of them, in a few Days after, died.

A Sally out of *Edinburgh*, againſt *Morton*, at *Dalkeith*,

Near two Miles from *Edinburgh*, wherein both Parties receive ſome Checks.

Whilſt theſe things were acting about *Edinburgh*, Victory inclining to neither Side, one Troop of the *Scots*, who, ſome Years before, had ſerv'd in *Denmark*, under *Michael Weems*, a noble, virtuous, and learn'd young Man, return'd into their own Country, and offer'd their Service to the King, againſt the Deſires of the Townſmen, who would willingly have drawn them over to their Party. They had a little Time allow'd them to viſit their Friends; and coming together at the Day appointed, they were imform'd, That

A *Scotch* Troop from *Denmark*, comes to help the Royaliſts.

That ſome Ships were mann'd out by the Rebels, to intercept them. *Morton* himſelf was aware of the Plot, and therefore taking what Force he could, on a ſudden, make, without acquainting any Body with his Deſign, he came ſo haſtily to *Leith*, that he had almoſt catch'd them, before they went a Ship-bord, ſixteen of the Loiterers, who did not make ſuch haſte to lanch out their Boat, he took Priſoners, on the Shore. The next Day, he provided Ships, either to follow them, (he could not do it ſooner, becauſe of the Tide) or, to intercept them in their Return. The Regent alſo was made acquainted with it the ſame Night, who, ſpeedily gathering ſome Tumultuary Force, haſtned to the left Shore of the Fort, to ſet upon the Rebels, when they landed: But the Speed of the *Daniſh* Souldiers rendred thoſe Endeavours needleſs, for the greateſt Part of them got aboard a large Veſſel, and ſo paſt ſafely over. The reſt, who were in a ſmaller Skiff, were taken, not far from *Leith*, and, being about twenty ſix, were brought Priſoners to the Caſtle. After this Action, the Regent returned to *Sterlin*: *Morton*, being overladen with Labour and Watching, and troubled with the Cholick too, fell ſick at *Leith*. *Drury*, the *Engliſh*-Man, who had tranſacted for a Truce between the Factions for ſo many Days, could, finally, effect nothing; for the Regent would yield to no other Terms, but that the Places, which were ſeized on, during the former Truce, ſhould be reſtored. When *Drury* was about to depart, the Rebels, as 'twere in Teſtimony of Reſpect and Complement to him, drew forth all the Strength that ever they could make, ſuppoſing, That whilſt *Morton* was ſick, they ſhould either put their Enemies into a terrible Fright, who were inferior in Number to themſelves; or elſe, if they durſt fight, with the Force they had, without their General, they might do ſome conſiderable Execution upon them, toward the ending of the War. *Morton* being imform'd hereof, by his Guard of Horſe, roſe preſently out of his Bed, and buckles on his Armor, and brings up all his Men into a Neighbour-hill, where he kept them ready for the Onſet, about 400 Paces from the Enemy. *Drury* rode between both Armies, and earneſtly deſired both to return home, and not to brake off all Hope of Accommodation, by over-raſh and haſty Counſels; Whereupon, they both agreed to retreat, only the Diſpute was, who ſhould turn about their Colours, firſt. *Drury* endeavoured to compound this Difference alſo, and deſired of Both, that when he, ſtanding in the middle between both Armies, gave a Sign, they ſhould Both retreat, in one and the ſame Moment. *Morton* was willing, but the Rebels threatned, That unleſs he retreated firſt of his own Accord, they would beat him ſhamefully out of the Field; and indeed, they could hardly be kept from advancing their Bodies toward him. When *Morton* heard this Anſwer, he ſuppoſed he had ſatisfied *Drury* and the *Engliſh*, whom at this time he was unwilling to offend, but would rather have them Witneſſes of his Moderation; whereupon, he preſently drew forth againſt the Enemy; firſt, the Horſe made a briſk Charge, and routed the Enemies Wings; the Foot attempted to charge, but were routed alſo; when the Gate of the next Street, being narrow, could not admit

Morton falls ſick at *Leith*.

Drury intercedes in vain between the Parties.

The Rebels ſally out againſt *Morton* at *Leith*;

admit so many at once in their thick and hasty Flight, many were there slain, many trodden under Foot; many taken, none making any Resistance, but only a Party of Foot, who, having the Advantage of the next Church-yard, rallied again; and yet, at the first Charge, were a second time put to Flight. Their Flight into the City was so confused, that the Guard left the Gates, and all fled into the Castle; so that, if the Enemy that pursued, had not been intent on the Prey, they might have entred also the Town Pell-mell with them, as being unguarded. About 50 of the Rebels were slain, and about 150 taken. *Alexander Hume* had a slight Wound with a Fall from his Horse, and was taken: *Gawen Hamilton* was killed: *James Culen*, *Huntly*'s Kinsman, a Commander of Foot, hid himself in a poor Woman's Pantry, but was discovered, and brought to *Leith*. The Common People, when they saw him, made such a Shout, that it plainly appeared, they would not be satisfied, but by his Death; for, in the former Civil Wars, he had been a cruel and avaritious Plunderer. He was infamous in his Military Imployment in *France*; and, when the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at odds, he promised to serve them Both, and accordingly had Mony to raise Souldiers from either, but couzen'd them Both. And he, being thus taken, at length (as I said) to the great Joy of all, was led forth to his Execution.

But are repulsed with Loss.

James Culen, a cruel Ambodexter, justly punished.

After a few Days Rest, the Townsmen recruited their Forces, and then shewed themselves again in Arms; after that, there were light Skirmishes past betwixt the Parties almost every Day, with various Events. The King's Party were more valorous, but the Rebels had Places more convenient for Ambushes; and besides, they had an high Castle, from whence they might see all the Motions of their Enemies, neither would they ordinarily venture an Onset any further, than their Ordnance out of the Castle could command. The Regent kept himself at *Leith*, watching all their Sallies, and stopping all Provisions by Sea, for he could not do it by Land, by reason of the Largeness of the City, and Inconvenience of the adjacent Places, in the surrounding whereof many Opportunities of Service were lost. Whilst these things were acting about the City, a *French* Ship was taken, that brought Gun-Powder, Iron Bullets, small Brass-Guns, and some Mony to the Rebels. The Mony went to pay the Souldiers, but the Bullets, Powder, and Part of the Guns, being sent with little or no Guard to *Sterlin* against the Tide, the Rebels, having Intelligence thereof, procured some Vessels from other Havens, and surprized them; but not being able to carry their Booty to the Castle, they sunk it in the River. About the same time, another Ship was also taken, in which there was little else but Letters and large Promises of Assistance, speedily to be sent from *France*. For, during the Two whole last past Years, wherein, at times, there was War in *Scotland*: The Queen of *England*, on behalf of the Royalists; the King of *France*, and the *English* Papists, on behalf of the Rebels, did send in some small Dribblets of Mony, but loaded them with more Promises, as rather studying, that their side might not be conquer'd, rather than conquer, respectively; Both of them were willing, Matters should be brought to that Pinch of Necessity: The Queen of *England*'s Design

A Ship from *France*, taken by the Regent.

The Queen of *England*, and King of *France*, censured for their slow Supplies to their several Parties in *Scotland*.

Design was, That the *Scots*, being worn out by their Divisions, might be willing to send their King into *England*, and so seem to depend wholly on her: The *French* did it, That the Rebels might surrender *Dunbarton* and *Edinburgh* to him, and, by those Two commanding Garisons from both Seas, he would keep the *Scots* always in fear of his Arms. But, despairing of the Queen's Delivery, and *Dunbarton* Castle being lost, he mov'd but slowly in the Cause of the Rebels; his Aim only was, That, the Kingdom being exhausted with domestick Sedition, he might not undertake a new and unnecessary War, for the sake of one Castle only; it was enough, he thought, at present, if it did not fall into the Enemies Hands.

The *Scots* refuse to send their young King into *England*, with their Reasons, why.

The *Scots* were fully resolved not to give up their King to the *English*, upon the account of old Controversies; and also, because the *English* Papists were so strong, who plac'd all their Hopes in his Death. For, if he were taken out of the way, the Queen of *England* would not only seem weaker, seeing it was the Life of one King only, that delayed their Hopes; but also, the Queen of *Scots* was the undoubted Heir of the whole Kingdom, who, by her Marriage, might gratify whom she pleased with the Realm, and so bear a great Figure in the Change of the State of Religion through all *Europe*. And in the *English* Court there were some, no mean Men, who preferred the Hope of Novelty before ancient Courtesies; yet if, as long as the King of *Scots* was alive, they should cut off *Elizabeth*, many of those of the Queen's Privy-Council feared, lest the known Wickedness of the *Scots* Queen might diminish her Authority, and increase her Son's Power, and so, for fear of Tyranny, endear him more to the *English*: Whereupon, the *English* Rebels were willing to destroy the Queen of *England*, and King of *Scots*, Both; and, not succeeding in doing it openly, they resolved upon Poison.

The Rebels Convention at *Edinburgh*.

Matters standing thus in *Scotland*, Both Factions prepared themselves against the approaching Sitting of the Parliament. The Rebels had only Three of the Lords voting with them, of which Two were the Proctors, or Commissioners, to the Convention, to be held in the Queen's Name. The Third, *Alexander Hume*, was the only Man who had Right to vote: And of the Ecclesiastical Order, Two Bishops, the One banish'd thither a few Months before by the Regent, and, the State of the City being chang'd, not daring to depart without a Convoy, he staid there against his Will: The Other was a Bankrupt, who, having spent his Estate, was driven thither by necessity. By their Votes, above 200 were condemned, some of them being Children under Age. Moreover, the malapert Souldiers, as if they had already got the Victory, divided other Mens Patrimonies among themselves, and so put many quiet and innocent Persons (and, by that means, more liable to Injuries,) into the Roll of the Confiscate.

The Regent's Convention at *Sterlin*.

The Regent went to *Sterlin*, where he had a great Convention of the Nobles: Therein, about Thirty of the obstinatest of the Queen's Party were condemn'd, the rest were put off, in hopes of Pardon. The Rebels thought this a fit Opportunity for them, to attempt something in the absence of the Nobility; and thereupon, they drew

drew all their Forces out of the City, and, to make a greater Show, the Townſmen with them; they ſet them in Battel-array, that ſo, as in former times, by light Skirmiſhes, they might draw the King's Forces out of *Leith*. In the mean time, while the Enemy were kept in play by them, they reſolved to ſend the reſt privately to march about, and when the Gariſon was drawn out, to enter in at the oppoſite Gate, and ſo burn the Town. *Patrick Lindſy* was Governour of *Leith*, a wiſe and valiant Perſon; he drew forth his Forces, having ſufficiently provided againſt their Treachery, and marched directly towards the Enemy; they fought ſtoutly at firſt, at laſt, he gave the Rebels a round *Salvo*, and ſo beat them back, yet not without Loſs, to the Gates of the Town; a great many Priſoners were brought off, but the moſt part of them were Townſmen. *Alexander Hume* was taken once, but reliev'd again by his own ſide. In the Evening, as the King's Party were retreating, joyous for the Victory, *James Haliburton*, a good Man, and a skilful Souldier, who commanded all the Foot, being too far from his Body, was taken by a Troop of Horſe in the Twilight, when he could not diſcern of whoſe Party they were in the High-way, and ſo carried Priſoner into the City. Upon this Loſs, the Rebels took heart, to make another Attempt, as full of Danger and Boldneſs, ſo more likely, if it had ſucceeded, to put an End to the whole War. For, having receiv'd Intelligence by their Spies, That the Nobility of the contrary Faction at *Sterlin* were ſo careleſs and remiſs, that, in an open Town, they had not ſo much as a Night-guard, as if it had been a time of perfect Peace, they took 300 Foot, and 200 Horſe, and march'd thither; to eaſe the Foot, who were haſtily called forth, they took away all the Country-mens Horſes, who came to Market the Day before; and if they occaſionally lighted on any other Horſes by the way, they took them alſo. The Captains, in that Expedition, were *George Gordon*, *Claud Hamilton*, and *Walter Scot*, they were much encouraged to the Undertaking by *George Bell*, an Enſign of a Foot-Company, who was born at *Sterlin*, he knew all the convenient Paſſages and Acceſſes into the Town, and was made acquainted, in Writing, with all the Noble Mens Lodgings; he gave them aſſured Hopes, That they would quickly maſter all, inſomuch, that they were ſo confident of Succeſs in their March, as to appoint Whom to kill, and Whom to ſave alive. They came to the Town early in the Morning, and found things in profound Security, not ſo much as a Dog opened his Mouth againſt them; ſo they ſilently enter'd the Town, and, without any reſiſtance, went up to the Market-place; they ſet Guards at all the Paſſes thither, and then went to the Noblemens Lodgings; the reſt were eaſily taken, only *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, put ſome ſtop to them in his Lodging; when they could not break in upon him by Force, they ſet fire to the Houſe; one or two of his Servants, who ſtoutly defended the Paſſes, were ſlain, and he himſelf, when all was a fire, hardly eſcaping out of the Flames, ſurrendred himſelf to *Walter Scot*, his Kinſman, then near at hand. Moreover, the Regent was taken Priſoner at the ſame time; his Men did not ſtand it out valiantly in his Defence, but he was forc'd to defend himſelf alone,

The Rebels aſſault *Leith*, but are repulſed.

James Haliburton taken Priſoner by the Rebels, by a Miſtake.

The bold Attempt of the Rebels to ſurprize *Sterlin*, and the Nobles of the Convention there aſſembled:

which, in part, took Effect.

and, at last, was taken Prisoner. *Alexander*, Earl of *Glencarn*, and *Hugh*, Earl of *Eglington*, were reserv'd, under a Guard, for Execution: For *Claud Hamilton* told his Men, *They should kill all the Nobles of the contrary Faction, as soon as ever they pass'd out of the Gates, without any distinction.* All Things thus succeeding, beyond Expectation, the common Souldiers scattered themselves all over the Town to get Plunder. Thereupon, *John Erskin*, Governour of the Castle, who had before tried to break through the Enemy in the Market-Place, but in vain, they were so strongly posted, sent a Party of Musqueteers into his own new House, which was then a building, and not quite finish'd, from whence there was a Prospect into the whole Market-Place. This House, because it was uninhabited, and not compleated, was neglected by the Enemy, and afforded a safe Post to the Royalists, whence to play on their Enemies: When the Rebels saw, that they were shot at from an high Place, garison'd against them, with unequal Weapons, they presently turn'd their backs, and ran away in such Fear, that, when they came to the narrow Way leading to the Gate, they trod down one another: That which saved them, was, There were but few to pursue, for they who had driven them out of the Market-Place, could come out but one by one, through the Gate of the new House, which was but one neither, and that half-shut too, towards the Town; and but a few came forth from other Houses, where they stood armed, ready for all Events. Thus the whole Souldiery, which, the Day before, had attempted so desperate a piece of Service, and had almost successfully finish'd it, were driven out of the Town, in such Fear and Confusion, that they left their Prisoners, and every one shifted for himself. In this Onset, there was only one Man of Note slain, and that was *George Ruven*, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, who, pressing too eagerly upon the thickest of the Enemies, lost his Life. And *Alexander Stuart* of *Gairlice*, when he was led away Prisoner, was killed; 'tis not known, whether by his own Men, or the Enemy. In this great Trepidation and Affrightment, they, who before kept within their own Doors for fear, now came abroad. They, who had taken *James Douglas*, and *Alexander Cuningham*, Prisoners, seeing no hopes to escape, surrendred themselves up to their Captives. *David Spence*, Captain of Horse amongst the Rebels, was leading away the Regent; he knew, that many lay in wait for his Life, and therefore he defended him with all the Care he could; insomuch, that when the Ruffians aim'd at and shot the Regent, they hit him too, and he died the same Day, to the great grief of both Parties, for he was an accomplished young Man, in all Endowments both of Body and Mind, and inferiour to no Man of his Age in *Scotland*. After his Decease, the Enemies Horse never did any memorable Service. Two of the Regent's Murderers * were put to Death, not being able to escape: The rest fled in such Fear, that the Prisoners, whom they had taken, escap'd out of their Hands. For certain, the Whole of the Enemies Party might have been destroyed, if there had been Troops enow of Horse to have pursued: But the Tories of *Teviotdale*, at their first Entrance into the Town, had plundred all the Horses, That saved them.

The Rebels beaten again out of *Sterlin*, by the Valour of *John Erskin*, Governour of the Castle.

The Regent slain in this Scuffle, with Capt. *Spence*, who endeavoured to save him.

* For killing him, after he had Quarter given him.

them. The ſlain of Both ſides were almoſt equal: Of the Royaliſts, not a Man was carry'd away Priſoner; of the other ſide, many; moſt of which were intent upon the Prey, and ſo were taken in the Houſes which they were a rifling: The Regent died the ſame Day of his Wounds. His Funerals were celebrated in haſte, as well as they could, in ſuch an Hurry, and then the Nobles, which were there, Aſſembled, to create another Regent to ſucceed him. They choſe Three out of their own Number, having firſt given them an Oath, to ſtand to the Deciſion of the Nobility, and thus, as Candidates, they were to expect the Iſſue of the next Aſſembly. The Three were, *Gileſpy Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*; *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*; and *John Erskin*, Earl of *Marr*. All the Votes pitched on *John Erskin*. His firſt attempt, was, to aſſault *Edinburgh*, there having been an Army appointed to be levy'd by the former Regent againſt the *firſt* of *October*, but this ſudden change of Affairs made it to be deferred till the 15*th* of the ſame Month; that Delay was a great hindrance to Buſineſs, for it gave liberty to the Townſmen, who wrought Night and Day, to perfect their Works; ſo that the early Winter, the long Nights, the bad Weather, in thoſe cold Countries, the Difficulty of conveying Proviſions, and his want of Military Accommodations, cauſed him to return, without carrying the Place.

Three Competitors for the Regency.

John Erskin, Earl of *Marr*, choſen Regent.

He aſſaults *Edinburgh*, but without effect.

For ſome Months ſucceeding, Sallies were made, but of no great Advantage to either ſide. For the Proſpect of the Caſtle, being free and open to all Parts, gave Opportunity to the Rebels, that they would never come to handy-Blows, nor yet fall into any Ambuſh; for, by a Signal given from an high Place in the Caſtle, they were eaſily warn'd, to retreat in time; yet once, when all the Horſe and Foot iſſu'd out of the Town, to intercept a few of the Royaliſts, and they preſt upon them, who pretended haſtily to fly away: When they in the Caſtle ſaw the Colours of ſome Companies ſtart up, from a neighbour-Valley, preſently they ſounded a Retreat to them. Whereupon the Rebels, before they came to the Place of Ambuſh, retreated back in great Fear, and their flight was ſo much the more confus'd, becauſe, though they were advis'd of their Danger before-hand, yet they did not know, What, or from Whence, it was, nor could they ſo much as ſuſpect it; Thoſe few Horſemen, which before counterfeited to fly away, did ſo preſs upon their Rear, that they caus'd the Foot to break their Ranks, and every One ran to the City as faſt as ever he could; many were wounded and taken, and, amongſt them, ſome Captains, and Cornets of Horſe.

Whilſt Matters were thus ſlowly carried on about the City, in the Country towards the North, there was a great Loſs receiv'd upon this Occaſion; There were two Families, of great Power in thoſe Parts, The *Gordons* and the *Forbes*'s; The *Gordons* liv'd in great Concord amongſt themſelves, and, by the King's Commiſſion, had for many Years preſided over the neighbouring Counties, and and ſo increas'd their ancient Power and Authority; On the other ſide, the *Forbes*'s were always at Difference, and continually weakned one another; but neither of them, had now, for many Years, made any Attempt upon the other, there being rather a ſecret

The Royaliſts receive a loſs in the North, with the manner of it.

Deadly fewds between the *Gordons* and the *Forbes's*.

Emulation, than an open Breach, betwixt them. In the Family of the *Forbes's*, there was one *Arthur*, a witty and an active Man, and who, from the beginning of the falling out, had always been on the King's ſide; he thought, 'twas *then* time for him to ſet up his own Name and his Families, and alſo to advance the Power of the Party, which he followed. He *firſt* then endeavour'd to reconcile All of his own Family; if he could effect that, he fear'd not any Power, that could be rais'd againſt him in thoſe Parts; when a Day was appointed for that purpoſe, *Adam Gordon*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntly*, by all means, endeavour'd to hinder it, and therefore giving private Notice to his Friends and Vaſſals, there came a great Number of them to the Place. There were Two Troops of the *Forbes's* in ſight, but, before they could join, he ſet upon One of them, and kill'd *Arthur* preſently; at his Fall, the reſt were ſcatter'd, and put to flight; ſome eminent Men were ſlain, many were taken, the reſt, ſome Days after, dar'd not ſtir, for Fear, leſt thoſe, they had taken Priſoners, ſhould ſuffer for it. And their Fear was increas'd by the burning of *Alexander Forbes's* Houſe, with his Wife, great with Child, his Children and Servants, in it. *Arthur Forbes's* Elder Brother, who was the Chief of the Sept, after his Houſe was taken and plunder'd, hardly eſcapt and came to Court; there, tho they were ſomewhat ſtraitned themſelves, yet there were 200 Foot granted to him, and to the Nobles that follow'd his Party; and withal, Letters were written to the neighbour-Nobility to join with him: When they were thus join'd with the reſt of the *Forbes's*, and ſome near Families, they thought themſelves ſecure enough from Force, but they wanted a Chief Commander over them, for the Heads of the Families were moſt young Men, and there was ſcarce One more eminent than another amongſt them: So that, they being unreſolv'd in their Counſels, *John Keith*, with 500 Horſe went home to his own Houſe, which was not far diſtant. *Alexander Forbes*, and his Vaſſals, with 200 Foot march'd to *Aberdeen* to drive *Adam Gordon* from thence, and to refreſh his Men after their March. *Adam* receiving intelligence, that his Enemy was advancing with but a ſmall Party, draws his Men out of the Town, and, to make a ſhow of a greater Multitude, compell'd the Townſmen to draw forth with them, ſo that there was a ſharp Conflict in the Field near the Town. The King's Foot, out of eagerneſs to fight, followed the *Gordonians* too far, and, having no Reſerves, were repuls'd and put to flight, principally by the Archers, there were not many of them kill'd, becauſe the fight laſted till dark Night, but ſeveral were taken, and, amongſt them, *Alexander Forbes* himſelf, after he had ſtoutly defended himſelf againſt them, a long time.

The Cruelty of the *Gordons* againſt the *Forbes's*.

The King's Party overthrown.

This Succeſs in the North did mightily incourage the Rebels, to attempt greater Matters: Whereupon, in a different Part of the Country, they reſolv'd to attaque * *Jedburgh*, a Town, as the Country Cuſtom was, unfortifi'd; but the Inhabitants were very Valiant, and, ſome Years before, had ſtoutly reſiſted the Rebels; *Thomas Carr* of *Farniheſt*, and *Thomas Scot*, liv'd near the Town; They, beſides their old Clans, which were Numerous enough, had aſſociated

The chief Town of *Teviotdale* ſtanding on the River *Jed*, near where it falleth into the River *Teviot*.

aſſociated to them, the Three neighbour Countries, *Liddiſdale*, *Eweſdale*, and *Eskdale*, Places always given to Robbery; but then, in regard of the Licentiouſneſs of the Civil War, they rang'd for Booty, uncontrolably, even a great way off. And beſides, in *Teviotdale* it ſelf, there were ſome great Families noted for Robbing and Pillaging, either, being infected by their Neighbours; or, becauſe they had been cuſtomably uſed to drive Preys out of their Enemies Country; neither did They only come in, but ſome of the neighbouring *Engliſh*, in hopes of Booty, join'd themſelves with them; and beſides, they ſent for 120 Musqueteers from *Edinburgh*, ſelect Men, out of all the Foot Companies. The *Jedburgians* knew, that They were aim'd at, and therefore they ſent in haſte to the Regent, to acquaint him with their Danger; they only deſir'd a few light harnaſſed Souldiers from him; In the mean time, they were not wanting to do their beſt. They ſent for *Walter Carr* of *Sesford*, and levy'd a reaſonable Number of Souldiers out of the Neighbourhood, and fortifi'd their Town, as the time would permit: Both Parties were alſo inform'd, at the ſame time, that *William Ruven* was come as far as * *Driburgh*, with 120 Horſe and Foot, Part of which he had brought with him, and Part he rais'd in the neighbour-County of *Merch*. But the Rebels, being confident of their Number, as being 3000 Men, march'd to the Town early in the Morning, to prevent the Coming in of their Relief; *Ruven* ſuſpected, they would do ſo, and therefore march'd ſpeedily after them, and made ſome Attempts upon their Rear. And moreover, *Walter Carr* join'd the Townſmen to his Souldiers, and drew forth directly towards the Enemy. They, ſeeing This, that they might not be enclos'd before and behind, too, preſently retreated to Places of greater Advantage. The Robbers, or Tories, who came in for Hopes of plunder, ſeeing the Town fortifi'd, and the Royaliſts ready for the Encounter, return'd the neareſt Way they could to their Own-homes; and the Rebels, with their Vaſſals, and a Company of Foot, retreat to * *Hawick*, never thinking, that the Enemy would, in the leaſt, attempt any thing againſt them, there; and their Hopes were increas'd by the Winter-ſeaſon, which was ſharper than ordinary by reaſon of a great Quantity of Snow lately fallen, which cover'd all the Ground. But *Ruven* intended to make uſe of the Opportunity, and, in the third Watch, drew out his Party, and march'd ſo ſpeedily towards *Hawick*, that he was in a Mile of it, before the Enemy took the Alarum; They at *Hawick* were ſo amaz'd, that there was no room for Counſel left, but Foot and Horſe were immediately drawn out, and following the Current of the next River, endeavour'd to retreat to a Place of more Safety. But the Swiftneſs of their Purſuers prevented them; the Horſe knew the Country, and made a ſhift to eſcape, but the Foot were left for a Prey; they poſſeſt themſelves of a ſmall Wood on a Rock, near the River, there they were ſurrounded by the Horſe, and not adventuring to ſtay till the Foot came up, they all ſurrendred themſelves at Mercy; But ſeeing that other Dangers were to be prevented, and they could not be carried up and down in ſo ſharp a Winter, having paſt their Words to return at an appointed Day, and leaving ſome Hoſtages to that purpoſe,

The Rebels attempt *Jedburgh*,

* An Abby in *Teviotdale*,

But are driven back to *Hawick*, where they are Routed.

* A Town in *Teviotdale*.

poſe, they were ſent home, without their Arms: When they were diſcharged, *Kircade* made ſleeveleſs Pretences, to elude their Promiſes, and ſo hinder'd them from returning, at the time appointed.

The reſt of the Winter, and the following Spring, was wholly ſpent in light Skirmiſhes, wherein Few fell, but more of the Rebels than Royaliſts; For the Rebels, when they ſaw an Advantage, would draw out on the Hills near the City, and, before they had ſcarce begun a skirmiſh, would retire, ſometimes, again in to the City. In the interim, frequent Embaſſies came from *England*, to reconcile the Factions, but without effect; For the Queen of *England*, tho ſhe moſt favour'd the King's Party, yet ſhe was willing *ſo* to make Peace, as to ingage both Parties to her; but the *French* were wholly inclin'd to the Queen's Cauſe, and therefore, by large Promiſes, hindred Peace, and advis'd to continue the War: Some Mony they ſent at preſent, not enough to do the Buſineſs, but only to feed Hope, and a great Part of what was ſent was ſtill nibbled away by thoſe that brought it. In the mean time, light Skirmiſhes paſt for ſome Months betwixt the Parties, but not at all contributing to the main Chance. Neither were other Parts of the Kingdom free from Plunderings, and Firings: *Adam Gordon* gather'd a Party, and, entring *Angus*, beſieg'd *Douglas*'s Houſe of *Glembervy*; and, finding that himſelf was abſent, they miſerably Burnt and Deſtroy'd all that he left behind, which ſtruck ſuch a Fear into thoſe of *Dundee*, that they call'd in the Gariſons from the adjoining Parts of *Fife*, to their Aſſiſtance; they were Enemies to the *Gordonians*, as having been highly Faithful, continually, to the King's Cauſe. About this time, * *Blackneſs* was betray'd by the Governor thereof to the *Hamiltons*. 'Tis a Caſtle that hinders commerce betwixt *Leith* and *Sterlin*. The Regent broke down all the Mills about *Edinburgh*, he alſo gariſon'd all the Noble Men's Houſes about it, and ſtopt all Paſſages into the City; many Priſoners were taken on both ſides. *Archibald Douglas*, one of *Morton*'s familiar Friends, was apprehended on Suſpicion, which was increas'd upon him, by the Baſeneſs of his former Life; and alſo, by ſome Letters found about him; yea, even after he was taken, entercourſe of Letters paſt betwixt him and the Enemy; which evidenc'd, that he had aſſiſted the Rebels, by Advice and Action, too; as having tranſmitted to them, both Mony and Arms.

A Barony upon the Water of *Bervy* in *Angus*.

The *Dundeans* Enemies to the *Gordons*.

* A Caſtle on a Rock, lying in the *Firth* of *Forth*, above *Abercorn*.

The Regent ſtraitens *Edinburgh*.

Archibald Douglas apprehended, upon Suſpicion of his Tampering with the Enemy.

THE END.

An ALPHABETICAL TABLE *of the Principal Matters contained in the foregoing* HISTORY.

NB. FOR the Reader's Eaſe and Conveniency, in the ſpeedy finding out of the Quotations in the following *Table*, (as alſo in the *Catalogue* of the *Scotiſh* Kings, preceding this Hiſtory) he is deſired to take notice, That, whereas a new *Alphabet* and *Folio*, doth begin at the later Part of this Hiſtory, *viz.* at *Book* 13. and ſo continues to the End; all the Quotations marked between *Parentheſes's*, do belong to the *Folio's* and *Pages* of the ſaid *later* Part only: The reſt do all belong to the *former* Part.

A

Page

ABercorn-*Caſtle*, 22
Aberdeen, 19
Famous for Salmon-*Fiſhing*, ibid.
Aberdone, ibid.
Aberbrothock, *or* Abrinca, ibid.
Abernethy, *wherein was the old Palace of the* Picts *Kings*, 16, 18
Abria, *or* Abyr, *a Country or Shire, the Etymology thereof*, 19
Abridic, *or* Erisbach-*Iſle*, 25
Abthane, *an old Name of Magiſtracy and Dignity amongſt the* Scots, 187, 206
See Thane.
Achaius *King of* Scotland, 164
He makes a defenſive War againſt the Iriſh, ibid.
The Firſt of the Scotiſh *Kings that ever made a League with* France, 165
Achnar-*Iſle*, 26
Acho, *King of* Norwey, *lands in* Air *with a great Fleet*, 241
Is overthrown, and dies of Grief, ibid.
Achmode-*Iſles*: *See* Ædudæ.
Adams *Iſle*, 30
Adamannus, 161
Adam Huntly *taken Priſoner by the Earl of* Murray, (170)
Ado Viennenſis *quoted and corrected*, 87
Adrian *paſſes out of* France *into* Britain, 112
His Wall, ibid.
Adrian, *the Pope's Legate, in* England, 433
Advatici, *Who?* 10
Ædudæ *Iſlands*, 22
Their Number, ibid.
Ælius Pertinax *in* Britain, 117
Ælius Spartianus *quoted*, 118
Æmodæ *Iſles, the ſame with* Ædudæ.

Page

Æneia, 18, 170
Air, 14
Æſtions *ſpake the* Britiſh *Language*, 50
They inhabited Pruſſia, 77
Ætius, *the* Britains *crave Aid of him*, 93
Afulla *Iſle*, 31
Agnes Keith, *Daughter of the Earl of* Merch, *married to* James *Earl of* Murray, (161)
Agathyrſi *painted their Bodies*, 53
Aidan, *King of* Scots, *inveſted in that Dignity by* Columb, 155
Ailmer, Edward *of* England's *General, overthrows* Bruce, 12, 61
Air *County*, 20
Alan *of* Lorn, *keeps his Brother Priſoner*, 407, 408
He is impriſoned himſelf, ibid.
Albanact *Son of* Brute, *from him the* Scots *called* Albani, 42
Albinick, *the* Scots *ſo called*, 11
Albium, *or* Albion *Iſle, retains the Name of* Britanny, 1
More Iſlands than one anciently ſo called, ibid.
Its Etymology, 11, 12
Album, *or White, the Name of* Height, *as well as of* Colour; *whence many Words are derived, as* Albingaunum, Albula, Albici, Albini, *&c.* 11
Alcluyth, 92
Alexander *I. King of* Scots, 221, 222
Why Sirnamed Acer, ibid.
His Juſtice to a poor Woman, 222
He is relieved by Hermites, ibid.
Alexander *II.* 237
Enters England, *and takes* Carlile, ibid.
He and his Queen viſit Henry *of* England, 239

Page

His Queen dies at London, 239
He marries a French *Lady*, ibid.
Alexander *III.* 240
The Nobles combine against him, 241
He hath an Interview with Henry *of* England, 240
Is made Knight by him, and espouses Margarite *his Daughter*, ibid.
Assists the King of England, 243
He and his Queen present at the Coronation of King Edward *I. He marries* Joleta *a* French *Lady*, 244
He forbids Traffick by Sea, ibid.
He reduces the Train of his Nobles in Travelling, ibid.
His violent and untimely Death, ibid.
His Character, ibid.
Alexander, *Duke of* Albany, *Brother of* James *III. taken by the* Englisſh, 407
But ſoon releaſed, ibid.
Committed Priſoner to Edinburgh *Caſtle*, 421
Whence he craftily made his Eſcape, ibid.
And coming to the King of England, *ſolicits him to take Arms*, 425
He is recalled by the Scots, *and hath the chief Government beſtowed upon him*, 427
He reſtores his Brother James *to the free Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom*, ibid.
He falls again into Diſgrace, and dies in France, 430
Alexander, *the Son of* Alexander *of* Albany, ibid.
Alexander Boyd *abuſes and wounds* John Kennedy, 410
His is tried for his Life, 414
Beheaded, ibid.
Alexander Bruce *ſurrenders himſelf to* Baliol, 287
Slain in a Fight with the Engliſh, 290
Alexander, *Earl of* Buchan, *baſe-born Son to* Robert *II.* 307
Alexander Cambel, *a* Dominican, *the Notoriety of his End*, (53)
Alexander Cuningham *ſlain (with King* James *III.) in his Army*, 433
Alexander Cuningham *brings Aid to the Reformers*, (129)
Being taken Priſoner, he takes him Priſoner, whoſe Captive he was, before, (282)
Alexander Elphinſton *ſlain in Fight*, (26)
Alexander Forbes *marries* Græcina Boyd, (6)
Alexander Forbes *taken by* Adam Gordon, (284)
Alexander, *Earl of* Crawford, *deſerts* Douglas, *and ſubmits to the King*, 388

Page

Alexander, *Earl of* Glencarn, *baniſhed*, (175)
A General in the King's Army, (220)
Alexander Gordon *beats the Earl of* Crawford, 387
Alexander Hume *marches into* England, (19)
He brings his Squadron off ſafe from Flodden Field, (25)
His great Authority, (28)
Accuſed by Hepburn, (33)
Sides with the Queen, (34)
Goes for England, *is reconciled to the Regent, and returns*, ibid.
He raiſes an Inſurrection, (35)
His Goods confiſcate, he is taken and beheaded, (36)
Alexander Hume, *as a Proxy, takes the Coronation-Oath for* James *VI. yet a Child*, (214)
He is General of the King's Army, (220)
Wounded, (221)
Revolts to the Queen's Party, (243)
His Caſtle taken and rifled by the Engliſh, (256)
He is chief in the Council of the Rebels, (280)
Taken Priſoner, but by the coming in of his Friends releaſed, (281)
Alexander Haliburton *wounded, and dies*, (141)
Alexander Levingſton *made Supream Governour, or Regent*, 357
He puts the Queen in Priſon, 364
Diſagrees with Creighton *the Chancellour*, 360, 364
The King taken out of his Hands, 365
Reconciled to the Chancellour, 366, 368
Lays down his Office, 372
Is brought to his Trial, and remanded to Priſon, 375
Alexander, *the Son of* William Levingſton, *taken Priſoner*, (265)
Alexander, *the Iſlander, gathers together a Band of* Free-booters, 341
But is forced to ſubmit to the King, 342
Alexander Lindſy *overcomes* Alexander Ogilby, 273, 274
Alexander Macrory, *Captain of Thieves, executed*, 341
Alexander, *Earl of* Marr, *the Son of* Alexander, 348, 349
Alexander Ramſay, *a brave Souldier*, 299
His Houſe the School of War, ibid.
He takes Roxburgh, 300
Wounded, and ſtarved to Death, by Douglas, 301

Page

Alexander Ramſay's *chearful Forwardneſs in ſurprizing* Dumbarton *Caſtle*, (265)
Alexander Seton *ſent to* Berwick, (287)
Having no hopes of Relief, he ſurrenders up the Town to the Engliſh, (290)
Alexander Stuart, *Arch-biſhop of St.* Andrews, *ſlain at* Flodden-*Fight*, (29)
Alexander Stuart's *Encounter with the King of* Norway, 242
Allectus, *a* Roman, *ſlain*, 124
Alfrid, *King of* Northumberland, 161
Alnwick *Caſtle taken*, 398
Alſa, *or* Ailze *Iſle*, 24
Alpa, *for* Alba, 11
Alps, *whence ſo called?* ibid.
Alpin, *King of* Scots, 166
Slain by the Picts, ibid.
Altiſſidorus, *i. e.* Auxerre *in* France, 68
Alured, *King of* England, *makes Peace with the* Scots, 177
Amberkeleth *King of* Scots, 162
Slain, ibid.
Ammianus Marcellinus *quoted*, 88, 89
Amiens, *the Biſhop thereof in* Scotland, *his Cruelty*, (148)
St. Andrews, 18
Its Univerſity, when erected, 333
Andreæ Fanum; *and* Fanum Reguli, i. e. *St.* Andrews, *why ſo called?* 16
Andrews, *a great Aſtrologer*, 420
Andrew, *the Apoſtle, Tutelary of* Scotland, 218
Andrew Briton, *or* Breton, *his Story*, (18)
Slain by Thomas Howard, *the Engliſh Admiral*, (19)
Andrew Berclay *beheaded for Treaſon*, 273
Andrew Car *eſcapes out of Priſon*, (36)
He diſagrees with Douglas, (38)
Andrew Car *revenges his Father's Death*, (18)
Andrew Car *beaten by the Duke of* Norfolk, (120)
Andrew Forman *ſent into* England *and* France *by* James *IV.* (16)
He hath a great many Church-Preferments, (29)
Sent again into England, (26)
He is accuſed by Hepburn, (33)
Mediates for Peace, (35)
Andrew Murray, Bruce's *Siſter's Son, Regent*, 296
Taken by the Engliſh, 288
Ranſomed, 294
His Faithfulneſs and Death, 297
Andrew, *Earl of* Rothes, *baniſhed*, 175
Andrew Wood *faithful to King* James *III.* (1)
Admiral of the Scots *Navy*, (1)

Page

Reconciled to James *IV.* (2)
Overcomes the Engliſh *in one Sea-Fight*, ibid.
And alſo in a ſecond, (4)
Andrew Stuart, *Chancellour*, 413
His Freedom of Speech againſt a Popiſh King, (173)
He is wounded in Fight, (222)
Angus, 18
Angus, *or* Æneas, *raiſed an Inſurrection in* Galway, 230
Anguſianus, *King of* Scotland, 126
Slain by the Picts, ibid.
Annandale, *ſo called from the River* Annand, 13, 14
Anna Momorancy *ſuſpects the Power of the* Guiſes *in* France, *not without Cauſe*, (121)
Anſelm, *the* Norman, *Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury, 219
Anti-Aſſemblies *in* Scotland, *two*, (276, 280)
Anthony Darcy *ſlain by* David Hume, (38)
Apparition *to King* Kenneth *III. upon his Murder of* Malcolm, 195
Apparition *to King* James *IV. diſſuading him from a War with* England, (20, 21)
Apoceanitæ, *Who?* 10
Apology *of the* Scots *Nobles to the Queen of* England, (267, &c. 272, &c.)
Apoſtacy *puniſhed by God*, 159
Arran, *or* Arren, *Iſland*, 24
Arborary, *or* Tree *Iſle*, 25
Archibald Douglas *created Regent*, 288
He is ſlain by the Engliſh, 290
Archibald, *Earl of* Douglas, *ſirnamed the Auſtere, his Feuds with* Geo. Dunbar, 325
He dies, 326
Archibald, *his Son, ſucceeds him, who is taken Priſoner by the* Engliſh, 329
Releaſed, ibid.
Made Duke of Turein *by the Dolphin of* France, 336
Slain by the Engliſh *there*, ibid.
Archibald Douglas *his great Power*, 359
His affronting Anſwer to the Chancellor, 362
His Death, 363
Archibald Douglas *his Oration to the Nobles againſt the King's Evil Counſellors*, 423
With the Effects thereof, 424
Archibald Douglas *his Speech to King* James *IV. diſſuading him to fight the* Engliſh, (22)
At which the King is offended, and Douglas *retires in Diſcontent*, (23)
He marries the Widow of James *IV.* (29)
Accuſed by Hepburn, (33)
Takes Edinburgh, *but reſigns up the Government thereof*, (38)
Flies into England, (34)

Page

Returns from France *and* England *into* Scotland, (46)
Opposed by his Wife, (46)
Chosen one of the Governours of King and Kingdom, (47)
Overthrows Lennox, (50)
Forbid to meddle with the Government, (53)
Outlawed and banished, (56)
Returns after fifteen Years Exile, (75)
Coming to compose Controversies, he is detained by Hamilton, (82)
His memorable Speech and Fact, (87)
He persuades the Regent to break with the Cardinal, and to side with the Nobles, (88)
He beats the English, (89)
Archbishop *of St.* Andrews *(with the Bishop of* Aberdene*) imprisoned,* (46)
Archbishop *of St.* Andrews *executed as Accessory to the King and Regent's Murders,* (266)
Ardan Rider, *or the High Isle of the* Horseman, 28
Ardiescar *Isle,* 25
Aremorici, *or* Armorici, *Who?* 7, 8
Argadius, *Regent,* 115
Being accused, he repents, and supplicates for Pardon, ibid.
Whereupon, he is continued in his Government, ibid.
And prevails against the Islanders, 116
Argyle *Country,* 17
Argyle, *Earl, joins with the Reformers,* (131)
Arren, *see* Arran.
Arrii *painted their Bodies,* 53
Arrogance, *the usual Companion of Power,* 412
Arthur Uterson's *begotten in Adultery, King of the* Britains, 150
His Character, 154
He overcomes the Saxons, *and takes* London *and* York *from them,* ibid.
He is slain, 151, 152
Arthur, *the Son of* Henry *VIII. of* England, *marries* Katherine *the Infanta of* Spain, (11, 14)
Arthur Forbes *slain,* (284)
Arverni, *Who?* 46
Asclepiodotus, *a* Roman *Lieutenant-General, kills* Allectus *in* Britain, 124
Askerme *Isle,* 29
Assassination *of King* Henry *odious to all Nations,* (192)
Assassins of King Henry *labour to impute the Parricide to* Murray *and* Morton, (191)
Astrological *Predictions, Courtiers much addicted to them,* 418
Asyle *Isle. See* Flavannæ, 30

Page

Athelstan, *King of* England, *fights the* Picts, 165
He is slain at a Place, since called Athelstan's Ford, 165
Athelstan, *base Son of* Edward *King of* England, *overcomes the* Danes *and* Scots *in Battel,* 179, 180
Recovers Dunbritton *from the* Scots, ibid.
Athircus, *or* Athirco, *King of* Scotland, 119
He reigns vitiously, and kills himself, 120
Athol, *a fruitful Country,* 18
It abounds with Witches, 357
Atrebates, *Who?* 56
Aven, 15
Aven *and* Avon, *What they signify?* 70
Avon Laggan, 26
Avona *Isle, its Etymology,* 25
Aurelius Ambrosius *his Original,* 146, 147
Aureliacum *(i. e.)* Orilhach, 60
Austin, *a Monk, comes into* England, *and calls himself Archbishop of all* Britain, 157
He promotes Superstition rather than true Religion, ibid.
Authority, *got by good Arts, is lost by bad,* (208)
Avus, *or* Aw, *a Loch or River,* 17
Auxerre; *see* Altissidorus.

B

BACA *Isle,* 27
Badenach *County,* 19
Balta *Isle,* 37
Baliol (Edward) *lands in* Scotland, 285
Overthrows Seton *and the Regent,* ibid.
Declared King, 286
Worsted in Scotland, 287
Edward *of* England *espouses his Cause,* 288
Bandying betwixt him & the Nobles, 291, 292
Ball, *a Priest, stirs up the Commons of* England *to an Insurrection,* 309
Bancho, *a* Scots *General,* 208
Overthrows the Danes, 210
Slain by Mackbeth, 211
Baptism *celebrated but once a Year, and sometimes by Parents themselves,* 30
Bards, *Who?* 39, 57
They committed nothing to writing, 35
Barnera *Island,* 29, 30
Barodunum, *or* Dunbar, *whence so called,* 170
Baronia, *(i. e.)* Renfrew, 14
Barra *Isle,* 29
Bas-Alpin, *the Place where* Alpin *was slain,* 167
Bassianus, *a* Roman *General in* Britain, 124
Slain there by Allectus, ibid.

Bassinets,

Page

Bassinets, *or* Monk-Fishes, *ominous*, 175
Batavians, *or* Hollanders, *their Fleet returning from* Dantzick, *spoiled by* Alexander *Earl of* Marr, 349
Beath *Island*, 25
Beatrix, *leaving her Husband* James Douglas, *asks Pardon of the King*, 391
She marries John *Earl of* Athol, *the King's Natural Brother*, ibid.
Bedford, *the Earl thereof, King* Henry's *General in* France, *carries* James *of* Scotland, *along with him thither*, 336
Bede *quoted*, 91, 92, 93
Beds *made of Heath*, 23
Bei, *what it signifies*, 22
Belhac } *Isles*, 25
Bellach }
Belus, *King of the* Orcades, *kils himself*, 106
Bergh, *in* German, *signifies* High, 12
Bergion, *the Name of a Giant*, 11
Berlings, *What?* 32
Bernera, *an Island*, 25
The Great and the Small, 29, 30
Berth, *a great Part of it destroyed by an Inundation*, 236
Berton *for* Breton, 5
Berwick *taken from the* English *by* Robert Bruce, 269
Besieged by Edward *of* England, 370
Rendred to the English, 397
Its Castle taken by Ramsay, *but regained by* Percy, 308
Bethic *Isle*, 26
Betubium, *or* Dungisby *Head, a Promontory*, 21
Bigga *Isle*, 37
Bishops *of* England *not true to* Maud *their Queen*, 224
Bishops *in* Scotland *holy Monks*, 165
Chosen heretofore by their Canons, 417
Anciently not Diocesans, 171
Bishop *of* Dunblane *sent into* France *to excuse the Queen's Marriage with* Bothwel, (200, &c.)
He is chouzed in his Embassy, (209)
Bishopricks, *six in* Scotland, 218
Four others added to them and endowed, 223
Bishop *of* Caithness *had his Eyes and Tongue plucked out*, 235
Another burnt, 236
Bishop *of* Caledonia, *or* Dunkel, *commanded, when the* English *Navy was worsted in the* Forth, 270
Whereupon called the King's Bishop, ibid.
Bishop *of* Dunkel *commended*, (40)
Bishop *of* Durham *comes too late to assist* Percy, 317, 319

Page

His Army terrified with the Noise of Horses, 320
Bishop *of St.* Davids *sent by the* English *King to the* Scots, (63)
Bishop *of the* Orcades *prefers Court-Favour before Truth*, (199)
Bizets, *a Family in* Ireland, *anciently from* Scotland, 240
Blackmoney, *What?* 425
Blackness *betrayed to the* Hamiltons, (286)
Blandium, *an old Drink amongst the* Scots, 23
Blair *of* Athol, 18
Blood *rained for seven days over all* Britain, 261
Also Milk, &c. *turned into Blood*, ibid.
Bogia, *or* Strabogy, 140
Boadicea; *see* Voadicea.
Bodotria, (*i.e.*) *the* Scotish Sea, 100
Boids *creep into Favour at Court*, 409
Their Faction against the Kennedies, 410
They carry the King to Edinburgh, *and strengthen themselves by getting the King's Pardon*, 411
Their Greatness occasions their Ruin, 412
Boin *Country*, 20
Bote, *or* Boot, *Isle*, 24
Bracara, *or* Braga, 47
Braid Albin, 17
Brasa *Isle*, 37
Brecantia, *a Town*, 65
Bredius *overthrown by* Ederus, 106
Brendinus *slain in Battel*, 156
Brennus's, *Two*, 79
Brettish *Isles*, 4
Bria, Brica, Briga, *signify a City, with the Names of several Cities so ending*, 63, 64, 65
Bridi *Isle*, 26
Brien-Loch, 31
Brigantes *and* Brigiani, 65
Brigantium, ibid.
Brigidan *Isle*, 26
Brigids, *or* Brides, *Church burnt*, 408
Britanny, *its Description*, 1, &c.
Several Islands anciently so called, ibid.
Mentioned by Aristotle *and* Lucretius, 3
It hath divers Acceptations, 8
Its Original and Description out of Cæsar, Tacitus, &c. 81, 82
Inhabited by three Nations, 70, 71
Several Limits of it anciently, 180
Britains, *their fabulous Original*, 41
They praised God in five Tongues, 33
Britains *and* Gauls *of one Religion*, 56
They painted their Bodies, 76
Made no difference of Sex in Government, 85

Page

Vexed by the Scots *and* Picts, 139
They ask Aid of the Romans, 93, 135, 136
Make Peace with Scots *and* Picts, 139
Enter Scotland, 100
Foment Divisions betwixt Scots *and* Picts, 95
Overthrown by Scots *and* Picts, 142
Their woful Complaints to Ætius, 93, 143
Have hard Conditions of Peace imposed upon them, 141
What sort of Weapons they used in War, 50
They were five hundred Years under the Roman *Government*, 70
Overthrown by Scots *and* Picts, 156
Subdued by the Saxons, 70
Revolt from the Romans, *and after twelve Years return to their Obedience*, 124
Britton *and* Britain, *all one*, 9
Their Origin, 50
Britto, *with a double t*, 5
First mentioned by Martial, 9
Brix, *a diminutive Word in* Scotch, Brixac, 60
Bruce *and* Cumins *formally agree*, 259
Like to suffer for Treason in England, *but escapes by shooing his Horse backward*, 260
Kils Cumins *for betraying of him*, ibid.
Bruce (David) *sent for* France, 286
Bruce (Edward) *drives the* English *out of* Ulster *in* Ireland, 270
He is afterwards overthrown there by the English, ibid.
Bruce (Robert) *the Kingdom confirmed to him*, 269
He is desired to accept the Crown of Ireland *also*, ibid.
He calls for the Deeds of Mens Lands, 271
And receives an Affront thereupon, ibid.
A Conspiracy discovered against him, ibid.
He agrees with Baliol, *then in* France, 274
His Army enters England, 275
His last Will and Testament, 279
His three Counsels to his Nobles, ibid.
He would have his Heart buried at Jerusalem, 280
His Death and Praise, 281
Brudeus, *King of the* Picts, 156
Brudus, *King of the* Picts, *slain*, 166, 167
Brutus, *his Story*, 41 *to* 44
Buchan, 19
Its Etymology, 139
Buchan, *the Earl thereof made Lord High-Constable of* France, 335
Bull's *Head put upon a Man's, heretofore a sign of Death in* Scotland, 370
Burgundus *from* Burgus, 63
Bullock, *an* English *Man, turns to the* Scots, 298
Put to Death, 301

Page

Burgh, *a* Danish *Name*, 201
Burra *Isle*, 35, 36, 37
Buthroti, *Who?* 46
Buiia *Isles, great and small*, 29, 30, 70

C

CAdvallus *made Vice-King*, 105
He dies of Grief, 106
Caithness, 21, 133
Caithness *Men cruel against their Bishop, and are punished for it*, 239
Calaman *Isle*, 26
Calden *in* Scotch *is an Hasel*, 56
Caledonia, *a Town, (i. e.)* Dunkel, 18
Caledones, *Who?* ibid.
Caledonian *Woods, whence so called?* 56
Caledonians, Picts *and* Scots, *sometimes all called* Britains, 74
Calen Cambel, *with two others, chosen Governour of the King and Kingdom*, (47)
He is sent against the Douglasses, (56)
Calfa *Isle*, 27
Calthrops, *politick Engines in War, what?* 266
Camber, *Son of* Brute, 42
Cambri, ibid.
Why so called, 61
Camus, *the* Dane, *slain by the* Scots, 202
Cana *Isle*, 26, 28
Cantire *Promontory*, 17
Canutus, *a* Danish *General in* Scotland, 202
Makes Peace with the Scots, 203
Caprary, *or* Goat, *Isle*, 25
Cara *Isle*, 25
Carail *Town*, 18
Purged from Monuments of Idolatry, (131)
Caratacus, *King of* Scotland, 107
The Orcades *not subdued by* Claudius Cæsar *in his Time*, 108
Carausius, *a* Roman, *composes the Differences betwixt* Scots *and* Picts, 124
He seizes on Britain *for himself*, ibid.
Carausius, *Brother of King* Findocus, *causes him to be slain*, 122
Cardorus *unjustly put to death by* Dardanus, 188
Carick, 14
Carniburgh's, *two Islands*, 27
Carron-water, 15
Carron, *why sirnamed* Schrimger, 218
Cave, *an unusual one, turning Water into Stone*, 20
Cassivelannus *his Town, (i. e.)* Verulam, *taken by* Cæsar, 82
Cecily, Edward *of* England's *Daughter, promised in Marriage to the Son of* James *III.* 422

The

Page

The intended Marriage null'd, and the Dowry repaid, 427
Celestine, *Pope, sends* Palladius *into* Scotland, 145
Cells, *so the ancient* Scots *called their Temples,* 125
Celts, *Who?* 58
Celtiberi, *so called from the* Celts *and* Iberians, 49
Celuinus, *or* Cialine, *King of the* East-Saxons, 156
Slain by the Scots, 157
Charles, *the Dolphin of* France, *seeks Aid of the* Scots, 334
Charles *of* Burgundy *slain at* Nants, 420
He lays the Foundation of Tyranny in his Country, 434
Charles *the Fifth sends to* Scotland, *to join in Affinity with them,* (63)
Why his Mother was committed to perpetual Imprisonment, (269)
Charles Guise *Cardinal, Guarantee for the Kingdom of* Scotland. (114)
Charn *Islands,* 27
Chourna *Isle,* ibid.
Childeric, *a* Saxon *Commander, wounded,* 152
Christian *Religion promoted in* Scotland, 125
Christ's *Birth-day prophaned,* 151
Christians *join in League against the* Danes, 176
Christiern *of* Denmark, *with all his Male-Stock, cast out of the Kingdom,* (269)
Chualsa *Isle,* 73
Cicero *quoted about* Britain, 86
Church, *its woful State,* 417
Cimbri, *so the* French *and* Germans *call Thieves,* 77, 78
Cities *Names in* Bria, Brica, Briga, 63, 64, 65
In Dunum, 65, 66, 67
In Durum, 68
In Magus, 69
Clacman Prefecture, *or Stewarty,* 18
Clarence, *Duke of it slain in* France *by the* Scots, 335
Clarshacks, *What?* 24
Claudian, *a Verse in him corrected by* Joseph Scaliger, 76
Cleirach *Isle,* 31
Cloich *Isle,* 25
Clydsdale, 13, 14
Cluyth, 92
Cnapdale, 17
Cockburn *Forest, or Path,* 13
Cockrane, *one of King* James *the* IIId's *Evil Counsellors, put to Death,* 425
Cœmeteries *for the Kings of three Nations,* 27

Page

Coilus, *King of the* Britains, *slain by the* Scots, 96
Colca, *a rare kind of Bird,* 32
Colgernus, *a* Saxon *Commander, killed,* 152
Coll *Isle,* 27
Collonsa *Isle,* 26
Colman, *an holy Bishop,* 160
Columb, *the Saint, his Monastery,* 26
His great Authority, 155
He tells of a Victory at a very great distance, 155, 156
His Death, 157
Columb *Isle; see* Icolumbkill,
Colvansa *Isle,* 27
Colurn, *(i. e.)* Chourna, *or* Hasel *Isle,* 26
Comes Stabuli, *Who?* 247
Commodus, *the Emperor, in* Britain, 117
Commonalty *usually comply with the Humour of their Prince,* 188
Affect Innovations, 413
Competitors *for the Crown of* Scotland, *with their several Pretensions,* 248
The Controversy not decided in Scotland, *but referred to* Edward *of* England, ibid.
The Case, as stated by Edward, *and propounded to Lawyers,* 249
Bruce *refuses the Kingdom offered him on ignoble Terms,* 250
Edward *decides for* Baliol, ibid.
Competitors *for the Regency,* (283)
Conanus *elected Vice-Roy,* 101
Conanus *perswades to Peace, but is seditiously slain by the* Britains *his Country-men,* 141
Conarus, *King of* Scotland, *joins in a Conspiracy against his Father,* 113
He demands large Subsidies, but is denied, 114
He wars against the Britains, 113
Ends his Life in Prison, 115
Confidence *sometimes praised for Constancy,* 358
Congal *I. King of* Scotland, 147
Congal *II. enriches Priests,* 159
Congal *III.* 166
Conscience *guilty gives no Rest,* 195
Constantine Chlorus *in* Britain, 124
Chosen General by the Brittons, 125
Made their King, 143
Slain by Vortigern, ibid.
Constantine, *the Emperour, born,* 124
Constantine *I. King of* Scots, 145
Reigns wickedly, ibid.
His violent Death, 146
Constantine *II.* 174
Renews publick Discipline, ibid.
Slain by the Picts, 175

Page

Conſtantine *III.* 179
Makes a League with the Danes, ibid.
Invades the Subjects Right, ibid.
Abjures the Kingly Office, 172
And retires into a Monaſtery, 180
Conſtantine *IV. ſirnamed* Calvus, 196
Canvaſſes for the Crown, ibid.
Inveighs againſt the Law of Kenneth, *about Hereditary Succeſſion*, 197
Conſtance, *the Decree of its Council ſeaſonable for Perjured Perſons*, (77)
Controverſy *between the* Baliols *and the* Bruces *concerning the Crown of* Scotland, 245, *&c.*
Convention *of the Nobles to chooſe a Regent after* Murray's *Death*, (251)
Cony *Iſle*, 25, 30
See Sigrama.
Corbred *I. King of* Scots, 108
Corbred *II. ſirnamed* Galdus, 109
He firſt fought with the Romans, ibid.
And beat them out of Caledonia, 111
Cornavii, 22
They are in Scotland *and* England *too*, 60
Corniſh *riſe againſt* Henry *VII. of* England, (10,11)
Cornovallia, *or* Cornuvallia, *whence derived?* 60
Corſhera *Iſle*, 26
Coval, 17
Covihaſlop; *ſee* Round *Iſle*.
Council *of* Conſtance *ſend Embaſſadors to* Scotland, 334
They deny Faith to be kept with thoſe they call Hereticks, (77)
Count *of* Rothes *committed to Priſon*, (92)
Coupins-oy, 36
Courteſy *to Priſoners*, 319
Courts *many times prefer Honour before Honeſty*, 333
Cowper, *a Town*, 18
Cracoviac; *ſee* Kirkwal.
Craford *(Earl of it) takes part with the* Douglaſſes, 384
But afterwards deſerts them, 389
And is received into Favour by the King, ibid.
Crackles, *(i. e.) little jangling Bells, terrify Horſes*, 307
Crathilinthus *King of* Scots, 123
Much addicted to hunting, 124
Crathilinthus *kils his Grandfather*, 192
He riſes in Arms, but is ſuppreſſed, 193
Cree *River*, 14
Creſſingham, *an* Engliſh *General, ſlain by the* Scots, 255
Creighton *ſent Embaſſador into* France, 376

Page

Croke, *the* French *Embaſſador, diſlikes the Queen's Marriage with* Bothwel, (199)
He mediates a Peace, (208,209)
Crowling *Iſle*, 28
Cruelty, *an Example thereof*, 329
Culbrenin *Iſle*, 25
Culdees, *a kind of Monks*, 18, 125
Worſhippers of God, 18
Culen, *King of* Scots, *an inceſtuous Perſon*, 184, 185
He is ſlain by a Strumpet, 187
Cull, 196
Culroſs, *whence ſo called?* 170
Cumbra *Iſles, the greater and the leſſer*, 25
Cumbri *and* Cumri, 75
Cumins, *their Faction powerful*, 240
Cumins *overthrows* Gileſpy, 239
Cumins (John) *overthrown by* Bruce, 264
Cumins (William) *poiſoned by his Wife*, 241
Cuningham, 14
Cuningham's *overcome by the* Hamiltons, (85)
Cup *of St.* Magnus; *ſee* Magnus.
Curia, *a Pariſh-Church*, 26
Curry, *a Merchant, an Inſtrument in ſurprizing* Edinburgh *Caſtle*, 299
Cutberectus, 161

D

DAal, *what it ſignifies in Old* Scotiſh, 100
Dalkeith, 13
Dalreudini, *why the* Scots *ſo called?* 100
Danes *enter* England, 71
Invade Scotland, 174
Fight a bloody Battel with the Engliſh, 178
Turn Chriſtians, ibid.
Land in Scotland, 182
Are overthrown, ibid.
Daniſh *Fleet lands again in* Scotland, 190
Stupified by an inebriating Drink, and overcome by the Scots, 209
Swear never to return to invade Scotland *any more*, 210
Dangers *make Men ſagacious*, 26
Dardanus, *King of* Scots, 108
His cruel Reign, and violent Death, ibid.
David *I. King of* Scots, 212
Profuſe towards Monaſteries, 223
Maintains the Cauſe of Maud, *his Kinſwoman, againſt* Stephen *of* England, 224
Accuſes him of Perjury, ibid.
Makes two Accords with Stephen, 225,226
Henry, *Heir of* England, *made Knight by him*, 226

Loſes

Page

Loses his hopeful Son, yet comforts himself and his Nobles, in a Christian Discourse thereupon, 226
He erects new Bishopricks, 223
His extraordinary Character for Piety and Virtue, 227
David, *King* William's *Brother, accompanies* Richard, *of* England, *to the* Holy War, 235
He is shipwrack'd, and taken Prisoner, yet at last returns, ibid.
David *II. anointed King of* Scotland, 282
Sent into France, *when he was a Child,* 286
Returns to Scotland, 300
Taken Prisoner in a Fight by the English, 302
Ransomed, 304
His Death and Character, 305, 306
David Cumins *appointed Ruler over* Scotland *by the* English, 293
He and Douglas *disagree,* 294
Forced to take an Oath to Bruce, ibid.
Makes large Promises to Edward *of* England, 295
Follows the good Success of the English, ibid.
Left by the English *King as Regent of* Scotland, *where his Army is overthrown, and he himself slain,* 296
David, *the Son of* Robert III. *imprisoned, and starved to Death by his Uncle, who was his Governour,* 328, 329
David Beton, *the Cardinal,* (73)
Chosen Regent by a pretended Will, but, the Fraud being discovered, he is displaced and imprisoned, (75)
He endeavours to avert the imminent Ruin of Popery, (76)
He chouzes Lennox *with vain Hopes of marrying the Queen,* (80)
He grieves to be deprived of a rich Morsel, which he had swallowed in his Hopes, (81)
He is sharply reproved by Montgomery, (91)
His Cruelty against Protestants, (93)
He espouses his Daughter to the Earl of Craford's *Son,* (97)
He is slain in his Castle, with the manner thereof, (98)
His foul Character, (99)
David Douglas, *with his Brother* William, *beheaded,* 370
David Hamilton *defends the Cause of the Gospel,* (93)
David Panater, *or* Painter, *Bishop of* Rofs, *made an Abbat by the King of* France, (113)
David Rize, *a Musician, his Story,* (171)
He persuades the Queen to cut off the Scotish *Nobility,* (177)

Page

His Court-Preferments, Familiarity with the Queen of Scots, *violent Death and Burial,* (179 *to* 183)
David Spence *slain,* (282)
David Straiton, *or* Straton, *burnt for a* Lutheran, (63)
Death *better than a miserable Life,* (12)
Dee, *a River in* England, 13
Three of that Name in Scotland, 14, 70
Deidonum, *i. e.* Dundee, 18
Deiri, *Who?* 159
Delators, *or* Informers, *appointed by* Evenus, 13
Denmark, *the King thereof bargains with the Embassador of* Scotland *to quit his Right to the Islands about* Scotland, 413
Derivative *Words shew the Affinity of a Language,* 63
Dessius, *General of the* French *Forces in* Scotland, (106)
Called home by the King of France, (110)
Descants *on the Law about Hereditary Succession of the Crown,* 205
Descants *on over-severe Executions of Criminals,* 358
Deucaledonian *Sea, What?* 21
Diana's *Oracle counterfeited by a Monk,* 44, 45
Dicaledones, *rather to be read* Duncaledones, *in* Marcellinus, 56
Diocleſian, *a supposed King of* Syria, 41
Dionethus *gives himself forth to be King of the* Brittons, 136
Dion *quoted concerning* Britain, 90, 91, 118
Dona *River,* 20
Donachs, *or* Duncans, *Bay,* 22
Donald I. *King of* Scots, 117
He first received the Christian Religion, ibid.
Donald II. 122
Overthrown by Donald *the* Islander, *and dies,* ibid.
Donald, *Brother of* Malcolm III. *yields up the Possession of the* Islands *to the King of* Norwey, 23
Donald III. 123
Reigns Tyrannically, and is slain by Crathilinthus, ibid.
Donald IV. (*or* Donebald) *sends Christian Doctors into* England, *and interprets pious Sermons to the People, himself,* 159
Donald V. *Brother of* Kenneth, 172
Reigns licentiously, and is put in Prison, 173
Donald VI. *Son of* Constantine II. 178
Donald VII. *or* Duncan, 204
Donald, *Murderer of King* Duffus, *taken and executed,* 185

Page

Donald Bane *calls himself King of the Æbudæ*, 164
He is slain, ibid.
Donald VIII. *or* Banus, 220
He promises the Islands to Magnus, *King of* Norwey, ibid.
Donald *of* Athol, 154
Donald Baloc *overthrows* Alexander, *and* Alan, Stuarts, 343
He is taken in Ireland, *and his Head is sent to the King*, 344
Donald, *Lord of the Æbudæ, rises in Arms*, 333
With the Earl of Ross *and* Douglas, *he fights with the King's Forces*, ibid.
He is left by his Wife, 391
Sends Agents to make his Peace with the King, 392
After the King's Death, he plays Rex *again*, 408
He takes the Earl of Athol *Prisoner, and burns St.* Bride's *Church*, ibid.
He is shipwrack'd, and fals distracted, 409
Donald Monro *commended*, 22
He travelled over the Islands *of* Scotland, *and described them*, 31
Dongal, *King of* Scots, 168
He is drowned, ibid.
Dongard, *King of* Scots, 144
Opposes the Pelagian *Heresy*, 145
Dornadilla, *King of* Scots, 98
Dorstologus *slain*, 166
Dorus *flies for fear of* Nathalocus, 120
Dovallus *kils King* Nothatus, 99
He himself is slain in Battel, 100
Douglas *River*, 14
Douglas *Dale*, 140
Douglas *made Duke of* Turein, 336
Douglas *slain by the* Moors, 280
Douglas (William) *takes* Dundalk *in* Ireland, 314
Douglas (William) *pardoned*, 301
Douglas *breaks in upon the* English *Army*, 278
Douglasses *their Power intolerable*, 372, 377
Their Power broken, (53)
Drinach *Isle*, 25
Drix, 60
Druides, *Who?* 56
Drumalbin, 17
Drummilaw *Sands*, 209
Drunkenness *punished with Death*, 174
Druskins, *King of the* Picts, *and all his Nobility, slain*, 169
Drury *intercedes for Peace between the Parties in* Scotland, (278)
Duffa, *or* Dow, *Isle*, 25

Page

Duffus, *King of* Scots, 181
Witchcraft practised upon his Body, 183
He is slain, 184
Dukes, *when the Name first brought into* Scotland, 325
Duke *of* York *overthrown and slain by the Queen of* England, 398
Dulcitius *in* Britain, 89
Dunacus, *and* Domnacus, 68
Dunbar, *whence so called?* 13, 14
Its Siege raised, 297
Fortified by Alexander *against the King, but deserted by him*, 421
Again possessed by him, and delivered to the English, 427
Retaken by the Scots, 429
Dunbritton, 17
The Castle surrendred to Robert Bruce, 268
Twice surprized, 371
Taken by the Queen, (164)
Retaken by the Regent by Surprize, with the Manner, how? (260)
Its Scituation, and why so called? (262,) (263)
Duncan, *King of* Scots, 229
He is slain. ibid.
Duncan, *Earl of* Marr, *Regent*, 284
Slain in Battel, 285
Duncan Stuart, *rising in Arms, is suppressed*, 323
Duncaledon, *rather than* Deucaledon, *to be read in* Ptolemy, 56
Dunchonel *Isle*, 25
Dundee, 18
Dundeans, *Enemies to the* Gordons, (286)
Dunedin, *by the ancient* Scots, *now* Edinburgh, 171
Dungisby Head, 22
See Betubium.
Duni pacis, *what?* 15, 119
Dunkelden, 18
Duno, *or* Dunum, *Words so beginning or ending are the Names of Places*, 65, 66, 67
Dunoter, 19
Dunsinnan *Hill and Castle*, 212
Dunstafnage, 20
Duodecemvirate *in* Scotland, 253
Dur, *the Names of some Places derived therefrom*, 68
Durstus, *King of* Scots, 102
He invites the Nobility to a Supper, and there treacherously kils them, ibid.
He is slain, 103
Durstus *made King of the* Picts, 132
Slain in Battel, 137

Page

E

EAnfrid, 159
Easdale *Isle*, 25
Easter-Day, *a Dispute about it raised by* Austin *the* Monk, 157
Eboracum, *i. e.* York, *whence derived*, 60
Ecclesiasticks *their Power over Kings*, 237
Their Avarice, 238, 243
They are reformed by Constantine II. *are superstitious*, 195
Eder *preserved by his Nurse*, 104
Educated by Cadvallus, 105
Created King of Scots, 106
Edgar, *then in* Scotland, *demanded by* William *the* Norman, 216
Returns to England, 217
Made King of the Scots, 221
Builds Coldingham *Abby*, ibid.
Edifice, *a strange one*, 15
Edinburgh, (*or* Edinum) *whence so called*, 171
Its several Names, 175
How seated, (276)
A Convention held at one *End, when the Enemy had the Castle at the* other, ibid.
Edinburghers *would not admit the* English *Exiles, nor* Hamilton, *to enter their City*, (252)
Edmund, *King of* England, *his Story*, 215
He gives Cumberland *and* Westmoreland *to* Malcolm, *King of* Scots, 181
Edward I. *King of* England, *takes away all* Scotish *Monuments*, 259 119
Endeavours to bring Scotland *under his Dominion*, 249
Enters Scotland *with a great Army*, 264, 265
Overcomes the Scots, *and forces them to swear Fealty to him*, 259
Appoints Magistrates all over Scotland, ibid.
Desires Margarite *of* Norwey, *Heiress of* Scotland, *a Wife for his Son, but she dies before her Marriage*, 245
Edward II. *succeeding his Father in the Kingdom of* England, 263
Besieges Berwick, *makes a Truce with the* Scots, *and retreats*, 270, 271
Worsted in Scotland, 272
Is cast into Prison by his Wife and his Son, and there put to a cruel Death, 274
Edward III. *King of* England, *makes Peace with the* Scots, 300
Baliol *taken into his Protection*, 288
His Cruelty to Alexander Seton's *Children*, 289
Claims Berwick, 288
Hath three Kings his Prisoners at once, 304
He overthrows the Scots, 290

Page

Takes Berwick, 296
Enters Scotland *once or twice, but retreats again*, 293, 296
His Death, 308
Edward, *Duke of* York, *cals himself King of* England, 396
Edward IV. *of* England, *makes Peace with the* Scots, 416
He dies, 428
He laid the Foundation of Tyranny, 434
Edward VI. *of* England, *an hopeful Prince, his Death*, (114)
Edward Bruce *called to be King in* Ireland, 269
Assists his Brother Robert, 265
Edward Baliol *with a numerous Fleet in the Bay of* Forth, 284
He overcomes the Scots, 285
Enters on the Kingdom, 286
Swears Fealty to the King of England, 288
His supposititious Son, (7)
Education *at Court, what?* (160)
Egfrid, *King of* Northumberland, *slain by the* Picts, 161
Edwyn, *of* Northumberland, 159
Eels *taken in abundance*, 14
Egg *Isle*, 28
See Rum.
Eglish, *or* Church *Isle*, 25
Eglisa, *or* Eglish-oy *Isle*, 36
Elbeouf, *Marquess of it, stays with the Queen in* Scotland, (154)
Elgin, *a Town*, 20
Eliot's *Authority disallowed*, 4
Elizabeth, *Queen of* England, *sends Aid to the Reformers of Religion in* Scotland, (141, 144)
Her grave Oration to the Embassador of the Queen of Scots, (155, 156, &c.)
She, in part, adopts the Cause of the Queen of Scots, (222)
Her Letters to the Regent to defer the Convention of the Estates, ibid.
Her other Letters to him, which break off the Course of his Victories, (223)
She is informed by the Regent, that the Cause of their Queen's deposing, was the Murder of her Husband, (227, 228)
She sends Letters to the Nobles of Scotland *to receive their Queen again*, (239, &c.)
Their Answer to her Letters, (241)
Howard's *Conspiracy against her detected*, (244)
She demands the English *Fugitives to be given up to her by the* Scots, (284)
She is made Arbiter between the Parties in Scotland, (260)

Page

Some of her Council would have King James *sent into* England, (275)
Which the Scots *refuse to do*, (280)
She favours the King's Cause most, yet is (politickly) slow in her Aid, (279,286)
Ella, *an* Engliſh *King*, 172
Embaſſadors *from* France *deſire the* Scots *to make War upon* England, (119)
Embaſſadors *from* France *and* England *to* Scotland, 352
England *divided by four Rivers*, 13
The King thereof the Pope's Feudatary, 237
Its King makes Peace, or Truce, with the Scots, 249, 250
Enecus, *General of the* Danes, 200
Slain by the Scots, 201
Enemies *not to be undervalued*, 174,291
Their ſudden Liberality to be ſuſpected, (43)
Engliſh, *how ſaid to rule over all* Britain, 180
Incommoded in their March in Scotland, 276
Their Army worſted, 270
Quit their Claim to any Part of Scotland, 234
Regain a great Part of Scotland, 303
Drawn into an Ambuſh, 304
Their Army of 60000 *Men*, 274
Driven out of all Scotland, *except* Berwick, 300
Engliſh *Souldiers leſs rapacious than the* French, 313
Worſted in Scotland, 391
Overthrown by the Scots *at Sea*, 379
Ask Aid of the Scots *againſt their own King*, 392
Engliſh, *their Horſes frightned in* Scotland, (42)
Make War on Scotland, (59)
Enter Scotland *again*, (86)
Are worſted, (89)
Again enter, (100)
And give the Regent a great Overthrow, (104)
Enter Scotland *again*, (105)
And prevail againſt James Douglas, (106)
Engliſh *Fleet attempts the* Orcades, (123)
Engliſh *called Deliverers of* Scotland, (152)
Send Aid to the Reformers in Scotland, (143)
Aſſiſt the Vindicators of King and Regent's Murderers againſt the Queen's Faction, (253, &c. 256,257)
Their Queen Elizabeth *deſigned to be deſtroyed, and the King of* Scots, *too*, (280)
Enner, *what it ſignifies*, 106
Ennerlute, *or* Ennerlochy, *a Mart-Town*, 20
Ennerneſs, *a Mart-Town*, 106
Eorſa *Iſle*, 27
Eoy *Iſle*, 29
Ericæan, *or* Heath *Iſle*, 26
Erisbach *Iſle*; *ſee* Abridic.
Eriſcaia, *or* Eriſay, *Iſle*, 30
Erin *Iſle*, ibid.
Erra *Iſle*, 26
Eſk *River*, 13
South and North, 19
Thence the Country called Eskdale, 13
Etfin, *King of* Scots, 163
Ethelfrid, *King of* Northumberland, 156
Routs the Scots, 157
Marches into Galway, ibid.
Ethodius I. *King of* Scots, *makes Laws about Hunting*, 112
Overcomes the Illanders, ibid.
Slain by Night in his Bedchamber, by his Harper, ibid.
Ethodius II. *rules by his Deputies*, 119
Is ſlain, ibid.
Ethus, *King of* Scots, 171
Eu *Iſland*, 31
Eubonia, *or* Man, *Iſle*, 24
Evenus I. *King of* Scots, 103
Aids the Picts *againſt the* Brittons, ibid.
The firſt that required an Oath of Allegiance of his Subjects, ibid.
Firſt ſettles Itinerary Judges in Scotland, ibid.
Evenus II. 105
Overthrows the Orkney *Men*, 106
Evenus III. *noted for Obſcenity*, 107
He makes a Law for Polygamy, ibid.
Is ſlain, ibid.
Eugenius I. *or* Evenus, *King of* Scots, 127
Slain by the Romans, 128
Evenus, *an* Illander, *put to Death*, 174
Eugenius II. 138
His Character, 144
In his time the Romans *leave* Britain, ibid.
Eugenius III. *Brother of* Congal, *King of* Scots, 154
Aſſiſts againſt the Saxons, ibid.
Eugenius IV. *Brother of* Aidanus, 158
Brought up under Columb, ibid.
He harbours the fugitive Saxons, ibid.
Eugenius V. 161
Eugenius VI. ibid.
Learned in Theology, ibid.
In his Time it rained Blood, ibid.
Eugenius VII. *cauſes the memorable Facts of Kings to be recorded*, 162
He is ſuſpected for the Murder of his Queen, but cauſleſly, ibid.
Eugenius VIII. *ſlain in an Aſſembly of the Nobles*, 163
Evonia *Caſtle*, 20
Euſdale *County ſo called from the River* Ewes, 13, 140

Exam-

Page

Examples *of Princes more influential on Subjects than their Laws,* 155
Exchequer *Officers defend ſometimes moſt unjuſt Laws,* 113
Exchequer *Profits, ſometimes Diſprofits,* 35
Excommunication, *unjuſtly pronounced, affects not the Excommunicated,* 272
Exile *more tolerable than Servitude,* 132

F

FAbilla, *or* Fable, *Iſle,* 30
Fair, *or* Fara, *Iſle,* 36
Faith, *or Fidelity, towards wicked Perſons unſteadfaſt,* 105,107
Sacred among Souldiers, 319,330
Not to be kept with Hereticks, as Papiſts ſay, (130)
Falamgal *Iſle; ſee* Finlagan,
Falcons, *in the Iſle of* Muick, 28
Famine *breaks ſtout Spirits,* 140
Famine *and Peſtilence in* Scotland, 388
Fara *Iſle,* 29
Farrow-head, 21
Faunus's *Oracle,* 43
Fenella *commands* Kenneth *to be ſlain,* 169
Feraia *Iſle,* 29
Ferchard I. *King of* Scots, 158
Endeavours to introduce Tyranny, ibid.
Malicioufly nouriſheth Factions amongſt his Nobles, and is guilty of the Pelagian *Hereſy,* 159
He kils himſelf, ibid.
Ferchard II. *wickedly kils his Wife, and abuſeth his Daughters,* 160
He is excommunicated, reproved by Coleman, *and repents at his Death,* ibid.
Feredeth, *King of the* Picts, 166
Ferelay *Iſland,* 30
Fergus I. *King of* Scots, *ſent for out of* Ireland, 95
The Kingdom ſettled on him by Common Conſent, 96
Drowned at Carickfergus *in* Ireland, 97
Came firſt into Albium, *when* Alexander *the Great took* Babylon, ibid.
Fergus II. *whilſt a Child, flies by Sea, with his Parents, into* Scandia, *is recalled from thence, and made King,* 133,134
He is ſlain in Fight, 137
His Praiſe, with a Compariſon between him and Fergus I. ibid.
He is deſervedly called, The ſecond Founder of the Scotiſh *Kingdom,* ibid.
Fergus III. *poiſoned by his Wife for his Adulteries,* 163
She owns the Fact, and kils her ſelf, 164

Page

Fergus *of* Galway's *Children diſagree after his Death,* 246
Feritharis, *King of* Scots, 97
An old Law concerning Succeſſion to the Crown, made in his Time, ibid.
Ferlegus, *Son of* Fergus, *conſpires againſt his Uncle, for which he is condemned,* 97,98
Fethelmach, *King of* Scots, 127
Fidler, *or Harper, One kils King* Ethodius I. 116
Another aſſiſts to deſtroy Fethelmach, 127
Fifteen *Judges appointed in* Scotland, *but ſoon diſuſed,* (59)
Fife *County,* 18
So called from Fifus, 170
Fights *memorable between* Scots *and* Engliſh, 355
At Bannock, 267
At Otterborn, 317,318,319
Fiſh *ſhapeleſs,* 29
A ſtrange ſort, ibid.
Fincormachus, *King of* Scots, 125
Findochus, *King of* Scots, 121
Overcomes Donald, ibid.
Is ſlain by means of his Brother Carauſius, 122
Finelaw, *or* Finlaw, *Biſhop, Author of ill Counſels,* 339
Finlagan *Iſle,* 26
Finnanus, *King of* Scots, 102
Fiole *Iſle,* 25
Flada *Iſle,* 24,28,29,30
Flanders, *Artificers ſent for from thence into* Scotland, 347
Flata *Iſland,* 36
Flattery, *the Peſt of great Families,* 363,380
Flavanæ *Iſles,* 30
Fordun, 19
Foreſtia, ibid.
Forth, *or* Scotiſh *Sea,* 13
Fortune, *an Example of its Inconſtancy,* 375
Fotlar *Iſle,* 37
Francs, *Who?* 46
Francis I. *King of* France, *by the help of the King of* England, *reſtored to liberty out of the Hands of the* Spaniards, (62)
He ſends the Earl of Lennox *into* Scotland, (78)
Is alienated from Lennox, (83)
Sends Montgomery *into* Scotland, (91)
Francis II. *of* France, *ſends* La'broſs *into* Scotland, (136)
He is influenced by, and is under the Power of, the Guiſes, (150)
His Death, ibid.
Francis, *Duke of* Guiſe, *Curator of the Kingdom of* Scotland, (114)

Page

Appointed General of the Popiſh Faction, (153,174)
Franciſcans, *or begging Friars, their Wealth,* (128)
France, *its miſerable State,* (151)
Its King Francis *promiſes to aid the* Scots *of the Queen's Faction,* (254)
And the Scots *Rebels,* (279,280)
Upon what Grounds he did it, ibid.
Frazer's *Family almoſt extinct,* (89)
Frederethus *ſlain,* 166
Friend *betrays Friend,* 332
Their Injuries the moſt grievous, 314
Our Father's Friends not to be neglected, 101
Friendſhip *with Princes far off, ſometimes ſafer than with Thoſe nearer home,* (44)
French, Gauls, Francs, *their Original,* 46
They receive Characters of Letters from the Maſſilian Greeks, 38
Their Communion with the Brittons, 61
When French *and* Scots *Alliance firſt began,* 165
They ſend Aid to the Scots, (90, 106)
Their Souldiers very licentious, 313
Their Army leaves Scotland, 314
Their unjuſt Demand, 312
What Good the Scots *got by their Alliance,* 322
Their King diſtracted, 334
They ask Aid of the Scots, ibid.
They renew their League with the Scots, 240, 251, 273
French *and* Scots *Souldiers mutiny,* (109)
Their Auxiliaries in Scotland *cannot forbear their wonted Plundering,* (314)
They hinder an Alliance with England *by Bribes, as much as they can,* (43,44)
Aſſault Werk *Caſtle,* (45)
Their Souldiers kill the Governour of Edinburgh, *with ſome of the Citizens,* (209)
They deſign to ſurprize Hadington, ibid.
They are diſguſted by the Scots, (110)
French *and* Engliſh *in* Scotland *agree,* (111)
French *tranſported into their own Country,* (112)
French *King ſends Auxiliaries to ſtrengthen the Queen Regent,* (135,143)
French *Embaſſadors Demands from the* Reformed, (136,152)
French *their contumelious Pride againſt ſome of the* Scots, (143,144)
Their Deſign to eſtabliſh Tyranny, ibid.
French *Embaſſador buſy between the Queen and the* Royaliſts, (218,219)
Upon the Queen's Overthrow he ſculks away, (221)
French *to leave* Scotland *by Conſent,* (149)

Page

French *Ship ſent with Proviſion and Ammunition into* Scotland, *taken by the* Royaliſts, (279)
French *Tongue heretofore not much different from the* Britiſh, 58
Friars Mendicants *Mercenaries to Pariſh-Prieſts and Curats,* (345,346)
Their Opinions; and why Manducants *rather than* Mendicants, (129)
Fuda *Iſle,* 29

G

G *A Letter commonly uſed by the* French *for* V, 60, 61
Gaga *Iſle,* 25
Gald, Gael, Galle, 62
Galdus, *the Sir-name of* Corbred, *what it ſignifies,* 109
Galeatius Sforza *ſlain by his Uncle,* (231)
Gallovid, *in Old* Scotiſh *ſignifies a* Gaul, 14
Galo, *Cardinal, the Pope's Legat in* England, 237
He excommunicates the Scots, 238
A wicked and avaritious Man, ibid.
Galvinus, *Son of* Lothus, 151
Galway, *why ſo called,* 14,61,139
Garalinga *Iſle,* 29
Garaard, *King of the* Picts, 162
Garvæ *Iſles, three,* 25
Garvillan *Iſles,* 30
Gavin *Iſle,* 25
Gauls *ſent Colonies into* Spain, 48
Into Italy, 49
Into Germany, ibid.
Into Britain, 50
Into Ireland, 51
Gathelus, *a Prince, feigned by ſome to be the Founder of the* Scots *Nation,* 46
Gawin Dunbar, *the King's Tutor, made Chancellour,* (54)
Gawin Douglas *called Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews, (29)
Committed to Priſon, (164)
Genrach *Iſle,* 26
Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *a Writer of* Britiſh *Affairs,* 8
Geldrians *come to help the* Engliſh *againſt the* Scots, 295
Geloni, *painted their Bodies,* 53
Geniſtery, *or* Broom, *Iſle,* 25
George Buchanan, *impriſoned for Religion, eſcapes out of his Chamber-Window whilſt his Keepers were aſleep,* (67)
He is ſent in Embaſſy, with others, into England, (224)
His ingenuous Speech concerning Himſelf, 71

George,

Page

George, *Brother to the Earl of* Douglas, *made Earl of* Ormond, 377
Commands the Forces against England, 378
Extolled for his Victory over them, 380
Declared a publick Enemy, 387
Beheaded, 390
George Douglas, *Earl of* Angus, 377
His memorable Fact, 398
He is against the Queen Mother, 399
His bold and unworthy Speech to the King, (50)
George Douglas, *the Regent's youngest Brother,* (217)
Delivers the Queen out of Prison, (218)
George Dunbar, *Earl of* Merch, *espouses his Daughter to* David, *King* Robert's *Son,* 325
Which Marriage not taking effect, he joins with Percy *of* England *against the* Scots, 326
Proclaimed a publick Enemy, ibid.
Percy *and he overthrow the* Scots, 307
Takes Douglas *Prisoner in Fight,* 327
Joins with Percy *against the King of* England, *is wounded, and taken Prisoner,* 329
Being reconciled to the Regent, returns into Scotland, 332
George Gordon *sent with an Army against* England, (70)
The King's Hatred against him, (71)
Accused and imprisoned, (115)
Released, (116)
Studies to raise Commotions, (154)
Privy to the Conspiracy against Murray, (168)
Condemned for Treason, (170)
Restored by the Queen to his former Dignity, (173)
Chief of the Queen's Faction, (209)
George Lesly, *Earl of* Rothes, *sent Embassador into* France, (121)
There poisoned, as 'twas believed, (122)
George Ruven *slain,* (282)
George Wiseheart, *Preacher of the Gospel,* (93)
Persecuted by Cardinal Beton, *against the Regent's Mind,* (94)
Foretels the Death of Cardinal Beton, (97)
His pious and Christian Deportment before, and at, his Martyrdom, (95,96,97)
Gerlock *Isle,* 28
Gerlock *Bay,* 17
See Loch-ger.
Gersa, *or* Gres-oy, *Isle,* 37
Gernich, *or* Gaxnico, 22
Germany, *whence so called,* 42
Germans, *their fabulous Original,* 45
Ingenious in relating the Origin of their Nation, 38, 39

Page

German *Navy lands on the Coast of* Scotland, 94
Gessoriaci, *i. e. People living about* Calais, 10
Getes, *painted their Bodies,* 53
Gethus, *King of the* Picts, 97
Slain, 100
Getini, *and* Getæ, *whence?* 49
Geurasdil *Isle,* 25
Gigaia, *or* Gega, *Isle,* ibid.
Gigamena *Isle,* ibid.
Giles, *Tutelary God of* Edinburgh, *his Show affronted,* (124)
Gilbert Kennedy *slain by the Command of* James Douglas, (57)
A Man of a great Spirit, ibid.
Gilbert Kennedy's *Constancy in keeping his Word,* (77)
Gilbert Kennedy, *Earl of* Cassils, *sent Embassador into* France, (121)
He dies there, not without the suspicion of Poison, (127)
Gilbert, *his Son, chosen Judg in* Bothwel's *Case, but excuses himself,* (195)
Gilchrist *kils his Wife, the King's Sister, for her Adultery,* 234
King William's *General,* 230
Banished, but received again into Favour, 234
Gilcolumb *slain,* 164
Gildas *quoted concerning* Britain, 93
He wrote 400 *Years after* Tacitus, 38
Favoured by Aurelius Ambrosius, 148
A good Man, and died at Glastenbury *in* Somersetshire; *the Prophecies that go under his Name, not genuine,* ibid.
Gildominick, *and the* Murray *Men, suppressed,* 230
Gilespy Cambel, *an Actor in the Reformation,* (129)
Recalled by threatning Letters, by the Queen Regent, (130)
Gilespy, *Earl of* Argyle, *banished,* (175)
His Levity, (206)
Privy to the Queen's Wickedness, (216)
General of her Army, (220)
Refuses to own himself a Subject to the King, (234)
The Regent receives him into Favour, and he is in great Authority, (235,251)
Gillan *Isle,* 30
Gillo, *Commander of the exiled* Scots, 129
Gillus, *the Bastard, King of* Scots, 104
Flies into Ireland, 105
Slain by Cadvallus, 106
Glascow, 14
The Bishop thereof frightned by a Voice from Heaven, 376

Page

Glaſs *Iſle*, 28
Glenluce, 14
Glotta *River, i. e.* Clyde, 14
Glottiana ; *ſee* Clydſdale.
Goat *Iſle*, 25
God's *Favour attends the Good*, 213
Gomedra *Iſle*, 27
Goran, *King of* Scots, 148
Perſuades the Kings of the Picts *and* Brittons *to join with the* Scots *againſt the* Saxons, 148
He is treacherouſly ſlain by his Subjects, 154
His Wife and Children fly into Ireland, ibid.
But are recalled by Congal II. 155
Gordons *at Feud with the* Forbes's, (284)
Gordon *an Enemy to* Murray, (162)
He labours to deſtroy him, (164,166)
His Deſign againſt him, at one time, wonderfully prevented, (168,169)
Gordon's *bold Attempt againſt the Queen her ſelf*, (167)
Gorlois *wickedly ſlain by* Uter, 149
Goropius *reproved*, 10
Goths, *Who?* 33
Gothunni, *and* Gothini, *who?* 49
Grafton *cenſured*, 252
Graham, *or* Grame, 135
Appointed Tutor to Eugenius, 137
Recals Chriſtian Paſtors into Scotland, 140
Graham's *Dike*, 138
Grampian *Hills, or Mountains*, 17
Gramry *Iſle*, 25
Graniſa *Iſle*, 36
Gray *hath the chief Command in* Scotland *againſt the* French, (146)
Gregory, *King of* Scots, *his famous Atchievements againſt the* Picts, Danes *and* Brittons, 175, 176
He takes ſeveral Cities in Ireland, 177
Green *Iſle*, 25, 28
Grevan *River*, 14
Gria *Iſle*, 30
Griffin *ſlain in Fight*, 156
Grime, *King of* Scotland, 198
Makes an Agreement with Malcolm, ibid.
Which he afterwards breaks, is overthrown, and made Priſoner, 199
And dies, 200
Groom *in a Stable, his bold Attempt on* James Hamilton, *in revenge of his Maſter's Death*, (52)
For which he is put to Death, ibid.
Gruinorta *Iſle*, 31
Guidi, 15, 92
Guiſes, *their Deſire to haſten the Marriage of* Mary *with the Dolphin*, (221)
Their over-great Power ſuſpected, (122)

Page

They deſign Scotland, *as a Peculiar, for their Family*, (151)
They ſeek to deſtroy James, *Earl of* Murray, *as an Enemy to Popery*, (165)
Gun *Iſle*, 27
Guns, i. e. *Great Ordnance of Iron, when firſt began to be uſed in* Scotland, 394

H

HAdington, 13
Deſerted by the Engliſh, (111)
Hago, *a* Daniſh *Admiral*, 181
Haie, *or* Hea, *Iſle*, 30
Hakerſet *Iſle*, 29
Hamiltons, *the Original of their Family*, 273
Hamilton *leaves the Party of the* Douglaſſes, 390
Hamiltonians *willing to free the Queen out of Priſon*, (216)
Overthrown in Battel, and ſome of them taken Priſoners, (221,222)
They meet at Edinburgh *in behalf of* Queen Mary, (252)
Hara *Iſle*, 37
Harald, *Earl of* Caithneſs, *puniſhed for his Cruelty*, 235
Haraya, *or* Harray, *Iſle*, 31
Harpers, *of old, uſed to lie in the Bedchamber of the King, and of the Nobles, in* Scotland, 116
Harrick *Iſle*, 30, 31
Havatere, *or* Havere, *Iſle*, 30
Havelſchire *Iſle*, 29
Haura *Iſles, the great and the leſs*, 31
Hay, *and his two Sons, fight for their Country*, 191
Hath a Coat of Arms aſſigned to his Family, 192
The Name almoſt extinguiſhed, 286
Heath *Iſle*, 21
Heath, *its Nature*, 23
Good to make Beds to lie on, ibid.
Hebrides *Iſles* ; *ſee* Ædudæ.
Hector Boetius *blamed*, 13
Miſtaken, 76
Compared with Lud, 80
Helena, *Mother of* Conſtantine, 124
Helliſay *Iſle*, 29
Helſcher vetularum *Iſle*, ibid.
Helricus, *a* Daniſh *Admiral*, 181
Hengiſt, *Captain of Pirates, hath Lands given to him in* Britain, *by* Vortigern, 144
Henry I. *of* Eng'and, *never laughed after the drowning of moſt of his Children*, 224

Page

He ſettles the Succeſſion on his Daughter Maud, ibid.
Henry II. *Son of* Stephen, *King of* England, *ſeeks occaſion for a War againſt* Scotland, 224
Malcolm *of* Scotland *acknowledges himſelf his Feudatary*, ibid.
Henry IV. *of* England, 326
His Death, 333
Succeeded by Henry V. ibid.
Henry V. *takes* James I. *King of* Scots, *with him into* France, 336
Henry VI. *undervalues the Nobility, and advances Upſtarts*, 392
A Conſpiracy againſt him by the Nobles of England, ibid.
He is taken by the Duke of York, *and brought to* London, 396
He flies into Scotland, 397
Joins Battel with Edward IV. *and is overcome*, 398
Returns privately to England, *and is taken*, ib.
Henry VII. *ſucceeds* Richard III. *who was ſlain in Battel*, 429
He denounces War againſt France, (16)
Deſires to make a perpetual League with the Scots, 430
Marries his Daughter Margarite *to* James IV. (14)
War denounced againſt him by James, *as he was beſieging* Tournay, (20)
His Magnanimous and Kingly Anſwer to the Heraulds, ibid.
He eaſes the Commonalty of ſome old Burdens, 71
Henry VIII. *deſires the exiled* Douglaſſes *may be reſtored*, (60)
By the French *Embaſſador he deſires a Peace with the* Scots, ibid.
He ſends Controverſal Books of Divinity to James V. (62)
Complains the Scots *had violated the Law of Nations, wars upon them, takes* Leith, *and burns* Edinburgh, (82, 83)
His Forces are worſted, (89)
His General perſuades the Scots *to Peace*, (102)
Gives the Scots *a great Overthrow*, (104)
Henry *of* France *ſends ſome* German *Foot into* Scotland, (106)
He diſplaces the Regent by Subtilty, (113)
Henry Percy *invades* Scotland, 306
His Horſe affrighted with rattling Inſtruments, 307
His Duel with James Douglas, 317
Henry Percy, *the younger, overthrows the* Scots *at* Homeldon, 327

Page

Conſpires againſt his own King, 329
Henry Stuart *comes out of* England *into* Scotland, (171)
Made Duke of Rothſay, *and Earl of* Roſs, *by the Queen of* Scots, (174)
At which many of the Nobles are diſguſted, (175)
He marries the Queen, ibid.
Strangely diſreſpected at the Baptiſm of his own Son, (186)
He withdraws from Court, ibid.
Is poiſoned, but overcomes it by the ſtrength of his Youth, (186, 187)
A Deſign to deſtroy him, (187, 188)
Is actually murdered, (190)
Heraulds *ſlain againſt the Law of Arms*, 230
Herguſtus, *King of the* Picts, 127, 131
Hepburn (John) *inſinuates himſelf into the new Regent*, (32)
Heris *hanged by* James Douglas, 384
Hermodra *Iſle*, 30
Herodian *quoted*, 76
Heruli, *who?* 89
Hethland *Iſles*; *ſee* Schetland.
High *Iſle*, 25
Hirta *Iſle*, 30
Hiſtorians, *their flattering Diſpoſitions*, 46
Hoia *Promontory*, 21
Hollanders *Fleet ſpoiled by* Alexander *Earl of* Marr, 349
Holland *Horſe ſent for over into* England, 275
Holmes, *i. e.* Plains *full of Graſs*, 35
Holy *Iſle*, *or* Lindisfarm, 398
Honnega *Iſle*, 37
Horeſtia, 18
Parted between two Brothers, 170
Horſes *Iſle*, *or* Naich, 28
Hugh Kennedy, *his couragious Anſwer*, (51)
Huilin *Iſle*, 30
Hulmena, 31
Humber *River*, 13
Humble *Iſle*, *or Iſhol*, 25
Hume *Caſtle ſurprized by the* Scots, (107)
Hungus, *the* Pict, *fights proſperouſly againſt* Athelſtan, 165
He prays to God, and is encouraged by a Viſion, ibid.
He offers Tithes to St. Andrew, ibid.
His Death, 166
Hunting *Laws made by King* Dornadilla, 89
And by King Ethodius, 116
Huntly *overthrown by* James *Earl of* Murray, *taken and pardoned*, (235, 237)
Hypoconiſtical, *i. e. Diminutive*, 6

Page

I

JAmes I. *Son of* Robert III. *ſailing for* France, *is taken by the* Engliſh, 330
Where he is educated and married, 331, 338
His Return to Scotland, *upon a Ranſom,* 338
Crowned King, ibid.
Renews a League with France, 340, 352
Puniſhes the Captains of Thieves, 341, 343
Twins born to him, 344
He rectifies Weights and Meaſures, ibid.
Reforms the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, and erects publick Schools, 345
Invites Tradeſmen from beyond the Seas, 347
Perfidiouſneſs imputed to him, anſwered, 353, 354
Is cruelly murdered, 356
His Character, 356, 357
James II. *King of* Scots, 359
Carried out of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, *in a Cheſt, by his Mother,* 361
Taken again by the Chancellour, and brought to Edinburgh, 365
Enters on the Government, 371
Marries Mary, *Daughter to the Duke of* Guelderland, 380
He kils William Douglas, 386
Marches to aſſiſt the Engliſh *Nobles,* 391, 392
Deceived by a counterfeit Embaſſador from Rome, *ſuborned by the* Engliſh, 393
Takes Roxburgh *Town,* ibid.
His caſual Death in his Camp, 394
His Queen encourages the Souldiers, and takes Roxburgh *Caſtle,* ibid.
His Character, 395
James III. *begins his Reign at ſeven Years old,* 396
Six Regents of the Kingdom in his Minority, 407
His Mother's Death, ibid.
In his Time a Truce made with England *for five Years,* 407
Marries Margarite, *the King of* Denmark's *Daughter,* 413, 415
His Death foretold, 420
He degenerates into Tyranny, ibid.
Addicts himſelf to Evil Counſellours, 231
The Nobles arm againſt him, 432
Is ſlain by them in Fight, 433
His Character, 434
James IV. (1)
Choſen General by the Nobles againſt his Father, 432
His firſt Parliament, which juſtifies taking Arms againſt his Father, (5)
His Clemency and ſorrowful Reſentment for his Father's Death, (6)

Page

He leads an Army into England, (11)
Marries Margarite, Henry VII. *of* England's *Daughter,* (14)
Builds a vaſt Ship, and is profuſe in other Buildings, ibid.
Reſolves to go to Jeruſalem, *but prevented,* (15)
Sends Forman *into* England, *to pick a Quarrel,* (16)
Denounces War againſt England, (20)
Reſolute in his Opinion, (22)
Fights with the Engliſh *at* Flodden, *where he is overthrown and ſlain,* (24, 25)
Doubtful Reports concerning his Death, (26)
Some Aſperſions caſt upon him, indeavoured to be wiped off, (27)
His Character, (27, 28)
James V. (28)
Enters upon the Government, (46)
He and his Mother in the Power of the Douglaſſes, (47)
He frees himſelf from them, (53)
He is an Enemy to their Faction, (50)
Inclinable to a French *Alliance,* (65)
Three Maries *offered to him,* (62)
Treats with the Emperour about a Match, (61)
Viſits the Orcades, (62)
And other Iſles of Scotland, ibid.
Receives Controverſal Books of Divinity from Henry *of* England, (63)
Agrees to an Interview with Henry, *which is diſappointed,* (64)
Sails to France, *and marries* Magdalen, *Daughter to their King* Francis, *who ſoon dies,* (65)
He accuſes his Nobility as Daſtards, (70)
He marries Mary *of the Houſe of* Guiſe, (66, 67)
His preſaging Dream, (69)
He dies with Grief for the Loſs of his Army, (71)
His Character, (71, 72)
James VI. *his Birth,* (183)
His Mother endeavours to get him under the Power of Bothwel, (205)
Enters on the Government, (214, 215)
James Abernethy, *a skilful Phyſician,* (186)
James, *Earl of* Arran, *Son to* James, *returning from* France, *ſides with the* Reformers, (135)
Goes to his Siſter Mary *the Queen,* (151)
Hardly perſuaded to allow the admiſſion of the Maſs in the Queen's Chappel, (159)
Made Earl of Marr, *and afterwards of* Murray, (161)
James Balfure, *Governour of* Edinburgh *Caſtle for the Queen,* (206, 207)

He

Page

He raiſes Inſurrections, (226)
James Culen *taken and executed for his Crimes,* (279)
James, *the firſt Earl of* Douglas, 308
James Douglas *joins with* Bruce, 263
He marches with great Forces into England, 275
James, *ſirnamed* Craſſus, *the* Douglaſſes *being dead, ſucceeds to the Right of the Earldom,* 370
He dies, ibid.
James Douglas *marries* Eufemia, *Daughter to* Robert II. 306
His Duel with Henry Percy, 316
Is ſlain, fighting valiantly, 318
His three laſt dying Requeſts, ibid.
James Douglas *made Earl, when* William Douglas, *his Father, was ſlain,* 386
He accuſes the King and Nobles of Perfidiouſneſs, ibid.
Proclaimed a publick Enemy, 387
Marries Beatrix, *his Brother's Widow,* 388
Perſuaded to a Reconciliation with the King, which he refuſes, ibid.
Being forſaken by his Friends, he applies to England *for Aid,* 389
And to Donald *the* Iſlander, 390
Forſaken by his Wife, ibid.
James Douglas, *Earl of* Morton, *and* Alexander Hume, *take the Coronation-Oath for King* James VI. *in his Minority,* (214)
He provides for the Common-wealth at his private Charge, (215)
Commands the King's Army againſt the Queen, (220)
Goes into England *with the Regent,* (224)
Sent Embaſſador into England, (261)
His Cheerfulneſs to encounter the Enemy, (278)
Taken Priſoner, and then takes him Priſoner, whoſe Captive he was, before, (282)
James Haliburton *taken Priſoner,* (281)
James Hamilton, *Earl of* Arran, *Admiral of a Navy under* James IV. (16)
He plunders Knockfergus *in* Ireland, ibid.
At laſt ſails for France, (17)
Is choſen Regent, (75)
Oppoſes Archibald Douglas, *after his Return from* France, (39)
Highly diſguſted by King James V. (65)
Compelled to change his Opinion concerning the Controverted Points of Religion, (79,80)
His ſhameful Flight, Vanity and Inconſtancy, (84,86)
Remiſs in the Caſe of George Wiſeheart, (111)
Corrupted by Avarice, (112)

Page

Put from his Regency, and made Duke of Chaſtle-herault, (113,114)
James Hamilton *returns from* France, (229)
Endeavours to engage Queen Elizabeth *of* England, *to make him Regent,* ibid.
But without Succeſs, (232)
He ſubmits to the Regent, (234)
James Hamilton, *Son of the Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews's *Siſter, treacherouſly ſhoots* Murray, *and kils him,* (245,246)
James Hamilton, *a Baſtard, Brother to the Earl of* Arran, *choſen Judg againſt the* Lutherans, (68)
He is tried, condemned, and executed, (69)
James Hepburn, *Earl of* Bothwel, *committed to Priſon,* (163,164)
But eſcapes, (167)
Baniſhed, (66)
A Rival to the Earl of Lennox, (80)
Called out of France *by the Queen,* (171,172)
Endeavours to ſupplant Murray, (163)
Divorced from his former Wife, (198)
Procures a Schedule from the Nobility about his Marriage with the Queen, (196)
Surprizes and marries the Queen, (199)
Outlawed, (173)
Accuſed of the King's Murder, (194)
His Mock-Trial, (173,193,195)
Wounded by an High-way Pad, (184)
Deſigns to deſtroy Murray, (192)
His Challenge anſwered, (209)
He flies, (210)
And dies diſtracted in Denmark, (215)
James Kennedy, *Archbiſhop, an Adverſary to the* Douglaſſes, 373
Retires from a corrupt Court, 376
Diſallows the Faction of the Queen-Mother, 399
His Oration, that Women ought not to govern, 401, &c.
His Praiſe, Death and Character, 409,410
James Kennedy *builds a vaſt Ship,* 420
James Levingſton *put to Death by the* Douglaſſian *Faction,* 375,376
James Lindſy's *Obſtinacy in following his Enemies,* 319
James Macgil *ſent, with others, Embaſſador into* England, (224,261)
James Macintoſh *unjuſtly put to Death,* (160)
James, *the Son of* Murdo, *burns* Dumbarton, 339
James, *Earl of* Murray, *appointed Vicegerent,* (60)
Settles the Borders, (57)
Sent into France, (63)
James, *Earl of* Murray, *refuſes to aſſociate with the Queen and* Bothwel, (204)

Page

But chuſes rather to leave the Land, (205)
He returns from Travel, and is made Regent, (213)
His reſolute Speech, (217)
He meets the Queen of England's *Embaſſadors at* York, (224)
Waylayed by his Enemies in his Journy, ibid.
Goes to London, (226)
Where he manages the Accuſation againſt the Queen, (227)
Whence honourably diſmiſs'd, and his Tranſactions there approved in Scotland, (233)
He is deſerted by his Friends, (243)
Tooc eleſs of himſelf, (245)
Killed by one of the Hamiltons, (246)
His laudable Character, (246,247)
James Murray *offers to encounter* Bothwel, *hand to hand,* (209)
James Sandiland, *Embaſſador from* Scotland *to* France, (150)
James Sandiland *ſent againſt the Thieves,* (59)
Carries Propoſitions from the Reformers to the Queen Regent, (125)
James Stuart *marries* Joan, *the Widow of* James I. 364
Is baniſhed, 375
James Stuart, *the Queen's Brother, puts the* Engliſh *to a Retreat,* (108)
Hath threatning Letters ſent him by the Queen, (130)
An Actor in reforming Religion, (131)
Made Earl of Marr *and* Murray, (161)
Iceni, *and* Icium, 10
Icolumbkil, 26
Idleneſs, *the Source of Miſchief,* 345
Idlers *Iſle, or, of the* Otioſi, 25
Ierna, *i. e.* Ireland, 69
Jews *imitated by the* Romaniſts, 381
Iſſurt, *or* Iſſert, *Iſle,* 30
Igerne, *vitiated by* Uter, *yet he afterwards marries her,* 149
Ignis Fatuus, *what?* (264)
Ila *Iſle*; *ſee* Yla.
Ilan na Covihaſlop, 26
Images *demoliſhed at* Perth, (128)
Immerſi *Iſle,* 26
Impoſtors, *notorious ones,* 393,(6,7,&c.58)
Indigenæ, *who?* 42, 50
Indulfus, *King of* Scots, 181
Caſually ſlain by the Danes, 182
Indulgence, *over-much to Children, puniſhed,* 337
Informers, *though ſometimes allowed, yet dangerous Inſtruments in a State,* 148
Inhumanity *to Priſoners,* 297
Innerlochy, 20

Page

Innerneſs, 20
Interregnum *in* Scotland, *after* Alexander *the* IIId's *Death,* 245
Inundation *of the River* Tay *at* Perth, 236
And great Ones in Lothian, 305
John Annius *writes the Original of the* Brittons *in Verſe,* 42
Johannes Scotus *ſent for by* Charles *the Great,* 165
Johns, *or* Jeans, *Iſle,* 26
John Baliol *his Genealogy,* 246,247,248
More ſolicitous for a Kingdom than a Good Name, 250
Made King, and ſurrenders himſelf and Kingdom to the King of England, ibid.
He confeſſes his Fault for ſo doing, 251
Diſguſts Edward *of* England, 252
Overthrown by Edward, *made Priſoner, and releaſed,* 251,252,253
John, *King of* England, *meditates a War againſt* Scotland, 235
Makes divers Leagues with the Scots, 236
Enters Scotland, 237
The Pope's Beneficiary, ibid.
Poiſoned by a Monk, 238
John, *Son of* Alexander, *Brother to* James III. *Duke of* Albany, *declared Regent, when in* France, (31)
He arrives in Scotland, (32)
Gets the Queen Mother into his Power, (34)
Goes into France, *appointing Governours in his Abſence,* (37)
Returns to Scotland, (39)
Raiſes an Army againſt England, *but makes a Truce,* (40,41)
Goes again into France, *whence he returns with a great Navy,* (41,42)
Marches into England, *and aſſaults* Werk-*Caſtle,* (45)
Goes the third time into France, *and his Power is vacated in his Abſence,* (46)
John Erskin *ſent Embaſſador into* France, (63)
Of the Queen's Faction, (105)
Made Governour of Edinburgh *Caſtle,* (115)
Sent Embaſſador into France, (121)
John, *Brother to King* James III. *put to death,* 421
John Erskin *favours the Reformation,* (126)
Afraid of the Queen Regent, (128)
Beats the Rebels out of Sterlin, (282)
Choſen Regent, (283)
Straitens Edinburgh, (286)
John Armſtrong, *Captain of Thieves, executed,* (57)
John, *Earl of* Athol, *marries* Beatrix Douglas, 391

He

Page

He & his Wife taken Prisoners by Donald, 408
John, *Earl of* Buchan, *aids the* French *King's Son*, 334
Made Lord High Constable of France, 335
Slain there by the English, 336
John Cumins *marches into* England, *and wasts* Northumberland, 253
His Treachery against Robert Bruce, 260
Which cost him his Life, ibid.
John, *Earl of* Carick, *base Son to* Robert II. 307
John Cockburn *of* Ormilton, *wounded, and taken by* Bothwel, (140)
John Cuningham *imployed in Surprizing* Dumbarton-*Castle*, (263)
John, *Earl* Douglas's *Brother, made Baron of* Balvany, 377
Proclaimed a publick Enemy, 387
John Damiot, *a Conjurer, foretels* David Rize's *Death*, (182)
John Forbes *condemned and beheaded*, (66)
John Fordon, *Author of the History, called,* Scoto-Chronicon, 146
John Fleming, *the Queen's Governour of* Dumbritton *Castle, when it was Surprized*, (263)
He escapes, but his Wife is well treated by the Regent, (265)
John Fleming *of* Bogal *taken there*, ibid.
John Herris *undeservedly put to Death by the* Douglasses, 384
John Hepburn *powerful and factious*, (31)
His Feud with the Hume's, (32,33)
He insinuates himself into John *the Regent*, (32)
Accuses Douglas, Hume, *and* Forman, (33)
John Gordon, *Earl of* Huntly, *taken by* Murray, *and put to Death*, 170
John Hamilton, *Archbishop of St.* Andrews, (103)
A debois Man, (111)
John Hamilton, *troubled in Conscience for the King's Murder, discovers his Complices*, (267)
John Kennedy *made one of the King's Guardians or Tutors*, 407
John Knox *preaches to reclaim those that kill'd Cardinal* Beton, (100)
His Sermon to the People of Perth, *for the Reformation*, (128)
Upon which they destroy Popish Shrines, ibid.
His encouraging Sermon to the Reformers at Sterlin, (141)
His Sermon at King James VI. *his Inauguration*, (214)
John II. *lays the Foundation of Tyranny in* Portugal, 434

Page

John Lesly *privy to the Conspiracy against* James *Earl of* Murray, (167,169)
John Mac-Arthur, *Captain of Tories, executed*, 341
John Melvil *put to Death*, (111)
John, *Earl of* Marr, *Brother to* James III. *put to Death by opening a Vein till he expired*, 421
John Murderach *taken*, (116)
John Monluc, *Bishop of* Valence, *in* Scotland, (145)
John Maxwel *of* Herris *revolts from the Reformers*, (176,177)
The Queen puts little Trust in him, (222)
Made Prisoner by the Regent, but released without publick Authority, (253)
John, *Earl of* Marr, *a Commander in the King's Army*, (220)
John Randolph *sent into* France, 287
Made Regent, 294
Taken Prisoner by the English, 295
Slain in Fight, 302
John Scot, *his wonderful Abstinence from Food*, (58)
John Duns Scotus, *where born*, 306
John Ramsy *preserved by the King*, 425
Proves an Evil Counsellour to James III. 431
John Stuart, *Earl of* Lennox, *revolts from the Regent*, (35)
But is again received into Favour, ibid.
He endeavours to take the King from the Douglasses, *and is slain*, (50)
John Stuart, *Earl of* Athol, *sent against* John Murderach, (116)
A Procurer of the Match between Henry *and* Mary *Queen of* Scotland, (192)
He loses his Opportunity, (206)
John Vien, *Admiral of the* French *Navy in* Scotland, 311
John Windram *secretly favours the Cause of True Religion*, (65)
Joan Douglas, *and her Husband, their miserable Ends*, (66,67)
Joan, *the Wife of* James I. *her manly Fact*, 360
Put in Prison with her Husband, 364
Her Death, 395
Joseph Scaliger *amends a Place in* Seneca, 76
Josina, *King of* Scots, 101
A Lover of Chirurgery, 102
Ireland's *ancient Inhabitants called* Scots, 73
Irish *break in on* Galway *in* Scotland, 177
And are overthrown by King Gregory, ibid.
Irish Scots *make Peace with the* Romans, 130, 131

Page

Iriſh *Air temperate*, 2, 51
Colonies of Gauls *ſent into* Ireland, 51
Deſcription of Ireland *out of* Solinus, 85
Irwin *River*, 14
Iſland *in Shape like a Man*, 26
Iſlands *encompaſſing* Scotland, *their Order and threefold Diviſion*, 22
Iſlanders *parſimonious*, 33
Healthful and long-liv'd, 37
Prone to rebel, 207
Iſlanders, *Weſtern, their Manner of Living at Home and Abroad*, 23, *&c.*
Iſa, *or* Iſhol, *Iſle*, 29, 30
Iſſidorus, *i.e.* Iſſoir, *a City in* France,
Judgments *and* Tryals *of Nobles, how anciently managed in* Scotland, 340
Jule-tide, *or* Chriſtmaſs, *as 'tis called, licentiouſly obſerved*, 151
Julian Romer *taken*, (110)
Julius Agricola's *Exploits in* Britain, 109, 110
Recalled from thence, 111
Junius Brutus, (271)
Julius Cæſar, *the firſt* Roman *that entred* Britain *with an Army*, 84
Julius Frontinus *in* Britain, 86, 109
Jura *Iſle*, 25
Juſtice *can do more than Terrour of Arms*, 180, 189
The moſt popular thing, 348
Juverna, Ireland *ſo called*, 69

K

KArrera *Iſle*, 25
Katharine Medices, *after her Son's Death, undertakes the Government*, (151)
Keames *Caſtle*, 25
Kebercurning, 22
Kedwalla, *King of the* Brittons, 159
Keligire *Iſland*, 30
Kellaſa *Iſle*, ibid.
Kelvin *River*, 16
Ken *River*, 14
Kenneth I. *King of* Scots, 158
Kenneth II. 167
Compared with Fergus II. *perſuades the Nobility to war with the* Picts, *and overcomes them in Battel*, 169
He may be called the third Founder of the Scotiſh *Kingdom*, 170
Kenneth III. 187
Circumvents his Nobles by a Wile, 188
Cauſes Malcolm *to be poiſoned*, 193
Troubled in Conſcience for it, 195
Makes new Laws concerning the Succeſſion of the Kingdom, 193, 194

Page

Worſted at firſt by the Danes, *yet afterwards overthrows them*, 190, 191
Slain by Fenella, 196
Kenneth, *King of the* Picts, 167
Kentigern, 145
Keniburgh *Iſlands, the Great and the Small*, 27
Kernici, *who?* 22
Kernicovalli, ibid.
Kingly *Government, what?* (268)
Its Origin, ibid.
Kings, *their Diſtreſs moves Pity*, 213
Kings *in* Scotland *not to do any publick Affairs without adviſing with their Nobles, or Eſtates of the Realm*, 102, 230, 251
They uſed to ride the Circuits themſelves, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, before Itinerary Judges were appointed, 103, 123
Their Wives anciently not called Queens, 402
Not in their Power alone to make Peace or War in Scotland, 322
They are inferiour to the Laws, (269)
How their publick Revenue, if ſpent, may be encreaſed, 114
A Law for their ſucceſſive inheriting the Crown, confirmed, 194, 195
Kings, *if young, their Favours ſlippery*, 416
Subjects apt to degenerate into their Manners, 111
King, *deſiring to be revenged on his Nobles, endeavours to ſet them one againſt another*, 431
Kings-Croſs, *or* Re-croſs, *in* Stanmore, *what?* 238
Kinnatel, *King of* Scots, 155
Kinroſs, 170
Its Sheriffwick, 18
Kinloſs *Abby*, 184
Kinthern; *ſee* Cantire.
Kirkwal, *the chief Town in the Iſland* Pomonæ, *or* Mainland, 35
Kirta *Iſle*, 30
Knapdale, 17
Kyle, 14

L

L'Abroſs, *a* French *General, would have all the Nobility of* Scotland *deſtroyed*, (148)
Laia *River*; *ſee* Avonlagan.
Lambs *Iſle*, 30
Lamlach *Iſle*, 24
Lamot, *the* French *King's Embaſſador in* Scotland, (20)
He moves the Scots *to war againſt* England, ibid. *&c.*
Lamyrian, *or* Lamormoor, *Mountains*, 13

Page

Lanarch, *or* Lanerick, 14
Lancaſter *(Duke) Embaſſador in* Scotland, 309
Afterwards invades it, 310
Langſide *Fight,* (220)
Laodice *(Queen) her Cruelty to her own Children,* (231)
Largeſſes *immoderate occaſion Want,* 203
Lauderdale, *ſo called of the Town* Lauder, 13
Laurence Twine *perſuades* Baliol *to go for* Scotland, 284
Law *about Succeſſion to the Kingdom of* Scotland, 97
New Ones made, 194
Confirmed, 200
Whether profitable to the Publick, or not, 196, 197
Law *(too ſevere) to confiſcate the whole Eſtates of Condemned Perſons, without any Allowance to their innocent Wife and Children,* 113
Laws *againſt Theft,* 282
Laws *about Hunting, their Authors; ſee* Hunting *Laws.*
Laws *in* Scotland, *few, beſides Decrees of the Eſtates,* (59)
Laxa *Iſle,* 30
Lead, *White and Black, found in* Pomona, 35
Legat, *a counterfeit* Roman *one,* 387
Leith *River,* 13
Leland *quoted,* 61
Lenity, *over-much, brings Contempt,* 381, 385, 392
Lennox, *or* Levin, *ſo called from the River* Levin, 140
Lent *obſerved on a politick Account only,* (170)
Leon Strozy, *Admiral of the* French *Gallies in* Scotland, *to revenge the Cardinal's Death,* (101)
Lewis *Iſle,* 30
Many Whales taken there, 32
Lewis XI. *eſpouſes* Margarite, *the King of* Scots's *Daughter,* 340
He lays the Foundation of Tyranny, 434
Lewis de Galais, *Embaſſador from* France *to the Queen's Party,* (254)
Liddiſdale, *ſo called from the River* Lidal, 13, 140
Liguria, 11
Lilborn *worſted by the* Scots, 306
Linga *Iſle,* 30, 37
Lingaia *Iſle,* 39
Lindil *Iſle,* 29
Linlithgo, 30

Page

Lindſay's *and* Ogilby's *Fight,* 373
The Lindſays *prevail,* 374
Liſmore *Iſle,* 25
Loch-Abyr, 19, 20
Loch-Aw, 17
Loch-Brien, 31
Loch-Earn, ibid.
Loch-Fin, 17
Loch-Ger, ibid.
Loch-Long, ibid.
Loch-Lomund, ibid.
Loch-Loubrun, 21
Loch-Louch, 20
Loch-Maban, 300
The Caſtle in it taken by the Scots, 309
Loch-Neſs, 20
Whoſe Water never freezeth, ibid.
Loch-Ryan, 14
Loch-Spey, 140
Loch-Tee, 20
Lochindores *Caſtle,* 296
Locrine, *Son of* Brute, 42
Loegria, *an old Name for* England, ibid.
Lollius Urbicus *in* Britain, 113
London, *anciently called* Auguſta, 89
Longay *Iſle,* 25
Lords *of the Articles, who?* 305
Lorn *County,* 17
Lothian, *ſo called from* Lothus *King of the* Picts, 13
Lothus, *King of the* Picts, 13
He joins with the Scots *againſt the* Saxons, 148
Complains that his Sons were deprived of the Kingdom of Britain, ibid.
He is commended, ibid.
Lox, *or* Loſſy, *River,* 20
Luctacus, *King of* Scots, *a flagitious Perſon,* 111
He is ſlain, ibid.
Lud, *or* Lloyd, *allows, that by* Prudania *is meant* Britain, 2
He is refuted, 71, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80
Luing *Iſle,* 25
Lunga *Iſle,* 25, 27
Luparia, *or* Wolf, *Iſle,* 25
Lupicianus *in* Britain, 88, 89
Luſs *River,* 14
Luſitania, *why* Portugal *ſo called, as ſome ſay,* 47
Luſt, *a Puniſhment to it ſelf,* 186
Lutherans *perſecuted,* (63, 67, 91)
Luthlac, Mackbeth's *Son, ſlain by* Malcolm, 215
Luxury *accompanies Peace,* 143

M

Page

MAalmori *Isle*, 26
Macalpine *Laws*, 70
Macdonald *rises in Arms, but is overthrown, and kils himself*, 207,208
Mackbeth, *King of* Scots, *his Character*, 208
His Dream, 210,211
He flies, 214
Macdonald *his cruel Fact to a Woman, retaliated on himself*, 343, 344
Macduff *ill resents* Mackbeth, 212
He stirs up Malcolm *against him*, ibid.
Three Priviledges granted him by Malcolm, 215
The first Earl of Fife, 214
He complains against Baliol *to* Edward *of* England, 250
Macklan *executed by* Douglas, 383, 384
Manavia *Isle*, ibid.
See Man.
Magistrates *have Power over Mens Bodies, but not over their Consciences*, (127)
Magna, or Megala, *Isle*, 201
Magnus, *his carousing Goblet*, 184
Magnus, *King of* Norwey, *seizes on the Islands*, 211
Makes Peace with the Scots, 212
Magus, *Towns so ending*, 68, 69
Maiatæ, *who?* 126
Mainland, *see* Pomona.
Main, *an* English *Commander against the* Scots, *slain in Fight*, 379
Main, *Son of* Fergus, 97
King of Scots, 98
Makul, *a Criminal, abstains from Food*, 236
Maldon, *not in* Scotland, 161
Maldwin, *King of* Scots, 160
A Plague in his Time over Europe, ibid.
He is strangled by his Wife, 161
Malgo, *a* Britain, ibid.
Malcolm Fleming *executed by the* Douglasses, 370
Malcolm I. 181
Sits in Courts of Judgment himself, ibid.
He is slain, ibid.
Malcolm II. *Competitor with* Constantine *for the Crown*, 197
Confirms the Law for Succession, 200
Overthrown by the Danes, 201
Afterwards overthrows them in several Battels, 202
His Murderers drowned, 204
Malcolm III. *brings in foreign Titles of Honour into* Scotland, 214
He recovers the Kingdom from Mackbeth, ib.

Page

Quels Conspiracies made against him, 215, 217
His Vow to St. Andrew, 218
He erects new Bishopricks, and makes wholesome sumptuary Laws, ibid.
Builds the Cathedrals of Durham *and* Dunfermling, 219
Is slain by the English, *with his Son* Edward, ibid.
His Queen, and other Female Relations, very pious, 218
Malcolm IV. *takes a Fendatary Oath to* Henry *of* England, 227
He accompanies him into France, 229
Is despoiled by him of Part of his Patrimony in England, ibid.
Is perswaded by the Scots *to marry, but gives them a negative Answer*, 231
Man *Isle, its several Names*, 24
Marcellinus *quoted and corrected*, 56
Marble *Stone, on which the* Scots *Kings were crowned*, 171
Marble, *white, Mountains of it in* Sutherland, 21
Marcheta Mulierum, *what the* Scots *call so?* 219
Margaritos, *or St. Margarite's, Port*, 35
Margarite Creighton, *who?* 428
Margarite, *Queen of* England, *delivers her Husband* Edward *by Force of Arms*, 397
She flies into Scotland, *and thence into* France, ibid.
Margarite, *Sister to* Edward *of* England, *Wife to* Charles *of* Burgundy, *endeavours to raise Commotions in* England, (6)
Margarite, *Daughter of* Henry VII. *marries* James IV. (14)
The first Female Regent in Scotland, (29)
After her Husband's Death, she marries Archibald Douglas, ibid.
She flies with her Husband into England, (34)
But returns, (37)
Displeased with her Husband, ibid.
Persuades the Scots *to break with the* French, (42)
But opposed therein by the French *Faction*, (43)
Marianus Scotus, 180
Mariners, *to offend them dangerous to Passengers*, 286
Marr *and* Mearn *Counties, whence so called*, 19, 170
Martha, *Countess of* Carick, *falls in Love with* Robert Bruce, *and marries him*, 247
Martiques, *the Earl of it comes into* Scotland, *with his Character*, (148)
Mary, *Wife of* James II. *her manly Spirit*, 394

Mary

Page

Mary of Guise, *Widow of the Duke of* Longuevil, *marries* James IV. (67)
By degrees she dispossesseth the Regent, (112, 113)
Takes upon her the Ensigns of the Government, (113, 114)
Imposes new Taxes, (117)
Changes ancient Affability into Arrogance, (127)
Persecutes the Reformed, and is perfidious, (130, 131)
Makes a Truce with the Reformed, (134)
The Administration of the Government taken from her by Proclamation, (139)
She dies in the Castle of Edinburgh, (146)
Her Disposition and Character, (147)
Mary, *Queen of* Scots, *born,* (71)
Begins her Reign, ibid.
Henry of England *desires her for his Son's Wife,* (75)
She is sent into France, (107)
From thence that King sends Letters, desiring her a Wife for his Son, (120)
Embassadors sent thither for that purpose, of which some die there, (121, 122)
She marries the Dolphin, (121)
When Mary of England *died, she carried herself as the next Heir, and assumed the Royal Arms of that Kingdom,* (127)
When her Husband died, she resolves to return into Scotland, (151)
Her subtil Answer to a cunning Cardinal, (153)
She lays the Foundation of Tyranny, (196)
Designs a Guard for her Body, ibid.
Her unbecoming Familiarity with David Rize, (172)
She marries Henry Stuart, (175)
She punishes David's *Homicides,* (183)
Her strange Proclamation about Rize's *Death,* ibid.
She brings forth James VI. ibid.
She is willing by all means to be rid of her Husband, (183, 184, 185)
A jocular Process against her Husband's Murderers, (193)
She marries Bothwel, (199)
The French *Embassador, and the* Scotish *Nobles, dislike her Marriage,* ibid.
She frames an Association against the Nobles, (204)
And they Another against her, (205)
Earl of Murray *leaves* Scotland *in Discontent,* ibid.
Besieged with Bothwel *at* Borthwick, *and escapes in Man's Apparel,* (206)
Surrenders her self Prisoner, (209, 210)

Page

Proved guilty of her Husband's Death by Letters, (211)
Hamilton *designs her Deliverance,* (216)
She escapes, (218)
Is overthrown by the Nobles, and flies for England, (221)
She endeavours, by Balfure, *to raise Tumults in* Scotland, (226)
Designs to marry Howard *of* England, (233, 238)
Continued in the Lord Scroop's *House,* (239)
Her Faction garison Edinburgh, *from whence they sally out against* Morton, (241, 247)
Massacre *designed in* France *by the* Guises, (755)
Matthew Stuart, *Earl of* Lennox, *marries* Margarite Hamilton, (6)
Sent for out of France *into* Scotland, (78)
Returns, (171)
Circumvented by the Cardinal's Cunning, about his marrying the Queen, (80)
Upon which he rises in Arms, but is forced to agree with the Regent, (82)
He justifies himself to the French *King,* (83)
Is worsted, and flies into England, *where he is kindly received, and marries* Margarite Douglas, (83, 85, 86)
Created Regent, (258, 259)
Takes Brechin *from* Huntly, (260)
Hurt by a Fall, (261)
Maximianus, *Commander of a* Roman *Legion in* Britain, 136
He overthrows the Scots *and* Picts, 137
Maxim, *grave, in Policy,* (176)
Another, (208)
Others, (239)
Maximus, *in* Britain, 127
He overcomes the Scots, 128
Takes the chief Government upon him, 129
Banishes all the Scots *out of* Britain, ibid.
Measures *and* Weights, *amended and rectified,* 334
Mechanical *Engine of Brass, a strange one,* 192
Mecla *Isle,* 37
Melis Graham *deprived of* Strathearn *by the King,* 351
Men, *fight like wild Beasts one with another,* 324
Mendicant *Friars called* Manducant, (129)
Menteith, 17, 140
Menthet's *Treachery against* Robert Bruce, 268
He is rewarded, 269
Merch, 13
Merchants *forbid to traffick by Sea for a time,* 244
Merchants, *or* Channards, *Isle,* 26

Page

Mercenary *Souldiers change with Fortune*, (236)
Fit to establish Tyranny, (117,177)
Merlin, *the Prophet, or Impostor rather, when he lived*, 147
A wicked Man, 149
A Comparison between Gildas *and him, à dissimili*, ibid.
Mern, *whence so called?* 170
Mernoch *Isle*, 25
Mertaik *Isle*, 31
Metellan, *or* Maitland, *King of* Scots, 107
Michael Weems *helps the Royalists*, (277)
Milesian *Fables, what?* 77
Minturnæ, 78
Modred, *Son of* Lothus, *General of the* Picts *Forces*, 151
Competitor with Constantine, 153
Slain, ibid.
Moesici, *who?* 89
Mogald, *King of* Scots, 112
Makes an unjust Law, 113
He is slain, ibid.
Molas *Isle*, 24
Mologhascar *Isle*, 25
Mon *Isle, put falsly for* Man, 24
Monfort *slain by* Preston, 297
Mongomery *comes into* Scotland, (91)
Monk *poisons King* John *of* England, 238
Another poisons Thomas Randolph, 283
Their Impudence in devising Fables, 42
Their Luxury, 143
Their Monasteries overthrown by Order of the Lords, (152)
Monster, *like an* Hermaphrodite, *born in* Scotland, (4,5)
Monk-Fishes *never seen, but they predict Mischief*, 175
Mordac, *King of* Scots, 162
Mordac, *Earl of* Fife, *Son of* Robert, *taken Prisoner*, 327
Returns to Scotland, 333
Succeeds his Father in the Government, 336
Takes Care to recal King James *from* England, 337
Imprisoned, 339
Executed, 340
More *Isle*, 25
More, *in old* Gaulish, *signifies* Mare *the Sea*, 10
More maruſa, 7,10,77
Morini, *who?* 10
Morton's *large Account of his Negotiation in* England *to the Regent*, (267)
Mother, *cruel to her own Children*, (231)
Mourning *Garments, when first used in* Scotland, (66)

Page

Muick *Isle*, 28
Mull *of* Galway, 14
Mull *Isle*, 26
Mulmore *Isle*, ibid.
Mungo, *or St.* Mungo; *see* Kentigern.
Murderer, *discovered sometimes by touching the Murdered Body*, 184
Murdo, *and his Sons, put to Death*, 348
Murray, *a fruitful Country*, 20
Its Inhabitants, seditious, 230
Murray *made Regent*, 226
His Death, 298
Musa *Isle*, 37
Musadil *Isle*, 25
Musicians, *or wandring* Minstrels, *restrained*, 282, 283

N

NAick *Isle*, 28
Nagunner *Isle*, ibid.
Names, *new, by ambitious Men given to Places*, 170, 171
Names *of Towns, new, shew the Affinity of a Language*, 62
Naomph } *Isles*, 26
Naosg }
Narn, 140
Nathalocus, *King of* Scots, 120
Murders the Nobility, and consults Soothsayers, ibid.
Nathalocus, *a Noble Man, conspires against* Athirco, 119
Is himself slain, 121
Navern *Province, so called from the River* Navern, 21, 140
Nectamus, *King of* Scots, 126
Ness *Town*, i.e. Innerness, *and River, whose Water is always warm*, 20
Nightshade, *its Description and Properties*, 209
Ninian, 145
Nithisdale, *from the River* Nith, 13,140
Nobility, *their Tyranny over the Commons restrained*, 182
Nobles, *how anciently tried in* Scotland, 340
Normans *overcome the* Saxons *and* Danes *in* Britain, 71
Norman Lesly *his Valour against the* English, (89)
He surprizes St. Andrews, *and kils Cardinal* Beton, (98)
Northumberland *divided into two Kingdoms*, viz. *the* Deiri, *and the* Bernici, 159
Nostvade *Isle*, 37
Nothatus, *King of* Scots, 98
First sets up Arbitrary Government, ibid.
He is slain, 99

Page

Noviogagus, *many Cities ſo called*, 68
Nuns *Iſle*, *or* Monades, 27

O

OCCA, *General of the* Saxons, *overthrown by three Kings, and wounded*, 151,152
Occidental, *or* Weſtern, *Iſles*, 22
Ocel-*Mountains*, 17
Olavus, *General of the* Scandians, 200
Old Caſtle *Iſle*, 31
Oracle *feigned by a Monk*, 44
Oranſa *Iſle*, 28, 29
Oration *of Archbiſhop* Kennedy, *that the Adminiſtration of the chief Government is not to be committed to Queen-Mothers*, 401, &c.
Orcades *Iſles*, 33
Their Deſcription, ibid.
Writers not agreed about their Number, 35
Orca *Promontory*, 21
Ordovices, *who?* 109
Original *of Letters*, 38
Orkny, *the Biſhop thereof marries the Queen to* Bothwel, (199)
Orma *Iſle*, 37
Orvanſa, *or* Overſa, *Iſle*, 26
Osbreth *aids* Picts *againſt* Scots, 172
Overthrown at firſt, but afterwards beats the Scots, ibid.
Oſellius, *a* French *Man, deſirous of Glory*, (120)
Differs with the Scots *Nobles, but afterwards yields to Them*, ibid.
Oſrim *Iſle*, 26
Oſwald, *King of* Northumberland, *promotes the Chriſtian Religion*, 159
Otterborn *Fight, wherein the* Engliſh *are worſted*, 318
Overſa *Iſle*, 26
Ovia *Iſle*, ibid.
Otioſi *Iſle*, 25
Oxon *for* Oxonford, 8

P

PABA *Iſle, noted for Robbery or Piracy*, 28, 29
Pabaia *Iſle*, 30
Palladius, *ſent by Pope* Celeſtine *into* Scotland, *firſt ſets up Biſhops there*, 145
Pandulphus, *the Pope's Legat*, 238
Papa *Iſles, great and ſmall*, 36, 37
Pariſh *Prieſts, and Friars Mendicants, the Cauſe of the Decay of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, 243

Page

Parricide, *God ſuffers not to be unrevenged*, 184, 185
Parſimony, *the Mother of Health*, 33
Parſonages, *& Church-Preferments, ſold*, 419
Beſtowing of them cauſes Strife, (57)
Paſly *Book, or the Black Book of* Paſly, *what?* 134
Patrick Graham *choſen Biſhop of St.* Andrews *by his Canons, in the room of* James Kennedy, 411
Made Primate of Scotland *by the Pope, but obſtructed by the Courtiers*, ibid.
He labours to maintain Church-Priviledges, 417
Is excommunicated, and forced to reſign his Biſhoprick, 418, 419
And dies in Priſon, ibid.
Patrick Grey, *one of thoſe who ſlew King* James III. 433
Patrick Grey *committed to Cuſtody*, (92)
Patrick, *an holy Man, ſent into* Scotland, 145
Patrick Blackater *flies from the* Douglaſſes, (47)
He is treacherouſly ſlain by John Hume, (48)
Patrick Hamilton *put to death for Religion, by the Conſpiracy of the Prieſts*, (53)
Patrick Lindſy *ſides with the Reformers*, (132)
Goes with the Regent into England, (222)
Patrick Ruven's *Magnanimity*, (181,182)
He kils David Rize, ibid.
He acquaints Murray *with the Conſpiracy againſt him*, (173)
Paul Meſane, *or* Meffen, *Preacher of the Goſpel, troubled for Religion*, (123)
Harboured by the Inhabitants of Dundee, (124)
Paulus Oroſius *quoted*, 86
Corrected, 87
Paul Termes *ſent with Aid from* France *to* Scotland, (110)
Peace-downs; *ſee* Duni Pacis.
Peace, *ſometimes more dangerous than War*, 140, 112, 347
Peace *confirmed, with an intended Affinity, betwixt* Scots *and* Engliſh, 422
But ſoon broken, ibid.
Mediated for by the Scotiſh *Nobility*, 426
Made between French *and* Engliſh, (111)
Between the Reformers and the Court, (149)
Peachti, 53
Pentland *Firth*, 35, 53
Pentland *Hills*, 13, 53
People *of the Commonalty, their Heat ſoon over*, (207)

Page

Percy (Henry) *taken Prisoner, and ransomed,* 320
Percy *the Elder conspires against the King of* England, 329
Overthrown, and flies to Scotland, 332
Betrayed by his Friend, ibid.
His Posterity restored to their Dignity, 334
Perth, 18
A great part of it destroyed by Water, 236
Its Walls demolished, 287
Taken by Edward *of* England, 295
Retaken by the Scots, 298
Pestilence *in* Scotland, 227,303,305,381
Peter Cerealis *in* Britain, 86, 109
Peter Maufet *a Robber, executed,* (32)
Peter Hiale, *the King of* Spain's *Embassador in* England, (11)
His Errand to solicite a Match between Katharine *of* Spain, *and* Arthur, Henry's *Son,* ibid.
He mediates a Peace between Scots *and* English, (12)
Petronius Turpilianus *in* Britain, 85
Peter Warbeck *a notable Impostor,* (6)
Set up by the Dutchess of Burgundy *to vex* Henry, (7)
Sails out of England *into* Scotland, ibid.
Marries Katherine, *the Earl of* Huntly's *Daughter,* (9)
Engages James IV. *against* Henry, (9)
Dismiss'd out of Scotland, (12)
Taken and hanged in England, (13)
Pheodor-oy, 37
Phylarchæ, *who?* 101
Physicians, *why so much esteemed in* Scotland, 101,102
Picts, *whether derived from the* Saxons, 33
Whence so called? 53
Foretold by the Oracle, that the Scots *should extirpate them,* 95, 132
Repent joining with the Romans *against the* Scots, 131, 132
Their Origin from Germany, 55, 95
Overcome the Scots, 167
Overcome by the Scots, 168, 169
Their Kingdom abolished in Scotland, 169
Solicite Aid from Osbreth *and* Ella, 172
Beaten quite out of Britain, 173
Pliny, *a Place in him corrected,* 12
Pluscartin *Book,* i. e. *a Book or Chronicle of* Scotland, *written by the Religious of* Pluscarty, *an Abby in* Murrayland, 344
Pollack *Fish, where found?* 17
Polygamy, *a Law made for it by* Evenus, 107
Pomona, *the greatest Isle of the* Orcades, 35
Pope *of* Rome *his Emissaries in* Britain, 157

Page

The Right of the Kingdom of England *conferred upon him by King* John, 237
His Embassadors excommunicate the Scots, 272
David II. *King of* Scots, *anointed by his Permission,* 282
His Legat denied entrance into Scotland, 243
Porcaria *Isle,* 26
Port, *or* Na Port, *Isle,* 25
Portugal, *why so called?* 47
Possessions *confounded by often Wars,* 271
Prænestin *Lots, what?* 43
Priests, *or* Clergy, *Isle,* 31
Priests, *corrupted by Luxury, reformed by* Constantine, 174
Richer than the Nobility, 243
Gain by the Losses of the Nobility, (25,29)
Not subject to Kings, 245
Impostors, (58)
Priests *so ignorant, as to think the New Testament was written by* Martin Luther, (9)
Priests, *One the Author of a Sedition,* 309
Another treacherous, 374
Betrays Queen Joan, 375
Another forges a Will, (73)
Preys *retaken, and restored to their Owners,* 106
Prince *of* Scotland, *the King's Eldest Son so called,* 194
Princes *not Slaves to their Words,* (130)
Priviledg *of the* Scots, *not to be summoned to appear out of their own Country,* 241
Prodigies *on divers occasions,* 184,204,(191)
Process, *ridiculous, against the King's Murderers,* (193)
Proclamation *about the same,* ibid.
Proclamation, *or* Schedule, *of* James II. *drawn in contempt about the Streets,* 386
Prosperity *dangerous,* 179
Prudania, 2
Prytania, ibid.
Prophecies *of Witches, how fulfilled?* 357
Ptolemy *hath* Deucaledon *for* Duncaledon, 56
Punishments, *too exquisite, enrage Spectators,* 358
Punishment, *of old, to Prisoners not returning on their Parole,* 319
Pygmee *Isle,* 30

Q

Quadrantary *Faith, what?* (126)
Quindecemvirate *in* Scotland, (59)
Queens, *their Marriage to be ordered by the Estates of the Realm, and why?* 269
Anciently, Kings Wives not allowed to be so called, 402,403

Queen,

Page

Queen, *Mother of* James III. *ſues for the Regency, with her Reaſons,* 400
The Scots *not willing to be governed by her,* ibid.
Queen Dowager *ſails into* France, (112)
Where ſhe labours to out the Regent of his Government, (113)
Hath the Regency conferred upon her, (115)
The Firſt Female Regent in Scotland, ibid.
Levies new Taxes, (117)
But, becauſe of an Inſurrection, deſiſts from collecting them, (118)
Refuſes the Propoſitions ſent her by the Reformed, (127)
Prepares Forces againſt them, (129)
Makes a Temporary Agreement with them, (130)
Which ſhe endeavours to elude, ibid.
Makes another Truce with them, (134)
Repartees betwixt Her and the Reformed, (136,137,138)
Her Death and Character, (146,147)
Queen *of* Scots, *not to uſe the* Engliſh *Arms, during Queen* Elizabeth's *Life,* (159)
Queen *of* Scots, *one of their Deaths,* 430
Queen's *Party divide from the King's,* (255)
They ſend Embaſſadors to France *and* England *for Aid,* (254)
Queen Elizabeth *rejects them,* (254)
Queſtion *debated, Whether a Chief Magiſtrate may be compelled by force to do his Duty?* (159,&c.)

R

RAarſa *Iſle,* 28
Rachlinda *Iſle,* 25
Ralph Evers *his vain Boaſt,* (87)
Ralph Rokesby *betrays* Percy *his Friend,* 332
Ralph Sadler, *Embaſſador from* England *about the Marriage of* Mary *with King* Henry's *Son,* (75)
He hears the Scots *Differences, and endeavours to compoſe them,* (224)
Ramſay *Iſle,* 25
Ranalds-oy, 35
Ranalſa, *a Southern Iſle,* 36
Randolf (Thomas) *invades* England, 270
Made Regent, 282
Executes a Murderer, though he had the Pope's Pardon, 282
His Law againſt Thievery, ibid.
He puniſhes the Cheat of a Country-man, 283
Poiſoned by a Monk, ibid.
Ratra *River, hath no Salmons in it,* 19,20
Rebels, *after* Murray *the Regent was dead, had ſeveral Meetings,* (247)

Page

They ſend Embaſſadors to the Queen of England, *to deſire a Truce, but in vain,* (253,254)
They ſolicite the French *and* Spaniards *for Aid,* (260)
Aſſault Leith, (281)
Surprize Sterlin, *but beaten out again,* (281, 282)
Attempt Jedburgh, *but repulſed and routed,* (285,286)
Recognition, *what?* 15
Red, *or* Ridhead, *Promontory,* 19
Redſhanks, *who?* 106
Reformation, *the beſt Method thereof for Princes to begin at home,* 188
Reformed *Religion, the Nobles ſwear to maintain it, in behalf of* James VI. *whilſt a Child,* (214)
Reformed *Congregation in* Scotland, *the firſt ſo called,* (124)
Reformers *abrogate the Queen Regent's Power,* (139)
They meet with Difficulties in their Work, (140)
Are aſſiſted by the Engliſh, (141,142)
Their laſt Letter to the Regent, (144)
Regent *ſlain at* Sterlin, (282)
Religion, *Language, Names of Places,* &c. *ſhew the Sameneſs of a People,* 56
Religion, *the Nobles arm for it in* Scotland, (129)
The Vindicators of it make a Truce with the Regent, (134)
Abrogate her Power, (139)
Deſire Aid from England, (140)
Which they receive, (142)
Reign, *the Deſire of it occaſions much Miſchief in the World,* (231,232)
Renfrew, 14
See Baronia.
Repartees *between* Scotiſh *and* Engliſh *Armies,* (277)
Rerigonian *Bay,* 14
Reringa *Iſle,* 27
Reutha, *King of* Scots, 101
Revenge, *the importune Deſire of it dangerous,* 124,131,132
Reuther, *King of* Scots, 99
Called Reuda *by* Bede, 100
Rhingrave *ſent with Aid by the* French *King into* Scotland, (106)
Rian *Lake, or Loch,* 14
Richard *of* England *very angry with the* Scots *for bringing in foreign Aid,* 311
He invades Scotland *with a great Army,* ibid.
His Expedition to the Holy War, 234

Page

Richard II. *of* England *enforced to resign the Kingdom to* Henry IV. 325
One in Scotland *pretends himself to be* Richard, 332
Richard, *Duke of* Glouceſter, *marches with an Army againſt* Scotland, 426
Takes Berwick, 427
Made Protector of England, 428
Caſts his Brother's two Sons into Priſon, and ſets up himſelf King, 428
Slain by Henry VII. 429
Is very Tyrannical in his Government, 434
Richard, *Duke of* York, *brings King* Edward *Priſoner to* London, 396
Slain by the Queen, ibid.
Richard Colvil *put to Death by* Douglas, 380

Richard Fox, *Biſhop of* Durham, *a very prudent Man, mediates for Peace between the two Nations,* (12,13)
An Inſtrument of James *his Marriage with* Margarite *of* England, (14)
Richard Grafton, *an* Engliſh *Writer, blamed,* 252
Rins *of* Galway, 14
Rinard *Iſle,* 26
Ridhead; *ſee* Red *Promontory.*
Roadilla *Monaſtery,* 31
Robbers *puniſhed,* 183,189,(48,57)
Robert Bruce *his Genealogy,* 246
His magnanimous Anſwer to the King of England, 250
Begins his Reign, 261
Is overthrown, and flies in diſguiſe to ſave his Life, ibid.
His Wife impriſoned, and his two Brothers put to Death by the Engliſh, 261,262
He baffles Cumins, ibid.
Carried ſick into his Army, 264
Cauſes Edward *of* England *to retreat,* ibid.
Invades England, *takes* Perth, Edinburgh, *&c.* 265
Overthrows the Engliſh *at* Bannock *near* Sterlin, 267
Robert, *the Son of* Robert Bruce, *conſpires with* John Cumins *againſt* England, 259, 260
Is crowned King, 261
Overcomes Edward II. *in Battel,* 267
The Nobles conſpire againſt him, 271
Robert II. *King of* Scots, 306
Marries Elizabeth More, 307
The Diſpute betwixt his Legitimate, and his Natural, Children, occaſions great Troubles, 350
He invades England, 311
His Death and Character, 322

Page

Robert III. *before called* John, *ſucceeds his Father,* 323
His Generals cauſe the Iſlanders *to deſtroy one another,* 324
He makes the firſt Dukes in Scotland, 325
He imprecates God's Judgments on his Brother, and the other Murderers of his Son David, 330
He dies with Abſtinence, and Grief, for the Captivity of his Son James *in* England, 331
His Brother Robert *made Regent after his Death,* 331
Robert Boyd *kils* James Stuart, 374
Made Guardian to the King, 409
Created Regent, 412
Flies into England, *and dies there,* 414
Robert Boyd *deſerts the Reformed, and revolts to the Queen,* (218)
Robert Britain *hath great Command at Court,* (56)
Robert Cockerane *of a Tradeſman made a Courtier,* 420
Taken by Douglas, *and committed to Priſon,* 424, 425
Robert Cuningham, *of the Family of the* Lennoxes, *oppoſes* Bothwel, (195)
Robert Douglas *deſires that the Death of his Brother* Murray *might be revenged,* (249)
Robert, *Earl of* Fife, 315
Starves to Death David *the King's Son,* 328
Robert Graham *a great Enemy to King* James, 355
Conſpires againſt him, 357
Seizes him with his own Hands, for which he is executed, 358
Robert Maxwel, (71)
Coming to reconcile Differences, is impriſoned by Hamilton, (82)
Robert, *the Son of* Robert Maxwel, *taken Priſoner by the* Engliſh, (91)
Robert, *Earl of the* Orcades, *made one of the King's Guardians,* 407
Robert Petcarn *ſent Embaſſador into* England, (242)
Queen Elizabeth's *Anſwer to his Embaſſy,* (257)
Robert Read *ſent Embaſſador into* France, (63)
Poiſoned there, (122)
Robert Semple *kils* Creighton, (111)
Robert Stuart, Bruce's *Grand-ſon by his Daughter, riſes in Arms for* Bruce, 293
Made Regent, 294
Taken by Baliol, *and ſwears Fealty to the King of* England, 286
Sought for to be ſlain, 292

Page

Roch *Isle*, 26
Roffa *for* Raufcheſtria, *i. e.* Rocheſter, 8
Romachus, *King of* Scots, 125
Roman *Generals in* Britain, 84, &c.
Roman *Fraud*, 239
Roman *Legates, Pick-pockets*, 243, 418
The Jews *Apes*, 381
Romans, *their memorable Fact in* Britain *before their Departure*, 138
Rona *Isle*, 32
Ronanus *his Spade*, ibid.
Rolland, *a Carpenter, diſcovers a Treachery againſt* Robert Bruce, 268
Rolland's *Valour, he overcomes* Gilcolumb, 246, 247
Roſe, *white, Badg of the* York *Faction*, (7)
Roſs, *and its Etymology*, 21, 139, 170
Rothſay *Caſtle*, 25
Rotti *Isle*, 37
Rous-oy, 36
Round *Isle*, 26
Roxburgh *Town taken*, 393
Its Caſtle taken, 394
Royaliſts *overthrown in the* North, (283)
Ruby, *a* French *Lawyer in* Scotland, *his Character*, (147)
Rudana *Isle*, 27
Rum *Isle*, 28
It abounds with Eggs of Sea-Fowl, ibid.
Ruven *had the Mayoralty of* Perth *taken from him by the Cardinal*, (92)

S

SAcred, *or* Cleirach, *Isle*, 31
Sacred *Sanctuary*, 25
Saga *Isles, the Great and the Small*, 30
Saliar *Verſes, not eaſy to be underſtood*, 44
Salii, *who?* 44
Salisbury, *Earl, commands the* Engliſh *in* Scotland, 297
Taken Priſoner, 300
Salmon *Fiſhing*, Aberdene *famous for it*, 19
Sanachies, *who?* 39
Sancterr *Isle*, 37
Sanda *Isle*, 25
Scandians, *who?* 200
Satrael, *King of* Scots, 117
Slain, ibid.
Saturnals, *old Feaſts, retained*, 239
Saxe, *or* Rock, *Isle*, 26
Saxons *kill the* Engliſh *Nobles by Treachery*, 70
Overcome by the Normans, 71
Worſted by Picts, Scots *and* Brittons, 149
Cruel in Wars, 146
Not faithful in Peace, 148

Page

Their Fight with three Kings, 148, 149
Scalpe *Isle*, 28, 30
Scarba *Isle*, 25
Schan *Caſtle*, 31
Schanny *Isle*, 25, 27
Schetland *Isles*, 36
The Nature of their Inhabitants, 37
The greateſt of them called Pomona, ibid.
Sclata, *or* Sleach, *Isle*, 25
Scoff, *ſharp, given to* Bothwel *by a Tradeſman*, (194)
Schools, *publick, erected by* James, 345
Scorpions, *i. e.* Groſs-bows, 311
Scotland, *how divided?* 13
Where narroweſt, 20
Had anciently learned Monks, 169
Scots, *their fabulous Original*, 46, 47
Scots *and* Picts *unite againſt the* Romans, 134
Scots *and* Brittons *overthrown by the* Saxons, 157
Scots *Monks unjuſtly baniſhed out of* England, 160
Scots *and* Brittons *unite againſt* Picts *and* Saxons, 146
Scots *Monks preach the Goſpel in* Germany, 165
Scots *have hard Terms of Peace impoſed upon them by the* Engliſh, 173
Scots *Biſhops freed from the Juriſdiction of the* Engliſh, 234, 411
Scots *have an ancient Priviledg, not to be cited to* Rome, 241
Scots *excommunicated by their Eccleſiaſticks*, 243
Excommunicated again, but abſolved, 272, 273
Scots *join with the* French *againſt* England, 253
Scots *receive a great Overthrow from* Edward *of* England *at* Falkirk, 256
Obtain a Truce from him, ibid.
Riſe in Arms again, and overthrow the Engliſh *at* Roſline, 258
Scots *make a League with the* French, 273
When their firſt Alliance with France *began*, 165
Scots *of* Jerna, *and* Scots *of* Albion, 52
Scots *overthrown by* Maximus *the* Roman *General, and baniſhed out of their Country*, 124
March into England, *but retreat again*, (91)
Scots *Nobles, ſome, riſe againſt* James IV. *but are quelled*, (3)
Scots *Nobles anciently had Skill in Chirurgery*, (28)
Scots *complain of the* French *Breach of Faith by their Embaſſadors*, (60)
Scots *Priſoners releaſed at* London, (74)

Page

Scotiſh *Parliament demoliſhes all Monaſteries*, (152)
Scotiſh *Crown ordered to be ſent to the Dolphin of* France, (126)
Scotiſh *Kings anciently travelled over their Kingdoms themſelves to adminiſter Juſtice*, 123
Scoto-Brigantes, *in* Claudian *to be read for* Scuta-Brigantes, 76
Scroop, *an* Engliſh *General in* Scotland, (256)
Sea-Calves, 29
Sea-Monks, *an ill boding Fiſh*, 175
Security *dangerous in War*, 172,173
Seditions *perillous*, 141,309
Secla, *or* Seil, *Iſle*, 25
Seneciones, *who?* 39
Seuna *Iſle*, 30
Severn *River*, 13
Severus *his Wall*, 8, 148
His Expedition againſt the Brittons, 117,118
Seuna, *or* Suin, *Iſle*, 25, 30
Servanus, 145
Shevi *Iſle*, 30
Sheep, *fair, yet wild, in* Hirta *Iſle*, 30
Their Fat good to eat, ibid.
Ships *of great Bigneſs built by* James IV. (14)
Siapins-oy, *an Iſle*, 36
Sicambri, *who?* 79
Sigrama *Iſles, Great and Small*, 30
Silva, *or* Yew, *Iſle*, 25
Silures, *who?* 61,109
Simon Breecus, 171
Similitudes *for Illuſtration*, 187,188
Similitude *of Evems do aſſimilate Mens Manners*, 213
Sinclare's *Valour againſt the* Engliſh, 270
Siuna *Iſle*, 25
Skenny, *or* Skerry, *Iſles*, 37
Skirmiſh *between* Engliſh *and* French *in* Scotland, (145)
Sky *Iſle*, 28
Skyanna *Iſle*, ibid.
Slata *Iſle*, 25
Slavery *worſe than Baniſhment*, 132
Skegana *Iſle*, 30
Soa *Iſle*, 27,30
Soabretil *Iſle*, 28
Sodora *Town*, 24
Solan, *or* Sea, *Geeſe*, ibid.
Solanum, *the Herb* Nightſhade, *ſoporiferous*, 209
Solinus *quoted about* Britain, 87
Solvathius, *King of* Scots, 164
Solwey *River*, 13
Sorboniſts *ſent into* Scotland, (136)
Spain *hath ſeveral Names*, 41

Page

Spaniards, *a Colony of them come into* Ireland, 94
Inhabited the Weſt Part of Britain, 51
Subject to the Injuries of Foreigners, 94
Spey *River*, 20
Spring, *that carries down ſhapeleſs Fiſh*, 29
Stacbad *Iſle*, 26
Staſa *Iſle*, 27
Stanmore, *whence ſo called*, 217
The Croſs there, ibid.
Stags *fright the* Engliſh, 276
Stephano-Dunum, *or* Dunſtaffnage, 20
Stephen Bull *overthrown by* Andrew Wood, (3,4)
Stephen, *Earl of* Bologn, *ſeizes on the Kingdom of* England, 224
Notwithſtanding he had taken an Oath to Queen Maud, ibid.
Sterlin *County*, 15
Sterlin *Mony*, 173
Stinſiar *River*, 14
Strathnavern, 21, 140
Strath-bogy, 140
Strat *and* Strathern, 17, 140
Stratagems *in War*, 154, 179
Stromoy *Iſle*, 35
Stronza *Iſle*, 36
Stuart, *the Name of an Office*, 217
Stuarts, *their Original*, ibid.
Who was the Riſe of their Family, ibid.
Stuart, *Regent*, 298
Succeſſion *to the Crown of* Scotland, *an old Law made for it*, 97
The Adminiſtration of the Government, to whom to be committed, when the King is a Minor, (230, 231)
Suffrages *incroached upon*, 179
Suilkir *Iſle*, 32
Sumereld, *Thane of* Argyle, *in hopes of the Kingdom, but is overthrown and ſlain*, 228, 231
Suin *Iſle*, 25
Suna *Iſle*, 36
Suſſex, *the Earl of it commands an* Engliſh *Army in* Scotland, (255)
Sutherland, 21
Swain *gets the Kingdom of* England, 71
He comes into Scotland, 200
He diſtributes three Kingdoms to his three Sons, 208
He comes again into Scotland, ibid.
He is overthrown, 209

T

TAichy, *i. e.* Menteith, 17
Talbot *overthrown by* Keith, 297
Again overthrown, 308

Page

Thames *River*, 13
Thane, *who?* 187
Thanat *Isle*, 88
Tanasta *Isle*, 26
Taodunum, *i. e.* Dundee, 18
Taransa *Isle*, 30
Tarscheir *Isle*, 26
Tarvedrum *Promontory*, 21
Tay, *the greatest River in* Scotland, 18
Temple *of* Terminus, 15, 119
Terris *Isle*, 27
Teviotdale, 13
Texa *Isle*, 26
Textors *Isle*, ibid.
Theodosius *his memorable Speech*, (268)
Thereus, *King of* Scots, *flies to the* Brittons, 101
Thiana *Isle*, 25
Thomas Eliot *his Opinion refuted*, 4
Thomas Becket *promotes Ecclesiastical Ambition in* England, 243
Thomas Boyd *marries the Eldest Sister of* James III. 412
He is sent Embassador into Norwey, 413
Declared a publick Enemy, 415
Assists the Burgundians, ibid.
His Wife divorced from him, and married to James Hamilton, ibid.
He dies at Antwerp, 416
Thomas Car *wasts* England, (247)
Thomas Duchty, *or* Doughty, *an Impostor*, (58)
Thomas Howard, *Admiral of the* English *Navy*, (24)
General at Flodden *Fight*, (24)
Afterwards fals into Disgrace, (27)
Sent into Scotland, *and takes* Jedburgh, (41, 42)
Treats of a Marriage with the Queen of Scots, (224)
Meditates a Civil War against the Queen of England, (226, 239)
The Conspiracy detected, (242)
Thomas Petcarn *sent Embassador to Queen* Elizabeth, (255)
Thomas Randolph *designed the King's Tutor*, 269
Marches with an Army into England, 275
Thomas Randolph, *the* English *Embassador in* Scotland, *demands the* English *Exiles*, (248)
Thomas, *Earl of* Sussex, *the* English *General in* Scotland, *inclinable to the Queen's Faction*, (256)
Thomas Wolsy, *a Cardinal, self-ended and ambitious*, (44)
Thornton, Patric, *put to death for Murder*, 391

Page

Tintallon *Castle besieged by the King*, (55)
Surrendred to him, (56)
Tine *River*, 14
Titles *of Honour*, 203
Tithes *for Ecclesiasticks*, 140
Tiren, *or* Tirris, *Isle*, 27
Toncetus, *an unjust Judg, slain*, 154
Toray *Isle*, 30
Trajan's *remarkable Speech*, (268)
Trajectus *Passage, or* Na Port *Isle*, 25
Trayl, *Archbishop, his Commendation*, 328
His Death, ibid.
Triaracha *Isle*, 25
Trebellius Maximus *in* Britain, 86
Tree *Isle*, 25
Tributes, *or Impositions, part of them nibbled away by the Collectors, who are usually malapert*, 339
Imposed, but remitted, 355
The Cause of War, and their Exactors slain, (10, 11)
Designed, but not paid, (117)
Trimarchia, 77
Trojans, Greeks *by Descent*, 45
Many pretend themselves derived from Them, 46
Trons *Isle*, 37
Tronta *Isle*, 28
Truce *betwixt* Scots *and* English, 309, 380
Betwixt the French, English *and* Scots, 310, 311
Between Scots *and* English *for seven Years*, 430
Truces *violated*, 325, 332, 378, 392
Truce *between the Queen Regent and the Reformers*, (133)
And on what Terms, ibid.
Twedale, 13
Twede *River*, ibid.
Tueman *Isles*, 30, 37
Turff *Isle*, 27
Turdetani, *who?* 38
Twine, Laurence, *his Story*, 284
He stirs up Baliol *to invade* Scotland, ibid.
Twentieth *Part taxed in* Scotland, 339
Tyana *Isle*, 25
Tyranny, *its Root cut by* Finnanus, *and how?* 102
Tyrants *Avarice bring the richer Sort to their Ends*, 107

V

VAlay *Isle*, 30
Valerius Asiaticus *his bold Speech*, (271)
Valla, *and* Vallis, *Isle*, 36
Vannora, *King* Arthur's *Wife, not true to him*, 153
Vallia, 60

Page

Varro, Plato, &c. too inquisitive about Words, 3
Vaterſa Iſle, 29
Vectius Bolanus in Britain, 86
Vecturiones, who? 18
Vemendra Iſle, 37
Venta Belgarum, 19
Vera Iſle; ſee Wyer-oy.
Vervedrum Promontory, 21
Veſtra Iſle; ſee Weſter-oy.
Vexa Iſle, 30
Via Iſle, 37
Viccoil Iſle, 31
Victorinus ſent into Britain from Rome, 131
Vidam in France, who? (150)
Vidogara, 14
See Loch-Ryan,
Vien, a French General, in Scotland, 311
Vigils, or Watches, neceſſary in Camps and Armies, 285,308
Vikeran Iſle, or Na-whoker, 25
Virid, or Green, Iſles, viz. Charn More, and Charn Beg, the greater and the leſs, 27
Vitellius, a Saxon Commander, ſlain by the Scots, 157
Vituline, or Gawin, Iſle, 25
Uiſt, or Yyiſts, Iſle, 29,30,37
Ulva Iſle, 27
Voadicea, Commandreſs of the Brittons, 85
See Boadicea.
Vonnedra Iſle, 37
Vortigern, of a Monk, made King of England, 143
Afterwards depoſed, 145
Sends to Hengiſt the Saxon, 144
Overthrows the Scots, and is ſlain, 144,145
Vortimer, King of the Brittons, renews a League with the Scots and Picts, 145
Ure River, 114
Ure Iſle, 37
Uridick Iſle, 25
Uſabraſt Iſle, 26
Uter ſucceeds his Brother in Britain, 148
His Story and ſlagitious Fact, 149
Utility ſometimes preferred before Honeſty in Princes Courts, 331
Uxellum, in Cæſar perhaps, for Ocellum, 70
Uuſt; ſee Uyiſt Iſland.

W

W, A Letter hard to be pronounced, but by ſuch as Germanize, 6,60,61
Waes Iſle, 36
Wales, how anciently divided, 13, 60

Page

Wall, a memorable one built by the Romans, 138
By Adrian, 8, 16
By Severus, 8
Wallace, or Wallis, his Story, 253
Made Regent, and takes many Places from the Engliſh in Scotland, 254
Overthrows Creſſingham, the Engliſh General, 255
Edward of England afraid to fight him, 255, 256
Envied by the Scots Nobles, 256
Hath a Conference in the Field with Bruce, ibid.
Diſmiſſes his Army, 257
Courted by King Edward, 258
Refuſed to ſwear Obedience to him, 259
Betrayed to Edward by a falſe Friend, 260, 261
By whom he was drawn, hanged and quartered, ibid.
Wallace ſlain in Fight by the Engliſh, 379
Walowithia, 60
Walſch or Welſch, what it ſignifies in German, 54, 61
Walter Mills martyred for Religion, 123
Walter, Steward of all Scotland, 211
Walter, the Son of Murdo, impriſoned, 338
Walter, Earl of Athol, conſpires againſt the King, and murders him, 355,356
He is executed, 357,358
Walter Scot, endeavouring by Force to take the King from the Douglaſſes, is overthrown, (49)
Made Priſoner, (57)
Reſtored to Liberty, ibid.
Joins his Forces with the Regent's, (89)
Wardſhips, their Origin and Nature, 203,351
A Badg of Slavery, (15)
War, Pretence of the Holy War cozens the Simple of their Mony, 243
Warwick, Earl, overthrown by the Queen of England, 397
Waterſa Iſle, 29
Weathers Iſle, ibid.
Werk Caſtle deſcribed, (45)
Weights corrected, 344
Weſter-oy, or Wyer-oy, 36
Whales, Plenty of them about the Iſle Lewis, 32
Whales-oy Iſle, 37
Whey, the Brittons Drink, 23
White Battel, what? 271
Wife of Alexander Seton's Speech to her Husband, encouraging him to part with his Sons rather than the Town of Berwick, 289
Witches diſcovered and puniſhed, 183

Page

William, *King of* Scots, 231
Taken by the Engliſh, 233
Accompanies Henry *of* England *into* France, ibid.
Releaſed, ibid.
Sends his Brother David *to the Holy War*, 235
William Creighton *Chancellour*, 359
Deceived by the Queen, and her Son the King taken from him, 360, 361
He guides the King, after he had taken him in a Wood, to his Party, 365
Highly accuſed, 361
Craves Aid of Douglas, *but in vain*, 362
Agrees with the Regent, 363
Is received into Favour, 374
His Death, 391
William *of* Normandy *repairs* Newcaſtle, 217
Conquers the Danes, 71
Overthrown in Scotland, 116
William Cecil, *a prudent Counſellour, in* England, (146)
Sent Embaſſador into Scotland, ibid.
William Creighton *ſlain*, (111)
William Creighton *outlawed, with his Crimes*, 428
William Douglas *refuſeth to ſwear Fealty to King* Edward, 253
He treats Alexander Ramſay *inhumanly*, 301
Is ſlain, 303
William Douglas, *Son of* Archibald *of* Galway, 314
The King marries his Daughter Ægidia *to him, though he were a Baſtard*, ibid.
Killed by Ruffians at Dantzic, 322
William Douglas *ſucceeds* Archibald *his Father*, 363
Corrupted by Flatterers, profuſe, enticed by the Chancellour to Edinburgh, *and beheaded*, 370
William Douglas, *Son of* James *the Groſs, marries* Beatrix *his Uncle's Daughter*, 370
Submits to the King, 371
By his Obſequiouſneſs makes the King his Own, and by that means revenges the Deaths of his Kinſmen, 372, 375
Goes to Rome, 381
Accuſed in his Abſence, and his Solicitor overthrown in the Trials, ibid.
He pays Damages out of his Eſtate, 381, 382
Returns, and is declared Regent, 383
Comes to Court on ſafe Conduct, 385
At laſt ſlain by the King's own Hand, 386

Page

William Douglas *deſires leave to revenge the Death of his Brother the Earl of* Murray, (248)
William Drury, *an* Engliſh *Knight, ſecretly favours the Rebels*, (278)
William, *Biſhop of* Dunblane, *ſent into* France *to excuſe the Queen's haſty Marriage in* Scotland, (199, 200)
William Graham, *the King's Guardian*, 407
William Hume *beheaded*, (36)
William Elphinſton, *Biſhop of* Aberdene, *laments the State of* Scotland, (30)
William Keith *taken Priſoner by the* Engliſh, (122)
William Kircade *of* Grange, *Admiral of the Navy againſt* Bothwel, (215)
William Levingſton *goes into* France *with the Queen*, (107)
William *of* Malmesbury, *a* Britiſh *Writer*, 8
William Maitland, *an ingenious young Man*, (161)
Sent into England *to deſire Aid*, (224)
Sent into England *to complement Queen* Elizabeth *on* Mary's *Account*, (154)
Perſuades her to declare Mary *her Heireſs*, (155)
Which ſhe refuſes to do, (157)
He favours the Queen's Affairs, (225)
Is factious and perfidious, ibid.
Studies Innovations, (226)
He is taken and releaſed, (242, 243)
William Murray *of* Tilibardin, *angry with the Regent*, (216)
William Rogers, *an* Engliſh *Muſician, one of* James *the IIId's Evil Counſellours*, 420
William Sylly, *or* Souls, *executed*, 271
William Sivez, *his Story*, 418
Arch-deacon, and a great Aſtrologer, ibid.
Undermines Patrick Graham, *and gets the Biſhoprick*, 419
William Stuart, *Biſhop of* Aberdene, *ſent Embaſſador into* France, (63)
Womans *Iſle*; *ſee* Nuns *Iſle*.
Women, *ſome of a manly Spirit*, 290, 297, 397
Women, *whether the ſupreme Government ought to be committed to them?* 401

An Alphabetical Table.

X	Page
XUsed by the Spaniards for double SS.	60
Y	
YEw Isle,	25
Yla Isle,	26

Z	Page
ZEal, or Yel, *Island*,	35
Zeland, or Schetland, *Isles*,	ibid.
Zerobia, *Queen of* Palmira, *unsuccessful in her Government*,	406
Zeviot, or Cheviot, *Hills or Mountains*,	13

FINIS.

ERRATA.

In the first Twelve Books.

PAge 16. marg. for *Adrtus* read *Andrtus*. P. 23. l. 29. f. *war* r. *did war*. P. 24. marg. f. *Arras* r. *Arvii*. P. 31. l. 18. f. *Nassick* r. *Na Aich*. P. 35, 40, 41, 42. in the Title, f. *Book I.* r. *Book II.* P. 73. marg. f. *Calalabria's* r. *Calabria's*. P. 82. l. 47. f. *hither* r. *hitherto*. P. 109. l. 41. f. *Petilius* r. *Petilius*. P. 110. l. 10. and P. 111. l. 5. f. *Agrippa* r. *Agricola*. P. 110. l. 42. f. *Elebth* r. *Seventh*. P. 116. marg. f. *vmnary* r. *vmary*. P. 120. l. 45. and p. 183. l. 26. f. *Wizard* r. *Witch*. P. 131. l. 43. f. *Thus* r. *This*. P. 160. l. 22. r. *Redemption*. P. 168. marg. f. *Kinnetius* r. *Kennethus*. P. 183. l. 17. f. *Causes* r. *Caust*. P. 197. l. 22. f. *vain* r. *in vain*. P. 217. l. 28. f. *Neice* r. *Grandchild*. l. 29. f. *Nephew* r. *Grandson*. P. 227. l. 25. f. 1553 r. 1153. P. 228. l. 6. dele *good*. P. 236. l. 20. f. 1643 r. 1214. P. 245. l. 2. f. *Neice* r. *Grandchild*. l. 13. f. *Neice* r. *Grandchild*. P. 248. l. 41. f. *to the Marriage with his Queen* r. *Marriage (of his Son) with their Queen*. L. 15. f. *Dutchess* r. *Dutchy*. P. 272. l. 9. dele *some*. P. 273. l. 1. after *taken*, add, *Besides many of inferiour Rank, John Britain, Earl of* Richmond, *was also taken*. P. 286. marg. f. *Ear* r. *Ewn*. l. 27. f. *the Caledonians* r. *Dunkel*. P. 287. dele the last marginal Note, *viz. And declare War against France*. P. 292. l. 21. after *Weapons*, add *or Oldbrigs*. P. 296. l. 16. f. 1537 r. 1337. P. 299. r. *Alexander Ramsay*. P. 319. l. 19. f. *Army* r. *Arms* P. 325. l. 11. r. *18 years old*. *Earl of* Roches. P. 329. l. 14 and 27. f. 300. r. 30. *ibid.* l. 49. dele *of*. P. 330. l. 30. r. *Charles VI*. P. 331. f. *Youth's* r. *Child's*. P. 332. marg. f. *Murray* r. *Garioch*. P. 339. l. 35. f. *before* r. *after*. P. 342. l. 46. f. *Son of Caithnes*, r. *the Clan-cattan Men*. f. *Cameron* r. *the Camerons*. P. 347. marg. f. *Trust* r. *Fruit*. P. 348. l. 44. f. *Mard* r. *Marr*. P. 353. l. 12. f. *quietly* r. *quickly*. P. 355. f. *his Nephew by his Son* r. *Grandson*. P. 357. l. 46. f. *his Nephew by his Son* r. *Grandson*. P. 360. l. 25. f. *no* r. *now*. P. 370. l. 23. f. *upon* r. *before*. P. 389. l. 43. f. *nun* r. *dandle*. P. 403. l. 41. f. *Induce* r. *introduce*. P. 407. l. 28. f. *Caledonia* r. *Dunkel*. P. 420. l. 22. f. *Nants* r. *Nancy*. P. 421. l. 44. f. *Blankets* r. *Sheets*. P. 422. l. 27. r. *Lewis the XI*. P. 424. l. 35. r. *Go to the Kings Pavillion*.

In the Eight last Books.

P. 2. l. 7. f. *infesting* r. *infested*. P. 3. l. 24. f. *Grampius* r. *Grampius*. Ibid. l. 40. f. *Edward* r. *Henry*. P. 6. l. 14. f. *Grajna* r. *Græcina*. P. 8. l. 35. f. *so the present* r. *for the present*. P. 9. l. 7. f. *Their* r. *His*. P. 11. marg. f. *from* r. *from*. Ib. l. 38. f. *be returned* r. *so returned*. P. 15. marg. f. *go Jerusalem* r. *go to Jerusalem*. P. 39. l. 6. f. *or being* r. *as being*. P. 40. marg. f. *raise* r. *raises*. P. 44. l. 46. r. *Assembly*. P. 59. l. 19. f. *Sunderland* r. *Scotland*. P. 63. l. 2. f. *King* r. *Regent*. P. 99. l. 49. r. *Nones of November*. P. 104. l. 17. dele *all*. P. 106. marg. r. *Crew*. P. 108. l. 13. f. *Minans* r. *Minians*. Ib. l. 29. dele *some*. P. 193. l. 40. f. *Guest* r. *Neal*. P. 194. l. 23. r. *as in many other Princes, &c.* P. 254. marg. f. *St. Lewis* r. *Monsieur Lewis*.

In the Alphabetical Table.

For *Cassivelaunus* r. *Cassivelaunus*. For *Gaxnico* r. *Garnico*. For *Genrach* r. *Geurach*. For *Hypoconistical* p. 6. f. *Hypocristical*. P. 60. In *Kirkwal*, for *Pomona* r. *Pomona*.